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THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LITERATURE AND PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY

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NOTES ON PASSAGES OF OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH.

I. *Widsiđ*, ed. Chambers, pp. 219, 254.

It is perhaps worth while to draw attention to two passages which show that some of the Old English heroic tales were known till a later time than is commonly supposed.

(*a*) A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History* (1917) p. 230 (extract from the Franciscan *Fasciculus Morum*, v. 26, between 1272 and 1400, perhaps before 1340) *De uictoria fidei*: 'apud Elvelond, ubi iam, ut dicunt, manent illi fortissimi athlethe, scilicet Onewone [so MS. Eton 34, f. 69: MS. Bodl. 410, f. 71, Unewyn] et Wade...':

(*b*) The alliterative *Morte Arthure* (ed. Brock, from the fifteenth century Thornton MS.; E.E.T.S., o.s., 1865), ll. 2863 ff.: 'We sall in this viage victoures be holden...Aughte neuer siche honoure none of our elders, Unwyne ne Absolone, ne none of thies other.' (l. 3545 Hengest and Horsa are mentioned.)

Unewyn(e)-Onewone I take to refer to the Unwen of *Widsiđ*, 114 while we also have in (*a*) a further detail in the story of Wade.

II. *Beowulf*. (i) ll. 2999—3007:

þæt ȳs sio fæhđo ond se feond-scipe,
wæl-niđ wera, đæs đe ic [*wen*] hafo,
þe us seceađ to Sweona leoda,
syđđan hie ȝefricȝeađ frean userne
ealdor-leasne, þone đe ær ȝeheold
wiđ hettendum hord ond rice
æfter hæleđa hryre, hwate Scildinȝas,
folc-red fremede, ođđe furđur ȝen
eorl-scipe efnde.

See the notes in Dr Chambers' edition, p. 148: a strong argument in favour of Thorpe's suggestion is, that *furđur ȝen* then has a real meaning and adds something to what has already been said: there is no point in saying 'or further, did deeds of earl-ship,' for what are those already mentioned, but such deeds? *Furđur ȝen* implies, surely, 'further yet,' i.e. 'further than the Scylding's realm' (cf. *Juliana* 317). The change to *Scylfinȝas* only increases the difficulties of the passage: of the renderings mentioned by Chambers, (1) is impossible; (2) is rubbish; (3) it is very doubtful, especially in this context, whether Gēatas and

Scylfinȝas could be identified, even for a moment (there are probably other reasons behind ll. 2602 ff.): (4) ceases to be necessary, or even sense, if we don't emend. The alteration to *Sæ-Geatas* is of a kind which encourages us to read anything we like anywhere! Müllenhoff's suggestion is perhaps the easiest; but if we assume the MS. to be right, Thorpe's explanation seems quite probable, and may help us to understand how Beowulf came to stand as a name in the list of Danish kings in this poem.

(ii) l. 2448. If we take *helpan* as a weak substantive here, we can find a parallel in *Waldhere*, B. 27.

(iii) l. 2385. MS. *orfeorme*: there may be something sensible to be got out of the MS. reading. If we take the word literally, it should mean either (i) 'without polish'; or (ii) 'without support,' cf. *Juliana* 217 (*o.* = 'helpless'): if the first meaning be right, then it may be used in a transferred sense, as, 'without glory'; cp. the Corpus gloss, 1902, '*Squalores*: *orfeormnisse*'; though this does not seem to me very likely. If we take *orfeorme* to mean 'without support,' I suppose Beowulf was not there; otherwise, what was he doing? for we hear of his Dæȝhrefn and other exploits, even where he could not save his lord. It is then easier to understand 'let ðone breȝo-stol Biowulf healdan'...i.e. Ohthere wouldn't tackle Beowulf. O. may have made a sudden raid. (Is it possible that 'Him þæt to mearce wearð' means 'that befell him on the marches'; when the 'þær' of 2385, and perhaps the 'orfeorme,' become easier to understand?)

(iv) ll. 1107 and 2577. Have *icȝe* [= *īcȝe*?] and *incȝe* anything to do with the word *inȝe* of *Exodus* 190: 'inȝe men ealle ætȝædere cyninȝas on cordre'? In all three passages the root-meaning 'mighty' would do very well.

(v) ll. 2792 ff.:

[Biowulf reordode]
2793 ȝomel on *ȝioȝoðe* ȝold sceawode:
'Ic ðara frætwa Frean ealles ðanc,
Wuldurcyninȝe, wordum secȝe,
ecum Dryhtne, þe ic her on starie,
þæs ðe ic moste minum leodum
ær swyltdæȝe swylc ȝestrynan.
Nu ic on maðma hord mine bebohte
2800 frode feorhleȝe, fremmað *ȝena*
leoda þearfe; ne mæȝ ic her lenȝ wesan.—
Hatað heaðomære hlæw ȝewyrcean'...etc.

In 2793 and 2800, the italicized words are the MS. readings; they are usually emended to *ȝiohðe*, and *ȝe nu*, respectively.

On ȝioȝoðe, as Sedgefield says, 'could only mean [since "in his

youth" is clearly impossible] "among, surrounded by, the young warriors," but these did not come up till after Beowulf's death; cf. l. 2846.' Hence Thorpe changed the words to *on ȝiohđe* = 'in sadness,' an emendation strongly supported by l. 3095. But the speech is one of thanks to God, and, in a sense, of joy; or, at least, of resignation mixed with gratitude and gladness. *ȝiohđe*, therefore, seems unsuitable to this passage. *ȝena* would mean 'yet,' 'now,' 'henceforth': *ȝe nu* was proposed by Thorpe, and kept by Sedgefield, probably because of the plural imperatives *fremmađ* and *Hatađ*. But why have we plural imperatives here? Whether we read *ȝena* or *ȝe nu*, we shall not so easily get rid of this difficulty; for the plural of courtesy towards one person is unknown or very rare, in O.E.; and Beowulf is apparently speaking only to Wiglaf.

It is not likely, in view of ll. 2793, 2800 and 2802, and the vivid and impressive nature of the scene, that the author forgot that only Wiglaf was with Beowulf.

The easiest solution of the problem is to suppose that Beowulf thinks the *treowlatan* are still within hearing, *on beorȝe* (cf. ll. 2401 ff., 2516, 2529, 2539, 2595 ff., 2604, 2631–32, 2661), for they at first took up a position where they could at least *see* the battle: and it is probable that Beowulf knew nothing of their flight to the holt, as he was busy with the dragon.

Heađomære in l. 2802 (if B. is addressing, as he thinks, the twelve men who went with him (l. 2401 ff.)), probably means the *eorl-weorod* of 2893, a different and larger company. Cp. 3095 ff. Unless we accept this easy interpretation, we may suppose that we have traces of two imperfectly joined versions of the story; for l. 2792 lacks its second half; and *ȝomel on ȝioȝođe* (relic of an earlier version?) may imply, either, that the young warriors had returned earlier, or had only now come up for the first time.

Or are we to suppose that the 2nd plural of address can be used to one person? If so, such changes from the 2nd sg. to 2nd pl. as in Ælfred's preface to his translation of the *Cura Pastoralis* may not be necessarily because Æ. is thinking now of the bishop who will read that copy of the book, now of all the bishops who will read the book. Cynewulf's *Crist*, 1376 ff., is interesting: Christ, says the poet, is speaking '*swa he to anum spræce, ond hwæþre ealle mænetđ*'; the 2nd sg. is used till l. 1454: then we read '*Geseođ nu þa feorhdolȝ...meaht her euc ȝeseon*...swatȝe wunde...*Ic onfenȝ þin sar*...etc.' The context, and the probable original of the passage '*En uulnera*' etc. (cp. Cook's ed., p. 210)

would lead us to take *ȝeseoð* as 2 pl. pr. indic. or imper. < *seon* = 'see' (though Grein also suggests 3 pl. pr. i. = 'pour,' 'stream'). The reasons, however, for the use of the 2nd pl. are here obvious. The 2nd pl. is again used ll. 1499—1514, but this passage is founded directly on *Matth.* xxv. In *Genesis* 2184 (1570, ed. Holthausen, 1914), '*ȝeseoð þæt me of bryde bearn ne wocon*,' *ȝeseoð* may be the 2nd pl. of address to God, but as the 2nd sg. is used in the rest of Abraham's speech, *ȝeseoð* is more probably 3 pl. ind., referring to the *ȝerefa* Eliezer and his sons.

(We may remember that the *1st* pers. pl. of state or authorship is used in O.E. by preachers, writers, and kings.)

(vi) ll. 2771 ff.:

> Næs ðæs wyrmes þær
> onsyn æniȝ, ac hyne ecȝ fornam.
> Ða ic on hlæwe ȝefræȝn hord reafian,
> eald enta ȝeweorc, anne mannan,
> him on bearm hladon bunan ond discas
> sylfes dome; seȝn eac ȝenom,
> beacna beorhtost. Bill ær ȝescod
> —ecȝ wæs iren—eald-hlafordes
> þam ðara maðma mund-bora wæs
> lonȝe hwile, liȝ-eȝesan wæȝ...etc.

The above is Dr Chambers' text. The passage contains two places at which some dislocation, or faulty joining of two versions, may be suspected. Less than 70 lines before, we have been told of the slaying of the dragon, outside the cave, by Beowulf and Wiglaf. Surely no one, least of all a primitive people accustomed to story-telling, or an audience already familiar with the story, would need to be reminded twice over [2771–2 and 2777 ff.] of what is the centre of the whole matter? Ll. 2771–2, *or* 2777 ff., may point to the taking up of the narrative with a general reminder to the same, or a slightly different, audience of the point reached, say the night before, by the reciter; but this would not need to be done twice within half-a-dozen lines. Ll. 2771–2 may be a relic of a different version, in which the dragon disappeared or melted away, like Sigmund's foe (l. 897). The version elaborated in 'B' represents the dragon lying in death by Beowulf, a carcass 50 feet long, seen afar off by all comers, and finally pushed over the cliff into the sea (ll. 3038 ff., 3131 ff.). It seems better to read, with the MS. and Kemble, in 2777 ff.:...*seȝn eac ȝenom*, beacna beorhtost, bill ærȝe-scod, | ecȝ wæs iren, eald-hlafordes, | þam...etc., and translate: 'he took also the standard...and the brass-shod sword, with iron edge, of the ancient lord, from him who...' If we take the MS. *ærȝe scod* as a compound adj. = 'brass-shod,' 'bronze-sheathed,' and apply it to the sword, the paren-

thetic *ecȝ wæs iren* has some force; most sword-edges were iron, and we have already been told that those of Næȝlinȝ were; while if the sword be one from the ancient treasure, and said to be 'bronze-shod,' there is point in the explanation, 'its edge was iron'; especially as the O.E. and early Teutons generally must sometimes have found bronze swords in earlier barrows.

If we take *ær ȝescod* as 'formerly hurt' (i.e. 'killed'), we are met by the objection that B.'s sword did *not* kill the dragon; this was done by Wiglaf's sword and by B.'s *wæll-seax* (2694–705). Again, ll. 3047 ff. tell of the treasures from the cave, spread out by the dead Beowulf: they include *dyre swyrd*, which, unless we understand *Bill* in 2777 as one of the things taken from the dragon, are not included there in the things brought out by Wiglaf. This is a small point, but has weight when added to the others. The chief obstacle to taking the passage with the MS. and Kemble, is the construction of *ȝeniman* then required, i.e. with *þam* as dative of the remoter object, without preposition, in the sense of 'take away from,' 'deprive.' As far as I know, this has no direct O.E. parallel in poetry (Grein's quotation from *Genesis* 2718 appears to be a mistake).

(vii) l. 2617. *ȝædelinȝes*, usually translated 'kinsman's,' is perhaps more definite, 'nephew's': cp. the *Corpus Glossary* (Hessels) F 318–20: 'Fratuelis. ȝeadulinȝ, suhterȝa, broþorsunu'; and P 104: 'Patruelis. ȝeadulinȝ.'

(viii) ll. 3066 ff.:

Swa wæs Biowulfe, þa he biorȝes weard
sohte, searo-niðas; seolfa ne cuðe,
þurh hwæt his worulde ȝedal weorðan sceolde.
Swa hit oð domes dæȝ diope benemdon
þeodnas mære, þa þæt þær dydon,
þæt se secȝ wære synnum scildiȝ,
herȝum ȝeheaðerod, hellbendum fæst,
wommum ȝewitnad, se ðone wonȝ strude;
næs he ȝoldhwæte ȝearwor hæfde,
aȝendes est ær ȝesceawod.

(*a*) *herȝum ȝeheaðerod* is usually translated 'confined in idol-fanes (-groves),' i.e. 'accursed' [Chambers' and Wyatt, and substantially, Sedgefield], 'shut up in devils'-haunts,' lit. 'heathen-altars' [Clark Hall]; or in some such way. It would be hard, even if we take *hell-bendum* literally, to confine an able-bodied man *in* an altar, or a grove:—and *herȝ* does not properly indicate a builded shrine or temple. Surely the curse is that the robber of the hoard shall be *vargr í véum* = 'wolf in holy places'? [cp. the curse in the *Grettissaga*, ch. 72 (p. 189 of the

'Everyman' translation): 'a vagabond shall he be and a wolf in places where Christians pray and where heathen worship...far shall he dwell from church and Christian men, from the sons of the heathen, from house and cave and from every home, in the torments of Hel.'] I would translate *ȝeheaðerod* not as 'fenced *in*,' but 'fenced *out from*,' just as the Greek εἰργόμενος, according to the context, may bear either meaning. The construction here is with the simple dative, and recalls that of *dyrnan* and *dyrne*. The construction in *Elene* 1276 is with a preposition, '*in nedcleofan nearwe ȝeheaðrod*,' and the word here naturally means 'confined in.'

The word is used in various places in Ælfred's translation of Boëthius; *e.g.* (ed. Sedgefield) xxxix, 5, p. 128, l. 21: 'Ac se ȝodcunda *heaðerað* ealle [ȝesceafta, þæt hi ne moton toslupan of] hiora endebyrdnesse'; XXI. m. p. 49, l. 6: 'swa hæfð se ælmihtiȝa God *ȝeheaðorade* ealle his ȝescefta mid his anwealde þæt heora ælc wind wiþ oðer 7 þeah wræðeð oðer, þæt hi ne moton toslupan..'; XXV, p. 57: 'hu he hi hæfð *ȝeheaðorade* 7 ȝehæfte mid his unanbindenlicū racentū, þæt ælc ȝesceaft biþ healdon locen wiþ hyre ȝecynde..'; etc. Metra xiij, p. 170: 'hafað swa *ȝeheaðorad* heofona wealdend, | utan befanȝen ealla ȝesceafta, ȝeræped mid his racentan, [þæt] hi aredian ne maȝon þæt h[i hi æfre] him of aslepen'; Metra xi. 31, p. 167: 'swa hæfð *ȝeheaðærod* hefonrices weard mid his anwealde ealle ȝesceafta...' etc.

In all these passages the construction is with the simple accusative of the direct object, and the word clearly means 'bind,' 'restrain,' 'confine.' But I see no reason why in a different context, and with a different construction, the word should not mean something different; and the gain to the sense is great, if we interpret the phrase as I suggest.

(*b*) ll. 3074–5. Here the MS. makes little sense, in connection with what goes before; as Dr Chambers says: 'neither Bugge's rendering nor Cosijn's gives very good sense.' We expect a conclusion of the whole matter begun in 3066 (or perhaps in 3058); it seems, therefore, that Chambers' proposed emendation exactly suits the passage: *hie hæfdon*, for *he hæfde*: 'in no wise had these avaricious lords known the grace of the Creator'; i.e. the authors of the spell were heathens, and this is a Christian comment. It would be just possible to keep *hæfde* and read *hi*, taking a plural subject with a singular verb; but it is easier to suppose that an earlier copyist wrote *he* in mistake for *hie*; and that the *hæfdon* was altered, virtuously but wrongly, by a later scribe, in accordance with his notions of the grammar and sense of the line, detached momentarily from its context.

Finally, I suppose that ll. 3058–60 refer to the first hider of the treasure (cf. 2231–41); and that *se siđ ne đah đam*, etc. means: 'his journey was ill-omened, brought ill-luck' (on many folk); for the sense then continues naturally, by giving examples: The watcher slew a few(?) aforetime; then was the feud avenged wrathfully (by B.?) etc.

(ix) l. 1004. MS. *ȝesacan*, in spite of the metrical(?) objection, should be kept: the sense then is: 'gain, for all his striving,' 'in spite of his striving': *ȝesēcan* = 'find,' is weak.

(x) l. 1214. *Heal sweȝe onfenȝ*: i.e. everyone cheered when the collar was given to Beowulf; they were not rudely shouting at the beginning of the queen's speech.

(xi) l. 1342. *sincȝyfan*: is, as Dr Chambers seems to say, Æschere: cf. 1343–4, which make Holthausen's suggestion unnecessary.

(xii) l. 1543. *oferwearp*: 'stumbled' is the easiest interpretation of this word here, and though I know of no O.E. parallel, yet there are many instances of a similar intransitive use of 'overthrow' in M.E.: see the *N.E.D.*; and to its examples we may add *Laud Troy Book* (E.E.T.S.) 8972: 'he was in poynt to overthrowe' (i.e. to fall from his horse); and *ib.* 9290: *Tale of Gamelyn* (Skeat) 512: [Ther was non of hem alle that with his staf mette,] That he ne made him *overthrowe*, and quitte him his dette': and *ib.* 536; 'gerte him in the nekke, that he ouerthrew.'

M.E. Notes.

I. *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight.* (i) l. 477. 'Now sir, heng vp þyn ax, þat hatz in-nogh hewen.' There is here, I think, a double meaning in Arthur's words; the literal command (literally obeyed), and the jesting proverb, used in order to keep up the light tone in which the king has deliberately spoken, in order to calm the affright of the queen and her ladies. Other passages in which the proverb occurs are: *Owl and Nightingale* (Wells) 658: 'Hong up þin ax, nu þu miȝt fare!' i.e. there's nothing for you to do, you have come to the end of your resources; Robert of Gloucester *Chronicle* (1724) 1561: 'Ich mai honge vp min ax, febliche ic abbe agonne': i.e. 'I'm not much good, I may as well give up trying!'; *S.E. Legendary* (E.E.T.S. p. 461) S. Leonard 149–50: 'Fiebleliche habbuth aguonne, Huy miȝhten hangen vp heore Ax and leuen weork, for luyte huy þare wonne'; *'Songs and Carols'* (ed. Dyboski, E.E.T.S., e.s. pp. 129—132): 'When thow hast well doo, hange wp thi hachet': and 'When thou hast well doo, hange vp thy hachet: Cum bene fecisti, sursum suspende securim'; and cp. Wright, *Political Songs* (Camd. Society), p. 223.

(ii) l. 2423. *Mused* has been taken as 'stood in doubt,' 'were perplexed'; or, as a special transferred use of the dialectal [Cum., Yks., Lan.] senses 'dream,' moon about, 'go about listlessly'—'walk,' move, 'live.' The first rendering seems inadequate or even inappropriate, the second forced. I suggest, therefore, the special sense 'were lost in thought of, in gazing at, women.' A frequent particular application of M.E. *musen* and O.F. *muser* [cf. *N.E.D.* and *Godefroy* s.vv.] is to gaze fixedly or lovingly on, to be lost in thought of: and we may note especially the *N.E.D.* instance from the *Knight de la Tour*; and the following: *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (E.E.T.S. p. 47) (of women in general; the subject is 'the lust of the eyes'): 'ofte hy sseawe*þ* and di*ȝ*te*þ* ham *þe* more quaynteliche, and *þe* more honesteliche uor to maki *musi þe* foles to ham'; and *ib.* p. 231 (of Dinah, daughter of Jacob): 'hi yede *muzi* for bysihede uor to ysy *þe* wymen of the contraye huer *þet* hi wes'; Jo. Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopas* (E.E.T.S.) st. cvij, l. 737 (of A. and young knights going up and down in the temple, looking at ladies): 'But with ther mouth they *musyd* one .j., and with ther hert anodyr.'

II. *þe Uox and þe Wolf* (ed. McKnight, 1913, in *M.E. Humorous Tales in Verse*) ll. 289–90. The glossary s. vv. *beten* and *sleten* is wrong here: *bē̆ten* is < O.E. *bǣtan* = ('cause to bite') 'bait,' and *slē̆ten* is < O.E. *slǣtan* = ('cause to tear') 'hunt' (with hounds).

III. *The Owl and the Nightingale* (ed. Wells, 1907):

(i) l. 816. In spite of Wells' note, the context and general run of the lines point to the fox rather than to the cat as the subject: cp. *Chronicon Adæ de Usk* [(c. 1421) ed. Thompson, 1904, p. 88] (Adam's vision, in 1404, of Pope Boniface IX, on the night of the Pope's death): 'apparuit mihi una vulpes, canibus insecuta, et in aqua ramum salicis superexcrescentis in ore pro sui sustentacione tenens, usque ad nares absconsa, et iterum a canibus ibidem explorata, timore quod aquam dimisit et in foueam pro ultimato refugio intrans de cetero disparuit.' Cp. also the story of the fox in the tree, eating cheese, mentioned on p. lvij of McKnight's *op. cit.*; and Neckam *De Nat. Rer.* ii. 125 (R. S. ed. p. 204).

(ii) ll. 961 ff. *For* = 'because of': i.e. 'a man doesn't leave the right way because it happens to be muddy; why should I, then, refuse to sing by the bower, because the privy is near?' The whole course of the argument seems to be against Wells' interpretations.

(iii) l. 1644. *wānst* cannot be < *wēnen*, nor, if it could, is 'thinkest' an appropriate meaning here. *Wānst* is < O.E. *wānian*: i.e. 'thou

lamentest (with yelling and clamour) that thou art...' etc. There are other instances in Text C of O.E. *ā* remaining, especially after *w* (e.g. *wāt* and *wǭt*, p. 98 Wells: and cp. *wāt* in the Nero MS. of the *Ancren Riwle*). The J scribe, or a predecessor, apparently misunderstood *wānst* as *wēnst*, and further, wrote *þinchst* for *þe-*.

IV. *Ancren Riwle* (selection in Morris and Skeat, *Specimens of Early Engl.* i, 113 (1898)) (of the envious in hell, likened to *iuglurs* who make faces): 'heo schulen ham sulf grennen and *niuelen* and makien sur semblaunt...' etc. *Niuelen* here, and in the other passage quoted from *A.R.* 240 in *N.E.D.*, s.v., and in the passage about wrath in *Piers Plowman*, means 'to turn up, wrinkle (in scorn or anger) the nose'; a more fitting meaning than 'to look down-cast,' 'snivel': cp. *Eng. Dial. Dict.* s.v. *Nivel*.

CYRIL BRETT.

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THE USE OF PROSE IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA.

A SUMMARY SKETCH[1].

ENGLISH drama, arising directly out of the services of the Church, was in the first stages of its development a poetic growth, and therefore demanded and secured a poetic expression. But even in the mystery plays, an unrest as to the correct dramatic medium is apparent; a variety of metres is used, with some slight attempt at order in their distribution. Comic characters often do not use the same kind of metre as the other characters, e.g. Mak in the Towneley Shepherds' Play. John Bale in his Mysteries distinguishes between the speeches of good and of evil (= comic) characters by a corresponding change in the length of the lines. In the moralities, the need for such a distinction becomes even more marked; consequently there is great irregularity in the metre. Hesitancy is especially shown in the rendering of the comic passages, where prose would have been used by later writers. There appears to be a twofold development:

(i) the long doggerel line, occasionally unrimed, developing into prose in later drama (e.g. the speeches of Freewill in *Hickscorner*).

(ii) the short rimed line (e.g. Tediousness in Redford's *Wit and Science*), often maintained in later drama in comic passages to accentuate the burlesque nature of the speeches (cf. Peele's *Edward I*).

Henry Medwall's morality of *Nature* contains the first example of dramatic prose; it was probably an accident, and there appears to be no underlying reason for its use.

In the early comedies and tragedies, there is still more confusion; a variety of metres is employed, with greater irregularity in the comic passages. The Senecan influence made for more decorum in style, ultimately ending in the employment of blank verse, but excluding prose; the popular influence, introducing realistic scenes and characters, afforded an opportunity for prose, which was not at first utilised. As the didactic strain in John Heywood's 'mery enterludes' gives way to more realistic

[1] The results here presented have been worked out, discussed, and illustrated in detail in a larger study, by the writer, designed for separate publication.

dialogue, so rime royal is replaced by the couplet, a much more flexible metre. What is most interesting to notice is that in his *Play of the Wether* a proclamation is made in short lines, unlike those of the rest of the play; in later plays this proclamation would have been written in prose, so this substantiates the statement made above that such short lines very often serve the purpose of prose in these early dramas. The 'two prose Bookes' mentioned by Gosson as having been 'plaied at the Belsavage' some time before 1579 must have due attention paid to them. *The Famous Victories of King Henry the Fifth* has been edited by W. C. Hazlitt as a mixture of prose and verse; Ulrici's explanation that the play was originally written in prose, and later chopped into lines to give the appearance of blank verse, is quite feasible. That it was ever written in prose was a literary accident. A different state of affairs appears when we turn to Gascoigne's *Supposes*, a literary experiment, compiled from both the prose version (1509) and the verse one (1529) of Ariosto's *Gli Suppositi*. It was entirely successful, and gave a precedent for the writing of prose dramas, but more especially for using prose *in* drama.

With the 'University Wits' there appears to be a definite development of the use of prose in drama. The stages in this development seem to be clearly defined in the dramas of Peele; those of the other dramatists, which do not appear to fall in with the earlier stages, presuppose them. For instance, Marlowe, accustomed to the use of dramatic prose, strikes out on a line of his own with regard to its use; but these early stages were necessary to his individual use of it.

Lyly devoted himself almost entirely to the prose comedy, following the precedent of Gascoigne, and at the same time utilising his powers as the author of *Euphues*. His one verse play is noticeable in this discussion, because of the prose speeches of Gunophilus the clown, and of Pandora when under the influence of Luna (i.e. when mad).

The use of prose in verse drama is seen in the following stages:—

(i) The first stage, when prose is introduced into a verse drama, is when the speeches of 'inferiors' (i.e. people of low rank) are alone written in prose. These 'inferiors,' it must be noted, are not invariably the comic creations, though generally they chance to be so (cf. *Locrine*, Greene's *James IV*). Occasionally some characters belong to both 'inferiors' and 'superiors' (i.e. people of high rank); then they use both prose and verse, according to the milieu they chance to be in at the time (e.g. the Captain in *Locrine*). 'Superiors' invariably address 'inferiors' in verse.

(ii) The second stage is when 'superiors' use prose in their relations with 'inferiors,' but still verse among themselves (cf. Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*). It should be noticed that in this play, as in many others, the prose is occasionally varied in the speeches of the comic characters by short riming lines. For the most part, 'inferiors' are still the comic creations.

(iii) The third stage—and very important it is—is when 'superiors' use prose for light, humorous conversation among themselves. This usage is first slightly foreshadowed in Peele's *Edward I* (cf. scenes X and XIII), and is very closely bound up with the Shakespearean use of prose. In Greene's *James IV*, prose is used by 'superiors' in their relations with 'inferiors,' except when the feeling or the poetical atmosphere of the scene is suddenly heightened, when a change over into verse takes place.

(iv) The fourth and last stage in pre-Shakespearean drama occurs when 'inferiors' (no longer 'inferior' from the point of view of character interest) vary between prose and verse in their conversations with one another (cf. *A Looking Glasse for London and England*, III, 2 and IV, 5, scenes probably written by Lodge). In the scenes written by Greene in this play, we occasionally come across a reversion to Stage I in the use of prose.

These four stages in the use of prose in verse-dramas are most important; hereafter prose is employed as a matter of course, and varies according to the individual dramatist. Kyd in his *Spanish Tragedy* confines prose to the grimly comic subplot centring around Pedringano (but see the Jonson additions in III, 12a). It may also be noticed that change in character itself is indicated by a movement from prose to verse in Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, V, 4, and Greene's *James IV*, IV, 5. Again, Marlowe uses prose in his own individual way, generally to accentuate the grandeur of the hero at the expense of the commonplaceness of the other characters. Consequently Tamburlaine addresses his captives, his coward son, etc. in prose; prose and verse fluctuate in *Dr Faustus* according to the predominance of Faustus the conjurer or Faustus the daring student and thinker (cf. scene XIV); in *The Jew of Malta*, according to the relations between Barabas and Ithamore and the Pilia-Borsa circle (if these last scenes be Marlowe's). In addition, Marlowe creates 'suggestion scenes' by changes from verse to prose or vice-versa (cf. *Tamburlaine* I, V, 2, and the last scene of *Dr Faustus*).

The conventional uses of prose have already been laid down, and

they hold good both in Shakespearean and in later Elizabethan drama as in pre-Shakespearean. They appear:

(i) in broadly comic passages.

(ii) in all formal documents or proclamations.

(iii) in letters, except where they chance to be lyric in tone.

(iv) in passages where great emotion causes a derangement of the mind, as in madness, etc.

In considering Shakespeare's dramas from this point of view, we find critics who have taken up the study of his use of prose, as well as of the kind of prose he actually used. Delius, in an article *Die Prosa in Shakespeares Dramen* in the 1870 *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, divides Shakespearean prose into a threefold gradation according to its nature, but gives no adequate reasons for its use. He goes much astray when he talks of a prose character 'accommodating' himself to the higher verse tone of others, or of one character 'condescending' to speak to another in prose.

Mr H. Sharpe, in his paper entitled *The Prose in Shakespeare's Plays*, published in the *Transactions of the New Shakspere Society*, XXIV, takes up the subject in England fifteen years later. To a certain degree he follows Delius. He lays down as his strongest rule that uneducated people invariably use prose; and concludes that it is the character who is highest in rank, or who takes the lead in the conversation, who decides the medium of that conversation (cf. his remarks on *Hamlet*). This is all very well for early Elizabethan drama, but it is a fruitless point of view when Shakespearean drama is under consideration.

Janssen, however, in his *Prosa in Shakespeares Dramen* I (Strassburg, 1897), has once and for all analysed the reasons for its use, and stands in sharp contrast to both Delius and Sharpe. He asserts that neither the content of the speech nor the character or rank of the speaker is the regulator, but the 'Stimmung.' All transitions between prose and verse depend on the rise or fall in the temperament of the atmosphere of the scene. His conclusion is that 'Blankvers = leidenschaftliche Bewegung; Prosa = nüchternes Abwarten.' Then he proceeds to a twelvefold classification of occasions on which prose is invariably used. The only fault that can be found with this analysis is the tendency to reduce everything to a mathematical preciseness, and leave no loophole for the variations of the artistic imagination.

In what may be termed post-Shakespearean drama, the use of prose divides the plays into outstanding groups, according to the way in which it is employed. The decline in the use of dramatic prose has set in;

Shakespearean prose was its highest point. The use of prose as part of the dramatic medium in this division of Elizabethan literature centres around:

(i) Character, which division can itself be split into the following three:

(*a*) The use of prose by Jonson in his prose-verse dramas stands quite by itself. In them the prose characters are the basis (we recall Drummond's statement that Jonson always wrote his plays first in prose). There are a few verse characters, who act more or less as the moral censors in the play. Thus the verse centres around the two old men in *Every Man in His Humour*, around Horace and his circle in *The Poetaster*, around Crites and his circle in *Cynthia's Revels*, and so on. These characters use prose when in conversation with the others, except when adopting a censorious attitude, but they invariably speak in verse among themselves. This use of prose might be compared with Stage (ii) in pre-Shakespearean drama, only here character is the determining feature, and not social rank. *The Case is Altered* belongs to the next sub-division. Jonson's two prose comedies lie outside this rule, their farcical nature justifying their construction in prose.

(*b*) In this sub-division the line is not so strictly drawn between prose and verse characters. Here the romantic or sentimental characters use verse, the comic, realistic characters prose. Cf. especially Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, and Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday*.

(*c*) Here may be placed the large bulk of the later Elizabethans, of whom Professor Saintsbury has remarked, 'the verse suggests a sort of shamefaced reflection on the writer's part—"We really *must* pull ourselves together!"—the prose a fit of recklessness—"Oh, this blank verse is really too much trouble; let us prose it for a while."' There are a few purely 'prose' characters, the comic ones; and a very few purely 'verse' characters, the sentimental or romantic ones. The majority use prose and verse quite indiscriminately in general conversation. Where they are consciously designed to be 'realistic,' prose is the rule; and where there is higher emotion, greater dignity, or lyrical feeling to be expressed, there is verse. Under this sub-division may be placed Heywood, Middleton, Marston, Tourneur, much of Dekker and of Ford, Chapman's comedies, and some of the joint work of Beaumont and Fletcher.

(ii) Action.

People who take an active part in the action use verse; those who stand by and watch, or who are comic, as a rule use prose. But when

these latter take a part in the action, then verse is assigned to them. This is closely bound up with the variations in 'Stimmung,' but is much more limited in scope. Under this heading come most of the joint plays of Beaumont and Fletcher (cf. especially *The Maid's Tragedy*, *Philaster*, and *A King and No King*), and Chapman's tragedies.

(iii) 'Stimmung.'

Though here the action of the 'Stimmung' is extremely limited in scope, for the most part centring around one particular character, in reality it depends upon the determining features of divisions (i) and (ii). The fluctuations between prose and verse are used to indicate movement or standstill either in thought or in action, as exemplified in the characters of the dramatis personae themselves. Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* (cf. II, 2 and IV, 1) must be placed in this division, but Webster's two great tragedies are the best examples of this aspect of dramatic prose, where the variations in the medium nearly always centre around either Flamineo or Bosola. (Note especially Flamineo's death-speech, where the continuity of his emotion is cut up by the standstill of his moralising, rendered in prose.)

(iv) Conventional Usages.

These are the same as are found in pre-Shakespearean dramatists, and within this division must be placed the 'silver age' Elizabethans, Massinger, Shirley, and Ford, who prepare the way for the all-verse dramas of the Restoration.

The analysis of the use of prose in Elizabethan drama can only be superficial in an article of this nature, but the main features have been stated in broad outlines. In very many of the plays there occur passages worthy of lengthier discussion, and this fact must be borne in mind in interpreting the results here summarily stated.

It is only in the age of Elizabeth that we get the prose-verse play in all its excellence; only in this supreme age of drama that reality and imagination are so interwoven as to demand a peculiar form of the dramatic medium—a harmonised blending of prose and verse.

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SHAKESPEARE'S REVISION OF 'TITUS ANDRONICUS.'

THE question as to Shakespeare's authorship of *Titus Andronicus* is no new one. On the contrary *Titus* was the first play in the Folio to be challenged as non-Shakespearean. The controversy has been long and bitter, but it cannot be affirmed that the challenge has either been made good or definitely repelled. English criticism, beginning with Theobald and Johnson, and coming down to Fleay, Lee, and Robertson, has on the whole been strongly inclined to acquit Shakespeare; and frequent attempts, by no means successful, have been made to father[1] the play upon one or another of his early contemporaries. German scholars[2], on the other hand, have, as a rule, upheld the Shakespearean authorship of the play and have been somewhat inclined to scoff at English prudery as the prime cause of the reluctance to acknowledge its authenticity. The sneer is undeserved. It is something more than insular prudery which has for centuries impelled the great body of Shakespeare's compatriots instinctively to recoil from this play as something alien to his genius. Such an instinctive, continuous, and national judgment carries weight in itself and must be reckoned with. If we were shut up to a choice between these two alternatives, it is upon the English side that I should range myself. There is however a third possibility, that of a revision more or less thorough, by Shakespeare of an older play, and this solution has been in the main accepted by American[3] scholars. But there is no general agreement as to the nature and amount of this supposed revision.

[1] Fleay assigns it to Marlowe; Grosart to Greene; Robertson in the main to Peele; Greg inclines to Peele; Lee to Kyd with some help from Greene and Peele. It is, perhaps, as a re-action against such assumptions that in recent years a tendency has shown itself in England, represented by Collins, Boas, Crawford, Saintsbury, and others, to pronounce the play a work of Shakespeare's earliest youth when he would naturally be inclined to imitate his predecessors.

[2] So Ulrici, Delius, Kurz, Schröer, and Sarrazin. See also Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, vol. IV, p. 636 ssq. I may note that all the passages quoted by Creizenach to show Shakespeare's authorship occur in scenes which I hope to show were revised by Shakespeare. Creizenach's argument for Shakespeare's authorship, therefore, goes no further than to give evidence of Shakespeare's revision.

[3] This view is not, of course, original in America. It may be said to originate in Ravenscroft's statement, and has been elaborated by H. Morley (*English Writers*, vol. X, p. 45) who assumes *Titus* to be Shakespeare's revision of the old *Titus and Vespacia*, represented by the German *Titus*. But almost all American students of recent years have

It might almost seem as if the problem so long discussed with so little result were insoluble, and, when one considers the slight aesthetic value of the play, one is almost tempted to paraphrase Arthur's words and cry 'good critics, peace! It is not worth this coil that's made for it.' Yet everything about Shakespeare is of interest, and if he actually began his career as a writer of tragedy by such a bloody melodrama as *Titus*, the fact would have real value as enabling us to fix the depth from which he rose. And if the problem has seemed insoluble, it is, perhaps, because it has never been attacked by proper methods nor with the requisite objectivity. It is a patent fact that most students of the play have from the beginning taken sides with a vehemence[1] that has rendered them blind and deaf to testimony which was unfavourable to their opinion. I still believe it possible by an unbiassed consideration of ascertained facts and by the application of the proper tests to arrive at a decision which shall be at least approximately correct.

In the following pages I shall endeavour to show: (1) that *Titus Andronicus* was originally an old, pre-Shakespearean play, dating apparently between 1584 and 1589; (2) that it belonged originally, so far as we know, to the company of actors known as Lord Pembroke's men; (3) that this company parted with it during the autumn of 1593, when they were in financial straits, to Henslowe, the well-known theatre-builder, who acquired it primarily for his son-in-law, the famous actor Alleyn, then on tour in the provinces; (4) that a revised version of this old play was produced at Henslowe's theatre, the Rose, in January 1594, by the Sussex company; (5) that the reviser was none other than Shakespeare and that this revision gave us the play to all intents as we have it to-day; and finally that Shakespeare's revision was superficial, confined to certain scenes, and may be approximately determined by the application of a metrical test, which is confirmed by the evidence of parallel passages from his undoubted works.

Let us begin by reviewing the known facts as to the origin and authorship of *Titus*. It is mentioned for the first time by Henslowe

adopted the theory of a revision. So Fuller (*Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1901), Baker (*Shakespeare's Development*), and Schelling (*Elizabethan Drama*, vol. I, p. 221). Gray (*Flügel Memorial Volume*, 1916) puts forward the curious theory that *Titus* is a very early play by Shakespeare, elaborately revised by Greene and Peele, who inserted most of the horrors.

[1] True even of such a painstaking and valuable study as Robertson's *Did Shakespeare write Titus Andronicus?* His attempt to discredit the external evidence and his neglect or suppression of facts in favour of Shakespeare's authorship are in the manner rather of an advocate than of an impartial judge.

who records the production on Jan. 23, 1593/4, by Sussex's company of *Titus and Ondronicus* as a new play. This somewhat inferior company was at that date playing at the Rose during the absence on tour of the Admiral's and of Lord Strange's men. They gave three performances of *Titus* during their brief stay at the Rose, the last on Feb. 6, after which day the theatre was closed on account of the plague. On the same date, Feb. 6, the play was entered for publication in the Stationers' Registers as the property of John Danter who printed it in the same year for the publishers Edward White and Thomas Millington. The title-page declares that the play had been acted by the companies of Derby, Pembroke, and Sussex. A unique copy of this edition was discovered in Sweden in 1905 and is now in the possession of an American collector. It is to all intents identical[1] with the Q of 1600, the earliest hitherto known, and both agree, except for the omission of a single scene, III, ii, with the text published in the Folio. This fact, along with Henslowe's mention of the play as new in 1594, fixes the composition of the play, in its present form, about the close of 1593, and finally disposes of the theory formerly advanced that it was a work of Shakespeare's extreme youth.

The statement on the title-page of Q_1 that the play had been performed by the companies of Pembroke and Derby as well as by that of Sussex demands consideration. Pembroke's men, as we learn from a letter of Henslowe to Alleyn, dated Sept. 28, 1593 (*vid.* Greg's *Henslowe*, vol. II, p. 104), went on tour in the plague summer of 1593, failed to make their expenses, and returned by September to London where they were forced to pawn their very wardrobe. It is highly probable that in this time of distress they also parted with a considerable portion of their repertoire; four plays, among them the old *Shrew*, the *True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York* (*III King Henry VI*) and *Edward II*, were published in 1594–5 with the statement that they had been acted by Pembroke's men. Reasoning by analogy it is a fair assumption that the original *Titus* belonged to them, that they sold it about this time, and that the 'new' *Titus* performed at the Rose in January 1593/4 was a revision of this old piece.

But *Titus* had also been played by Lord Derby's men. This was the title borne by Shakespeare's company for a brief period from Sept. 25, 1593, when their patron, Lord Strange, became Earl of Derby, to April, 1594, when he died. During this time they were on tour in the provinces accompanied by Alleyn, and it can only have been

[1] See the collation by Keller of the Qq in *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, vol. XLI.

during this period that *Titus* was performed by Derby's men. It seems likely that Alleyn secured through Henslowe a stage-copy of the play from the bankrupt company of Pembroke.

Sometime after this company had returned to London in the spring of 1594, they opened at the suburban theatre of Newington Butts, under the title of the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, playing there for a fortnight in conjunction with the Admiral's men. It is an interesting fact that they produced during this time four plays, none of them new, not one of which appears to have been in their earlier repertoire (Greg, *Henslowe*, vol. II, p. 85). Two of these were the *Shrew* and *Titus*, both old Pembroke plays, and both later to appear in the Folio as Shakespeare's. Apart from Henslowe's record of this performance of *Titus*, we have the testimony of Q_2 (1600) which adds on its title-page the name of the Lord Chamberlain's men to those of Pembroke, Sussex, and Derby. The play disappears from Henslowe's diary after the joint season of the Chamberlain's and the Admiral's men at Newington Butts, and appears henceforth as a Chamberlain's play, attributed by Meres and the Folio to Shakespeare. His company must have obtained full possession of it before June, 1594.

The early history of the play would now seem to be clear. It must have originally belonged to Pembroke's men and was, perhaps, performed by them as early as 1589. Jonson's reference in 1614 (*Bartholomew Fair, Induction*) to this play and to the *Spanish Tragedy* as some twenty-five or thirty years old fixes the date roughly about this time. They must have sold it in the autumn of 1593 to Henslowe, who sent a copy to Alleyn, who in turn produced it while travelling with Derby's (i.e. Lord Strange's) company. Meanwhile Henslowe must have put a copy into the hands of a playwright for revision, and it was this version which was produced as a new play in January 1593/4 by Sussex's[1] company, and shortly afterwards (Feb. 6) was entered in

[1] I am glad to say that most of this history of the play is in accord with the statements of Dr Greg in his invaluable edition of Henslowe. He does not, however, believe (vol. II, p. 161) that Henslowe lent his copy of *Titus* to the Sussex company. One always hesitates to differ from Dr Greg on matters of Elizabethan theatrical history, but in this case the evidence against him seems to me convincing. So far as we know the Sussex company could only have obtained a copy of the Pembroke *Titus* from Henslowe in whose theatre they produced it. That they produced a revised and not the old form is proved by Henslowe's marginal note, *ne*, against his record of the first performance at the Rose. We have further the statement of Q_1 that the play there printed, essentially the same as that appearing in F. as by Shakespeare and therefore presenting the revised and not the original form, had been played by the Sussex company. Greg assumes that there were two copies of the Pembroke *Titus*, one used in its original form for the production at the Rose, the other produced by Alleyn and Derby's men on tour and later revised by Shakespeare. He does not make clear at what date he supposes Shakespeare to have revised this copy; it must, however, have been done sometime before the Chamberlain's

the Stationers' Register by the printer to whom Henslowe had sold it on learning that the Rose was once more to be closed because of the plague.

Titus Andronicus, then, has been shown to be an old play of the period 1584–9, revised, produced by Shakespeare's company, and published in its revised form in 1594. Who was the reviser? The external evidence that it was Shakespeare is, or should be, convincing. Meres mentions it as Shakespeare's as early as 1598, and Hemmings and Condell included it in the Folio in 1623. To impugn such testimony is simply to do away with all historical evidence. Meres seems to have had good sources of information as to Shakespeare's work. His famous list of twelve plays includes all that can by any possibility be conjectured as in existence before 1598. Half of the plays in this list were not in print when Meres' book was entered for publication, Sept. 7, 1598, so that he could only have learned of their authorship from Shakespeare himself or from Shakespeare's friends. That he was acquainted with these friends seems plain from his mention of Shakespeare's sonnets 'among his private friends,' i.e. circulating in MS. among Shakespeare's intimates; they were not printed till 1607. Meres omits mention of the *Henry VI* trilogy, possibly because he knew that Shakespeare's share in these plays was small, and he includes a comedy, *Love's Labors Won*, which is non-existent under that name, but which has been identified both with the *Shrew* and *All's Well*. Apart from this omission and this addition, both easily accounted for, Meres' list is both complete and correct.

The evidence of the Folio is even more convincing. The copy

men performed *Titus* at Newington, on June 5, 1594. Otherwise the title-page of Q_1 would certainly have added the name of this company to those of Pembroke, Sussex, and Derby, as Q_2 does. In other words on Greg's theory we must suppose that the Sussex company produced the old play, that this old play was marked as new by Henslowe, that Henslowe sold a copy of this old play to Danter, and that later, but before June 5, a copy of the revised form was transmitted to Danter, who gave it to his compositors as copy, for we must always bear in mind that Q_1, corresponding as it does to F_1, presents the revised form. Frankly this seems to me most unlikely. In these cases we ought always to accept the simpler hypothesis, and it seems to me much simpler to assume that Henslowe on securing the Pembroke play turned it over at once to a reviser, sent a copy of this revision to Alleyn, who produced it with Derby's men on tour, and also lent a copy of the same revision to the Sussex company. It would be this Sussex copy which Henslowe later sold to Danter for publication. The only objection to this theory, I think, is Greg's statement that Henslowe was not in the habit of lending plays to companies occupying his theatre temporarily. This may be true, and yet under the exceptional circumstances Henslowe may well have departed from his usual custom. His theatre had long been closed on account of the plague. The permission to re-open for the Christmas holidays of 1593–4 was likely to be revoked at any time; as a matter of fact the theatre was closed after six weeks. Henslowe was, no doubt, anxious to make as much money as possible during this brief season. If a new version of a popular old play would draw crowds to the Rose and put money in his purse, why should he not lend it to the Sussex company for a season? That the new *Titus* did draw is shown by the fact that by the three performances Henslowe netted £7—8, a larger sum than that brought in by any other play in this season.

for this collection of plays was furnished by Hemmings and Condell, Shakespeare's old friends and associates. They had acted along with him for years in the plays which he had written for their company, and if any men alive in 1623 knew what plays Shakespeare had written they were the men. It may be noted that they had both belonged to the Strange-Derby-Chamberlain company, and had therefore presumably acted in this very play of *Titus*. Waiving for a moment the authenticity of this play, it may be noted that they did not include in the Folio a single play in which Shakespeare did not have at least the final hand. If they had wished to attribute famous and popular plays to their old fellow, they might have included the anonymous *Mucedorus*, so popular that eight editions had been printed between 1598 and 1623, or the anonymous *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, mentioned by Ben Jonson (*The Devil is an Ass, Induction*) as the 'dear delight' of the public in his day. Both these plays belonged to their company and both were ascribed to Shakespeare as early as the reign of Charles II (Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 76). They even omitted from the Folio three plays, *Sir Thomas More*, *Pericles*, and *Two Noble Kinsmen*, in which it is now either known or positively asserted that Shakespeare had a hand. It would appear that they were, if anything, over-scrupulous in assigning plays to their dead friend. The Folio, then, is a fairly complete and quite authentic collection, and this would naturally be the strongest possible external evidence for Shakespeare's authorship of *Titus*.

'Authorship,' however, in Elizabethan days had by no means the same strict and sharply defined meaning that it has with us; and it is an established fact that Hemmings and Condell, although perfectly informed and laudably scrupulous, were by no means discriminating or analytic critics of the plays they published as Shakespeare's. 'Authorship' for them meant, we may well suppose, that Shakespeare had turned over a copy of a play to their company in his own unblotted hand-writing. Whether the play in question was founded on an older one, like *Hamlet* or *King Lear*, whether it was a revision complete or partial, like those of *King John* and the *Henry VI* plays, whether it was a work of collaboration, like the *Shrew* or *Henry VIII*, or finally whether it was the original invention and composition of Shakespeare, like *Macbeth* and *The Tempest*, mattered not at all to them. It is quite clear, therefore, that the inclusion of *Titus*, as of any other play, in F. does mean that the editors considered it in its existing form the work of Shakespeare and that it does not imply either the original or the sole authorship of Shakespeare. In other words their testimony proves at

least that Shakespeare was the reviser[1] of *Titus* and proves nothing more. We may take it then, I think, as definitely established that Shakespeare did not write the original play of 1584–9 and that he did revise the play as it was printed in 1594, and, with the addition of one scene and a few verbal changes, reprinted as his in the Folio. This conclusion receives some additional support from the statement of Ravenscroft who rewrote *Titus* for the Restoration stage. Ravenscroft asserted in the preface to his *Titus* (1687) that he had heard 'from some anciently conversant with the stage that it was not originally his (Shakespeare's) but brought by a private author to be acted, and he only gave some master-touches to one or two of the principal characters.' This statement has been somewhat contemptuously rejected by advocates of the Shakespearean authorship, and indeed it is not of decisive value. The reference to the supposed 'private author' is a genuine Restoration touch. Ravenscroft evidently supposes that counterparts of the Restoration mob of 'gentlemen who wrote with ease' existed in Shakespeare's day. But his statement shows at least that there was in 1687 a theatrical tradition, possibly handed down by Davenant, that Shakespeare was the reviser rather than the author of *Titus*[2].

It has been objected that, inasmuch as Shakespeare is not known to have ever written for any company but his own, the mere fact that *Titus* was performed by the Pembroke and the Sussex companies precludes his authorship. It does not, however, preclude his revision, and he is known to have revised one old Pembroke play, the *Shrew*, for his own company. I would also suggest that his revision of the old *Titus* was not primarily for the Sussex company, but for his own, then on

[1] The same may probably be asserted of the testimony of Meres. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for him to distinguish in every case between original work and revision. His exclusion of the *Henry VI* plays shows apparently that he knew that they were not originally by Shakespeare. On the other hand he includes *John*, although the old play which Shakespeare rewrote was in print before 1598.

[2] I have omitted in this paper all discussion of the lost play *Titus and Vespacia* (Vespasian) produced by Strange's men as a new play on April 11, 1591/2, and given ten times before January, 1593. It has been assumed that this was an earlier version of *Titus*, but there is no evidence whatever for this except the fact that a late and corrupt German version of *Titus* (1620) gives the name of Vespasianus to the character who appears as Lucius in our play. This may be a mere coincidence; many names are changed in the German play, and Lucius, the son of Titus, may have become Vespasianus in it by association of ideas, as his sister Lavinia becomes Andronica. Lee, Sarrazin, and Brandl take the German play to represent the lost *Titus and Vespacia*; Verity, Herford, and Creizenach oppose this view, and hold that the lost play may well have treated the popular subject of the siege of Jerusalem. Even if it were an older version of *Titus*, however, we should not be entitled to draw any inferences from this fact as to Shakespeare's authorship or revision of the present form. The whole matter has been elaborately and ingeniously discussed by Fuller (*Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1901). His conclusion that Shakespeare wrote 'every line of the play as we now have it' seems to me quite untenable.

tour. Possibly Alleyn, who had starred in the part of Barabas, wished some additions made to the somewhat similar part of Aaron which he presumably took in this play. The reasons for Henslowe's lending this revision to the Sussex company have already been discussed in note 1, p. 19.

Taking, then, Shakespeare's revision of the old *Titus* as practically proved, it remains to discuss the nature of his revision, and to determine, if possible, his additions to the old play. We may note in the first place that the revision must have been a somewhat hasty one. The Pembroke play cannot have been in Henslowe's hands at the time of his letter to Alleyn, Sept. 28, 1593; more likely it was secured by him on the suggestion of Alleyn in a reply to this letter. Allowing for the time necessary for the actors to learn their parts before the first performance, Jan. 23, 1594, we should have a period of two months or so at most; and it seems probable that at the time of his revision of *Titus* Shakespeare was engaged on *The Rape of Lucrece*, entered on the Stationers' Register May 9, 1594. Secondly the revision was probably superficial and did not touch the structure of the old play. On the face of it *Titus* is a melodrama of the pre-Shakespearean school; if Shakespeare had treated his original with the same freedom with which he re-wrote *King John* or re-made Kyd's *Hamlet*, the existing play would have been a very different thing. And, further, the old *Titus* was a highly popular[1] play which did not call for any thorough revision. All that was needed was a smartening up of the dialogue and the addition of 'some master touches to the principal characters.'

Is it then possible for us to determine the Shakespearean additions to the old play? It is, I believe, to a large extent, if only we pursue the right methods. We may start from the fact that Shakespeare was from the first a poet and assume that whatever he added to *Titus* must possess poetic[2] value. But it is manifestly absurd to go over the play and mark all that seems poetical as the work of Shakespeare. This has, in fact, been done with disastrous results. A passage claimed for Shakespeare by so good a judge of poetry as Coleridge (v, ii, 20—60)

[1] Its popularity is shown by Jonson's reference. If *Titus and Vespacia* were really an old form of our play, its record of ten performances would be further evidence of its popularity.

[2] I lay less stress upon dramatic values; in the first place because Shakespeare's dramatic genius was less developed in 1593 than his poetic; in the second, because the popular old play must have possessed a certain dramatic value of its own. Yet I believe there are certain scenes of low poetic worth which Shakespeare touched up to gain certain dramatic effects. As we do not possess the old play any argument along this line seems to me futile.

opens with a group of lines that have an exact parallel in the old play, *Selimus* (ca. 1588), and another passage (II, ii, 1—10) often cited as Shakespearean echoes both the diction and cadence of certain lines in a play signed by Peele (*Old Wives' Tale*, l. 350 seq.).

The ability to write pleasing verse was shared by Shakespeare with most of the playwrights of his day. What most sharply distinguishes his early work from that of his predecessors is the combined ease and power with which he handles their common medium, blank verse. There is no quicker or more certain way to note his superiority than to mark the proportional use of the feminine ending by Shakespeare and his predecessors. I need spend no time in defending this test against the charge of being merely mechanical. It is acknowledged by all students of Elizabethan drama that the steadily increasing use of the feminine ending marks a steadily increasing mastery[1] of blank verse for the purpose of dramatic expression. Shakespeare was not the first dramatist to make use of this device for breaking up the monotony of the old blank verse, but from the very first he quite outranked all his predecessors in the frequency with which he employed it. Some interesting figures on this point are given by Gray (*Flügel Memorial*). Thus Greene hardly uses the feminine ending at all; only three cases occur in his *Alphonsus*, ten in his *James IV*. Peele shows a freer use, progressing from ·033 per cent. in *Old Wives* to 2·2 per cent. in *Alcazar*. Marlowe goes still further from 2 per cent. in *Faustus* to 3·8 per cent. in *Edward II*. Kyd is archaic; according to Robertson there are not ten clear cases in all the *Spanish Tragedy*. But no play of Shakespeare's falls below 5 per cent.[2] That is to say Shakespeare's minimum exceeds the maximum of his predecessors.

Now the percentage of feminine endings in *Titus* taken as a whole is 8 per cent., manifestly too high a figure for any of Shakespeare's early rivals; whereas if we consider the percentages in a group of Shakespeare's plays dating from about the time of his revision of *Titus*, we get a range from 6·3 in *John* to 15·5 in *Richard III*[3]; *Romeo and Juliet* has 8·2; *Richard II*[4] 11 per cent. When we are examining a play, however, where there is a question of more hands than one, we must not stop with ascertaining the total percentage of feminine endings, but

[1] See an interesting statement of Shakespeare's use of the feminine ending in D. L. Chambers' *Metre of Macbeth*, pp. 44 seq.

[2] I use here and elsewhere the figures of König (*Der Vers Shakespeares*); Gray gives 4 per cent. for *King John*.

[3] I cite Fleay's figures for Q_1; the revised F. text has 19+.

[4] Gray's figures are usually lower, based upon stricter counting than König's; *John* 4, *Rich. III* 17, *Rich. II* 10, *R. & J.* 9 per cent. The difference is not essential.

must test it by acts and scenes. When we do this with *Titus* we get some illuminating results. I append a table showing the percentages of feminine endings in each scene, and I may say that I have checked my count by that of Fleay and find a fairly close correspondence, except in IV, 2, where his impossible figure of twenty-seven instances is probably a misprint for seventeen; I count sixteen. The curious discrepancy of the figures forces itself upon our notice. Exactly half the scenes show a low percentage running from about 2·3 to about 6·5 per cent.; the other half a high percentage running from about 8 to nearly 21 per cent., figures corresponding fairly closely to the range previously noted in a group of Shakespeare's plays dating from about this time. Shakespeare's additions to the old *Titus*, we may surmise, are to be looked for in this second set of scenes.

Let us examine the play in detail, using the test of parallels in thought and diction to confirm the hypothesis suggested by the metrical test.

The long scene which constitutes the first act has about 3·6 per cent. of feminine endings. Its structural likeness to the opening scene of Peele's *Edward I* has been pointed out by Sarrazin (*Lehrjahre*, p. 47). It contains numerous clear parallels to the known works of Peele, most of which have been pointed out by Robertson[1] (pp. 64 seq.); per contra it does not contain a single clear and convincing parallel to any of Shakespeare's plays, though he may have recalled l. 9 when writing Antony's address to the Romans, and seems to have transformed Lavinia's *tributary tears*, l. 159, into Juliet's *tributary drops* (*R. & J.*, III, ii, 103). There are two classical allusions (one to Hecuba's murder of Polymnestor, ll. 136—8, the other to the burial of Ajax, l. 379) which are drawn directly from plays by Euripides and Sophocles presumably known to Peele[2], but as Root has shown (*Classical Mythology in Shakespeare*, pp. 5—6) apparently outside Shakespeare's range of reading. And finally the act is written throughout in verse of a deadly monotony rising at best to a somewhat stilted rhetoric, as in the address of Titus to his dead sons, and sinking again and again to such utter bathos as

> Ascend, fair Queen, Pantheon. Lords, accompany
> Your noble emperor and his lovely bride,
> Sent by the heavens for Prince Saturnine,
> Whose wisdom hath her fortune conquered:
> There shall we consummate our spousal rites. (ll. 333—7.)

[1] Note especially the *palliament of white and spotless hue*, l. 182, and cf. *a Roman palliament* and *weeds of spotless white*, *Like those that stood for Rome's great offices*; *Honour of the Garter*, l. 92 and ll. 314—5.

[2] See Robertson, pp. 225 seq., who aptly suggests that the idea of a human sacrifice *ad manes* in *Titus* may be derived from the *Hecuba* of Euripides.

Though one rose from the dead to persuade us, no ear trained to the music of Shakespeare's verse could accept such lines as his, and the act is full of such lines. For my part I cannot find a single trace of Shakespeare's hand in the whole act; a possible parallel in ll. 116—9 to Portia's

> earthly power doth then show likest God's
> When mercy seasons justice

is a common-place[1] going back to Seneca and Cicero and appearing in other Elizabethans besides Shakespeare; the cadence of the two passages, moreover, is absolutely different.

If no trace of Shakespeare can be found in this act, we get a complete and satisfactory answer to the theories of Gray and Fuller. Gray assigns all the first act, with the exception of ll. 276—390 (the seizure of Lavinia and the killing of Mutius), to Shakespeare. But it will appear as we go on that this first act is precisely the least Shakespearean in metre and diction of the whole play. Fuller holds that *Titus* is a deft 'contamination' of the two old plays, *Titus and Vespacia* and *Titus Andronicus*. If so the adapter—Shakespeare according to Fuller—would naturally have had peculiar difficulty at the beginning, where he had to blend two openings into one, and would have almost necessarily been forced to write a considerable amount of new matter. But of such new Shakespearean verse there is, *me judice*, no trace at all. I think we may fairly assume that Shakespeare thought the old first act was good enough to stand as far as action goes—it is indeed capital melodrama of the old school of blood—and that he lacked time or interest to transmute its banal phrasing into poetry.

The case for Shakespeare is little better in the first scene of Act II, where the percentage of feminine endings drops to 2·3 +. It opens with a tirade which is packed with echoes of Peele (see Robertson pp. 67, seq.) and closes with a misquotation from Seneca[2] (*Hipp.* l. 1180) such as Shakespeare, apart from *Titus*, never makes. The lines

> She is a woman therefore may be wooed,
> She is a woman therefore may be won (ll. 82—3.)

often cited as Shakespeare's on the strength of parallels in 1 *King Henry VI* (v, iii, 77—8) and *Richard III* (I, ii, 228—9) are an old tag from Greene (see Robertson, p. 35). Robertson (p. 173) is inclined to ascribe the scene as a whole to Greene, and indeed there is no other

[1] See my note on a passage in Chapman: *Chapman's Tragedies*, p. 680.

[2] Cunliffe (*Influence of Seneca*) holds that apart from *Titus* it is quite uncertain whether Shakespeare knew Seneca at first hand. The Senecan passages in *Titus* seem to him to be by Shakespeare.

scene in the play which contains so many reminiscences of that author. If there be anything of Shakespeare's in this scene, it is the group of lines from 81 to 98, including the echo from Greene quoted above, the characteristically Shakespearean reference to poaching and the *double entendre* in the phrase *hit it*, with which cf. *L. L. L.* IV, i, 120—30. But I would not go to the stake even for this passage as authentically Shakespeare's.

The short second scene, 26 lines, shows but one feminine ending. It opens with a passage often ascribed to Shakespeare:

> The hunt is up, the morn is bright and grey,
> The fields are fragrant, and the woods are green.

As Robertson has shown this is exactly in the diction and the cadence of Peele; cf.

> The day is clear, the welkin bright and grey,
> The lark is merry and records her notes.
> (*Old Wives*, ll. 350—1.)

We hear in this scene of dogs that can rouse the panther and 'climb the highest promontory top.' The panther is not a beast of chase with Shakespeare; in fact, so far as the concordance shows, he was ignorant of that animal's existence; and he certainly knew too much of hunting dogs (see *Midsummer Night's Dream* and the *Induction* to *Taming of the Shrew*) to represent them as scaling promontories. The scene is, I think, entirely un-Shakespearean.

The third scene of this act is of other stuff. Here for the first time we find a percentage, 11 + per cent., that falls within the Shakespearean limits already noted. The scene is one of the most repulsive in the play, but it is also one of the most dramatic. No other situation approaches the high tension and vivid realism of that in which Lavinia pleads in vain for the honour dearer to her than life to the deaf ears of Tamora and her brutal sons. Here if anywhere we might expect to find Shakespeare's interest kindled and his hand appearing. The absurd plot of the bag of gold and the letter probably comes from the old play, but we find Shakespeare's hand in the first speech of Tamora. It contains two unmistakeable parallels to *Venus and Adonis*; cf.

> And, whilst the babbling echo mocks the hounds,
> Replying shrilly to the well-tuned horns,
> As if a double hunt were heard at once

with

> Thus do they [the hounds] spend their mouths: Echo replies,
> As if another chase were in the skies (*V. & A.*, 695—6.)

and

> Whiles hounds and horns and sweet melodious birds
> Be unto us as in a nurse's song
> Of lullaby to bring her babe asleep

with

> By this, far off she hears some huntsman hollo;
> A nurse's song ne'er pleas'd her babe so well. (*V. & A.* l. 973-4.)

Both these passages contain an illustration drawn from the chase, which as Madden (*Diary of Master Silence*) has shown is one of the distinguishing marks of Shakespeare. L. 13, *the snake lies rolled*, presents a close parallel to 2 *Hen. VI*, III, i, 228, a passage added by Shakespeare in revision. The scolding match between Tamora on the one side and Bassianus and Lavinia on the other has been repeatedly denounced as un-Shakespearean. It is not a pleasing bit, but it is dramatically appropriate, and is far livelier in movement than anything in Act I. The word *Cimmerian* does not occur elsewhere in Shakespeare, but it does appear, with a corresponding epithet, *swart*, in one of his favourite books, Golding's *Metamorphoses* (XI, 592). Tamora's long speech (91—115) is probably a remnant of the old play; her description of the *barren vale* finds a close parallel in Peele (*Alcazar*, II, iii, 7). The vigorous dramatic dialogue, ll. 116—186, must represent a fairly thorough re-writing by Shakespeare of the original. Peele or Greene would have made it far more rhetorical and adorned Lavinia's plea with a proper number of classical allusions. Shakespeare's Lavinia speaks from her heart:

> O, be to me, though thy hard heart say no,
> Nothing so kind, but something pitiful!
> . . . . . .
> O Tamora, be call'd a gentle queen,
> And with thine own hands kill me in this place!
> . . . . . .
> No grace? No womanhood? Ah, beastly creature!
> The blot and enemy to our general name!
> Confusion fall—

In the Quintus and Martius episode which follows Shakespeare's hand is less clearly visible, but he seems to have touched it up here and there; ll. 199—201 parallel two passages in *Venus and Adonis*, cf.

> rude-growing briars,
> Upon whose leaves are drops of new-shed blood
> As fresh as morning dew distill'd on flowers

with

> Whose blood upon the fresh flowers being shed,
> Doth make them droop with grief (*V. & A.*, 665—6.)

and

> No flower was nigh, no grass, herb, leaf, or weed,
> But stole his blood and seem'd with him to bleed.
> (*V. & A.*, 1055—6.)

In both play and poem the reference is to the blood of a newly slain victim staining the plants near by, and the similarity of diction between the lines in *Titus* and the first passage from the poem can hardly be accidental. The speech of Martius (ll. 226—236) has, I think, been touched by Shakespeare; the Pyramus allusion is exactly in the manner of the famous passage at the beginning of the last act of *The Merchant of Venice*. After this I find nothing of Shakespeare to the close of the scene.

The fourth scene contains three feminine endings. All these occur in the speech of Marcus, where Shakespeare's hand is plainly visible. It contains two Shakespearean parallels; cf.

> Sorrow concealed, like an oven stopp'd,
> Doth burn the heart to cinders where it is

with

> An oven that is stopp'd, or river stay'd,
> Burneth more hotly, swelleth with more rage:
> So of concealed sorrow may be said (*V. & A.*, 331—3.)

—a much closer parallel, by the way, than those which Robertson, p. 104, adduces from Greene—; cf. also the conceit of the lute-strings kissing Lavinia's hands with a like conceit in the *Sonnets* (CXXVIII), where the *jacks* are said to *kiss the tender inward* of a lady's hand. The classical allusions are quite in Shakespeare's manner; Philomel and Tereus appear in the *Rape of Lucrece* (1593—4); and ll. 552—3 of that poem present a close parallel to ll. 48—51 of this scene. In the poem Lucrece pleads with her would-be ravisher and

> his unhallow'd haste her words delays,
> And moody Pluto winks [sleeps] while Orpheus plays.

In the play Marcus says of Lavinia's ravisher that, if he had heard the harmony of her tongue, he would have been charmed to sleep *as Cerberus at the Thracian poet's feet.* We have here something more convincing than mere verbal parallels. If these are needed, however, there is a very close one[1] between ll. 22—4 and *Lucrece*, ll. 1734—8; cf.

> Alas, a crimson river of warm blood,
> Like to a bubbling fountain stirr'd with wind,
> Doth rise and fall between thy roséd lips

with

> from the purple fountain [Lucretia's wound] Brutus drew
> The murderous knife, and, as it left the place,
> Her blood, in poor revenge, held it in chase;
> And bubbling from her breast, it doth divide
> In two slow rivers, that the crimson blood
> Circles her body.

[1] With *Titan's blushing face* (ll. 31—2) cf. *Titan's burning eye* (*V. & A.*, 177—8).

Robertson (p. 215) pronounces ll. 54—5 'a fatuity'; I find an even more exaggerated conceit in *Lucrece*, ll. 1217—8.

The whole speech, in fact, is a sort of epitome of *Lucrece*, a poetizing and decorating with picturesque conceits of the brutal fact of bodily outrage. It may not suit the severer taste of our day, but it is eminently characteristic of the young Shakespeare. So, too, is the movement of the verse in this speech. It would be hard, perhaps impossible, to find in the work of any of Shakespeare's predecessors such a verse-period as ll. 16—21.

The first scene of Act III presents a difficult problem. The percentage of feminine endings (6·4) is rather low for Shakespeare, but we have found his work in the preceding scene where it is even lower. I find two hands at work in this scene, one writing the old rant of revenge, the other poetizing and at times even sentimentalizing. Examine, for instance, the passage beginning l. 65. The first lines (65—80) are plainly in the old style; the new note begins with the characteristically Shakespearean play on words in ll. 89—91. Shakespeare may have touched up the first speech of Titus; the conceit that pictures the thirsty earth appeased with rain of tears instead of blood seems to me his—cf. the conceit of writing sorrow on the earth with tears, *Rich. II*, III, ii, 146—7. Possibly the broken line 36 marks the beginning of another addition. The phrase, *engine of her thoughts*[1], l. 82, applied to a lady's tongue, reappears in *V. & A.*, l. 367. Apropos of the phrase, *pleasing eloquence*, l. 83, it may be noted that Shakespeare in his early plays seems fond of rounding out a line with *eloquence*, preceded by an appropriate epithet. Thus we have *aged eloquence* (*Two Gentlemen*, III, i, 83), *audacious eloquence* (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, i, 103), *piercing eloquence* (*Shrew*, II, i, 177), and *heavenly eloquence* (*R. & J.*, III, ii, 33). The reference to the *wounded deer*, l. 91, with its play on words seems to me characteristic of Shakespeare; Titus's comparison of himself to *one upon a rock* (ll. 93—7) is even more so; and the weeping-match proposed by Titus, ll. 122 seq., has a parallel in that suggested by Richard (*Rich. II*, III, iii, 164 seq.). With the entrance of Aaron, l. 150, this sentimentalizing stops and we get the old style again until his exit, l. 206, where, I think, Shakespeare's hand re-appears in the lament of Titus. The elaborate comparison between mortal grief and the wind-vexed sea finds a parallel, even more elaborately worked out, in *R. & J.*,

[1] Robertson, p. 37, promises to show a like phrase in Peele; but so far as I can find he has not done so. The word *engine* occurs, so far as I have noted, only twice in Peele, *Tale of Troy*, l. 409, and *Bethsabe*, sc. xv, l. 182. Neither case is at all like the *Titus* passage.

III, v, 132 seq. The ugly figure of vomiting woes like a drunkard may be matched with a line from *Lucrece* (l. 703),

Drunken Desire must vomit his receipt.

A possible insertion in the old work runs from l. 245 to l. 253, ending with the fine dramatic phrase,

When will this fearful slumber have an end?

The *starved snake* (l. 252) re-appears in 2 *Hen. VI*, III, i, 343, a Shakespearean passage. After this we have mainly[1] old-fashioned rant, till the scene closes with the grotesque exit of Lavinia, carrying her father's hand in her mouth like a well-trained dog. We may with clear conscience acquit Shakespeare of this absurdity.

The second scene of this act was printed for the first time in F_1. It may have been omitted from the play-house copy furnished to the first printer as not contributing to further the action, or it may have been added by Shakespeare after the appearance of Q_1. The 11 + per cent. of feminine endings suggests his hand, and I find traces of it throughout the scene. The old rant disappears; the Shakespearean pathos, too often expressed in fantastic conceits, as in *Lucrece*, *R. II* and *R. & J.*, takes its place. The *sorrow wreathen knot* (l. 4) finds a parallel, not only in *Tempest* (I, ii, 224), *his arms in this sad knot*, but also in *Lucrece* (l. 1662),

With sad set eyes and wretched arms across,

and a more distant one in the *Shrew* (v, ii, 136),

unknit that threatening unkind brow.

The *map of woe* (l. 12) is a commonplace phrase, but has a parallel in *Lucrece* (l. 402). The fantastic advice to Lavinia to get a little knife between her teeth and make a hole against her heart is hardly more absurd than Lucretia's proposal to imitate the nightingale singing against a thorn by fixing a sharp knife against her heart (ll. 1135—8); both ladies, it will be noted, have the same cause for sorrow. The frequent word-play springing from high emotional tension may be matched over and over in *Rich. II* (see II, i, 74) and *R. & J.* (see III, iii, 41). Robertson denounces as 'crude' the lines

She drinks no other drink but tears,
Brew'd with her sorrow, mesh'd upon her cheeks. (ll. 37—8.)

The conceit in *Lucrece* (l. 1592) seems even cruder:

Her eyes, though sod in tears, look'd red and raw.

[1] But cf. III, i, 268—70, with *Rich. III*, I, ii, 164—7.

The episode of the *poor harmless fly* is too fancifully pathetic for any one but Shakespeare; and the scene closes with an exact parallel to *Rich. II*, III, ii, 155—6, cf.

> I'll to thy closet; and go read with thee
> Sad stories chanced in the times of old

with

> For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground
> And tell sad stories of the death of kings.

The similarity is not merely in the words and the cadence, but in the fact that in both cases *sad stories* are mentioned as a consolation for sorrow—*similia similibus*. There is nothing of the sort in the lines from Peele (*Old Wives*, 182—3) which Robertson adduces as a set-off.

In the first scene of Act IV the percentage drops to about 2½. This does not suggest Shakespeare, and, as a matter of fact, we find an almost total disappearance of his sentiment and poetry and a recrudescence of the old rant. Like II, i, it contains a misquotation from Seneca (ll. 81—2, see *Hipp.*, ll. 679—80). The only possible passage where Shakespeare's hand is suggested is ll. 51—4, where the momentary touch of pathos and the accumulation[1] of epithets in l. 54 seem somewhat in his style.

In the next scene, IV, ii, the percentage rises to over 9½. As a whole the scene cannot be Shakespeare's, but there is little doubt that he retouched it. The bugaboo Aaron of the old play (and the second act) becomes here a very human character with a dash of grim humour and a touch of paternal pride that go far to redeem him from utter and impossible villainy. I have not been able to find many Shakespearean parallels[2] in this scene. There is no opportunity here for the fanciful conceits of earlier and more pathetic scenes, but I would point out that the line

> But let her rest in her unrest awhile

which Robertson cites to show Kyd's hand in this scene has a close parallel in *Rich. III*, IV, iv, 29,

> Rest thy unrest on England's lawful shore.

If Shakespeare borrowed the phrase once from Kyd, he may have done so again, and that he did not disdain to borrow from Kyd is shown by the whole play of *Hamlet*. But the main argument as to Shakespeare's revision of this scene depends upon the metre and diction. It is easy

[1] See Sarrazin, *Lehrjahre*, p. 76.

[2] Sarrazin (*Lehrjahre*, p. 64) compares l. 98 with 2 *Hen. VI*, III, ii, 81, a Shakespearean addition.

to distinguish the old and the new matter. Here is a good example of the original with its characteristic rant and classical decoration:

> I tell you, younglings, not Enceladus[1],
> With all his threatening band of Typhon's brood,
> Nor great Alcides, nor the God of War,
> Shall seize this prey out of his father's hands.

Here is the new and, I think, Shakespearean style:

> Why, there's the privilege your beauty bears:
> Fie, treacherous hue, that will betray with blushing
> The close enacts and counsels of the heart!
> Here's a young lad fram'd of another leer:
> Look, how the black slave smiles upon the father,
> As who should say 'Old lad, I am thine own.'

The next scene, IV, iii, has over 11 per cent. of feminine endings. This would indicate Shakespeare's hand, but it is not perceptible in the first part of the scene. The madness, real or feigned, of Titus is a palpable imitation of Hieronimo's; the Latin quotations, the decorative classical allusions, and the rant are all old style. Shakespeare begins, I think, with the speech of Marcus, l. 70, and his hand is plainly visible in the malapropisms and rustic humour of the clown. None other than Shakespeare can have put into his mouth the words, *God forbid I should be so bold to press into heaven in my young days*—cf. Mrs Quickly's famous advice to Falstaff on his death-bed.

The fourth scene shows a percentage of about 8. It opens with a suggestive parallel to one of Shakespeare's additions to 2 *Hen. VI*, IV, ix, 1—2. The famous quatrain on the eagle and the little birds finds a parallel in *Lucrece* (ll. 506—7):

> a falcon towering in the skies
> Coucheth the fowl below with his wings' shade.

And the homely simile of the sheep and the honey-stalks (l. 91) is much more in Shakespeare's vein than in that of his predecessors. There is a notable absence of rant, and Swinburne has noted that this scene is written in blank verse 'of more variety and vigour than we find in the baser parts of the play.' This scene and the preceding, if any, Swinburne would assign to Shakespeare, but I do not think that either, certainly not IV, iii, is wholly his. Here, as elsewhere, he is revising older work.

The first scene of Act V shows the highest percentage in the play, something over 20. Shakespeare has evidently been at work here, but there is little characteristic poetry by which to identify his hand. The

[1] A character not mentioned elsewhere by Shakespeare.

scene is, so to speak, a business one, and Shakespeare seems to have devoted his attention to clearing up the rather complicated action of the earlier scenes by putting a narrative of the plot into the mouth of Aaron—cf. the Friar's repetition of the story at the close of *R. & J.* There was evidently a need for this sort of explication to clear up any possible confusion in the minds of contemporary audiences, and even so late as *Othello* Shakespeare did not disdain this means of sending them home satisfied. His hand is seen also in the treatment of Aaron; the note of paternal pride mixed with grim humour, which we recognized as Shakespeare's work in IV, ii, re-appears here in Aaron's address to his child. In the catalogue of crimes which the Moor recites with devilish glee (ll. 124—44) he appears to revert to the old inhuman villain. But, paradoxical as it may seem, I hold this speech to be by Shakespeare. It is a patent imitation of the rhapsody of Barabas (*Jew of Malta*, II, iii), and was probably inserted by Shakespeare to provide Alleyn as Aaron with a tirade of the sort he had delivered with effect as Barabas. The same conclusion holds good, I believe, for Aaron's outbreak of curses in the last scene of the play—cf. the last speech of Barabas. Shakespeare would not have hesitated for a moment at such an imitation of his great forerunner, if he thought that he could thereby render his hasty revision of Titus more effective on the stage. Possibly l. 102 with its reference to bear-baiting might be noted as a 'sign-manual' of Shakespeare.

In the next scene, V, ii, the percentage drops to about 6. This would indicate that Shakespeare had not greatly concerned himself with this scene, and, in fact, it belongs structurally to the old play with its preparation for the Thyestean banquet. It is written for the most part in flat low-toned blank verse, not unlike that of Peele in his less excited—one can hardly say inspired—moments. Yet there are one or two signs that Shakespeare has touched this scene. Ll. 53—7 seem like an early version of a noble passage in *Henry V* (IV, i, 289—93). Cf.

> And when thy car is loaden with their heads,
> I will dismount, and by the waggon-wheel
> Trot, like a servile foot-man, all day long,
> Even from Hyperion's rising in the east
> Until his very downfall in the sea

with

> But, like a lackey, from the rise to set
> Sweats in the eye of Phœbus and all night
> Sleeps in Elysium; next day after dawn,
> Doth rise and help Hyperion to his horse,
> And follows so the ever-running year.

L. 66 shows the Shakespearean accumulation of epithets, *miserable, mad,*

mistaking eyes, and its authorship is confirmed by the fact that a Shakespearean scene in the *Shrew* (IV, v) gives us in quick succession the phrases *mistaking eyes* and *mad mistaking* (ll. 45 and 49). L. 171:

the spring whom you have stain'd with mud

has a close parallel in *Lucrece*, l. 577:

Mud not the fountain that gave drink to thee.

In the play the words are spoken to the ravishers of Lavinia; in the poem it is Lucretia's plea to Sextus; in each case the lady is the spring, or fountain, stained, or threatened with the stain of mud. No parallel could be closer.

The last scene of the play shows a percentage rising to over 13. It cannot be original with Shakespeare, as it is connected structurally with the preceding; but he seems to have revised it rather thoroughly. I fancy the colloquy between Saturnine and Titus just before the killing of Lavinia is his. The mistaken version of the story of Virginia implied in l. 38 is more likely to be Shakespeare's than Peele's, Greene's, or even Kyd's. The emphatic rhymed couplets, ll. 61—2 and 65—6, may also be his. But his hand is more plainly visible in the long speeches, beginning with l. 67, where Marcus and Lucius rehearse in turn the whole story of the play. The opening simile in the speech of Marcus finds a parallel in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, ii, 20—4. Robertson, p. 70, points out a close likeness between ll. 84—6 and a passage in Peele's *Tale of Troy* (ll. 400 seq.). The lines in *Titus* may be a remnant of the old play, although Shakespeare was well acquainted with Sinon and his stratagem (see *Lucrece*, l. 1521 seq. and other passages). The close verbal similarity, however, points to Peele, unless we are ready to admit that Shakespeare was here copying a printed work (1589) of his esteemed contemporary, the *primus artifex verborum*, as Nashe calls him. The speech of Lucius to his little son over the dead body of Titus is in the same vein of somewhat sentimental pathos that we have already noted as Shakespeare's. There is some reason to believe that Shakespeare may have modified the fate of Aaron. In a late Dutch version (see *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, v. 16, p. 39) and in Ravenscroft's adaptation he is burned[1] alive upon the stage. This may in both cases be a reminiscence of the old play, in Ravenscroft's case possibly due to a theatrical tradition. One wishes that Shakespeare

[1] On the other hand in the better known German version—see Cohn, *Shakespeare in Deutschland*—he is hanged, a punishment with which he is originally threatened in Shakespeare, see v, i.

had alleviated a few other horrors in his revision. Finally the last speech of Aaron and the casting out of Tamora's body are borrowed from the *Jew of Malta,* which Shakespeare had used before to help out his revision.

The above analysis furnishes sufficient proof, I think, of Shakespeare's hand at work in this once popular and now distasteful play. I was interested to discover after finishing my analysis that Madden (*Diary of Master Silence*) felt sure of Shakespeare's hand as a reviser of the old *Titus* because of the frequency and appropriateness in our text of allusions drawn from the language of sport. With hardly an exception the passages which Madden cites as Shakespearean occur in scenes where I had already on other grounds detected his hand. This seems to me rather strong corroborative evidence. It is more than possible that some Shakespearean parallels may have escaped my notice, but I rather doubt if any further discoveries of this sort will essentially alter an allocation of scenes, as revised and unrevised, based in the main upon metrical characteristics and only fortified by the evidence of parallels. That there are at least two[1] hands in the play, writing two quite different styles, seems to me indisputable, and that one of these is Shakespeare's in the capacity of reviser is in accord with positive external evidence.

The general character of Shakespeare's additions and alterations has, I think, been sufficiently indicated in the above analysis of the play. He did not re-make the whole structure of his source, as in *Lear*; he did not re-write the entire text of the old play, as in *King John.* He merely re-touched certain scenes, as in his revision of the *Henry VI* plays, throwing over the framework of the old melodramatic tragedy of blood a veil of poetry, spangled with brilliant 'conceits' and shot through with an emotional quality that at times verges close upon sentimentalism. The likeness of the Shakespearean portions of *Titus* to his early work in *Richard II, Romeo and Juliet,* and especially in his poems, is to my mind unmistakeable. This likeness seems to have been recognized by his contemporaries, and in their opinion Shakespeare's revision was so successful as to make the play in its present form his

[1] There may be more. It is no part of my present task to determine the original authorship of the play, or plays, which underlie *Titus Andronicus.* I am inclined, however, to agree with Robertson that Kyd had a hand, perhaps the main hand, in shaping the original plot, and that the present text shows conclusively the hand of Peele at some stage in the evolution of the play. I do not believe, however, that we have sufficient knowledge of dramatic and theatrical history between 1588 and 1593 to determine the exact origin or to trace the precise development of the old play, or plays, before Shakespeare was called on to revise the form which came into his hand from the Pembroke Company.

and no other man's. The old play was quite overshadowed by the new and passed into complete oblivion. But this old play with its absurdities, horrors, and rant constantly shows through Shakespeare's revision; and it seems to me, therefore, mere waste of time either to blame or to excuse Shakespeare for those features of *Titus* which are so repugnant to our taste. They are in their origin, at least, not his but another's; and even the sternest critic can hardly reproach Shakespeare for having stooped at a period of enforced idleness in his career as a playwright to earn an honest penny by giving a popular old play such a revision as would ensure it a new lease of life upon the stage. Shakespeare's revision of *Titus* may be taken as a hasty piece of hack-work, but it was successful in its aim, and we can still detect in it the hand of a true poet and a real dramatist.

APPENDIX.

Metrical table for *Titus Andronicus*.

Act	Scene	Number of blank verse lines[1]	Number of feminine endings	Per cent. f. e.
I	1	467	17	3·6 +
II	1	126	3	2·3 +
	2	24	1	4·1 +
	3	293	34	11·6 +
	4	54	3	5·5 +
III	1	293	19	6·4 +
	2	77	9	11·6 +
IV	1	124	3	2·4 +
	2	167	16	9·5 +
	3	85	10	11·7 +
	4	100	8	8·0
V	1	149	31	20·7 +
	2	202	12	5·9 +
	3	169	23	13·6 +

[1] Only full 5-foot un-rhymed lines are counted.

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NOTES ON THE 'TRISTAN' OF THOMAS.

In the *Modern Language Review*, vol. x, p. 304, I published an article entitled *A Sidelight on the 'Tristan' of Thomas*, in which I drew attention to the Chertsey Tiles as illustrations of that romance, and on the basis of the Tiles questioned certain points in M. Bédier's reconstruction of Thomas. The present article makes certain amplifications of my previous study.

In the first place, a number of further illustrations of the Tristram story in medieval art have come to my notice, indicating still more emphatically the overwhelming popularity of this story as compared with any other in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and even earlier. I understand that Dr R. Forrer of the Museum Elsässischer Altertümer at Strassburg has discovered an ivory casket of the second half of the twelfth century, and that he intends to publish a thorough study of it. The Chertsey Tiles have been the subject of a monograph entitled *Illustrations of Medieval Romance on Tiles from Chertsey Abbey*, which I published in the *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, 1916. The Petrograd casket which, contrary to Golther's opinion, seems to be based upon Bérail rather than Thomas, has been treated in the *Romanic Review*, VIII (1917), pp. 196—209. Scenes from the *Folie Tristan* appeared on one side of an ivory casket described in the *Collection Basilewsky*, *Texte*, p. 196. At the Castle of St Floret, near Issoire, are a number of mural paintings, which are based on the version of Rusticien de Pise[1]. Of the caskets containing the meeting at the fountain, that at the Metropolitan Museum is now in the private possession of Mr Pierpont Morgan, and that figured in Carter's *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture* was in 1913 in the possession of M. Economos of Paris[2]. I have learned also of the existence of three other such caskets: one in the Trivulzi Collection at Milan, to which my attention was kindly called by M. Raymond Koechlin; one which was in 1862 in the possession of Mrs W. St John Mildmay (this may possibly be identical

[1] *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques*, 1864. Gellis-Didot and Laffillée, *Peinture Décorative en France* (two scenes figured). A. Racinet, *Costume Historique*, IV, pl. 4, 5.

[2] S. de Ricci, *Exposition d'Objets d'Art à l'Hôtel de Sagan*, pl. 44.

with the former), and a third at the Bargello, Florence[1]. Finally a mirror-case bearing this same episode is at Hamburg[2].

I have been led to modify the identification of the Tiles in two cases, where I have returned to Shurlock's original interpretation: Shurlock, *Tiles from Chertsey Abbey*, pl. 26, 27; Loomis, *Illustrations of Medieval Romance*, pl. 29, 30.

In regard to Tristram's arms, Professor W. R. Lethaby has made me the pregnant suggestion that the cognizance of golden lions on a red field described by the Saga as decorating Tristram's horse-trappings was approximately that borne by Richard I. M. Bédier believes that Thomas wrote about 1170, before Richard's day: Dr Schoepperle believes him later, perhaps a contemporary of the Lion Heart. Now we have evidence that the house of Anjou had long decorated its belongings with a sprinkling of golden lions. John of Marmoustier records that in 1129 Geoffrey of Anjou wore on his shoes and his shield 'leunculos aureos[3].' The enamelled plate at Le Mans, supposed to have belonged to Geoffrey's tomb, represents a figure bearing a shield azure six lioncels or, and wearing a blue cap with a single gold lion. It seems not unlikely, then, that Geoffrey's son, Henry II of England, should have adopted the same device of the lioncels, but with that difference in the tincture of the field which we find later characteristic of the royal arms. If that be so, Thomas may well have intended a graceful flattery in attributing the golden lions on a red field to Tristram, and we may perhaps number him among the brilliant entourage of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, or of their son Richard.

The subject of Tristram's first voyage to Ireland has been treated at length in Professor F. Piquet's *L'Originalité de Gottfried de Strassburg*, pp. 165—173. Did Thomas represent it as a voyage undertaken with a deliberate intention of seeking a cure for his wound at the hands of Isolt, who alone, Morhaut had told him, could cope with the poison? Or was it a voyage undertaken out of sheer disgust with life and a wish to die, but which by chance brought him to the one place where he might obtain renewed life? Was it a voyage with a destination or a 'voyage aventureux'? Now all authorities agree that the hypothetical source of Thomas, whether it be called the 'poème primitif,' the 'Ur-Tristan,' or the 'estoire,' described it as a 'voyage aventureux.' M. Piquet also admits that from the evidence of the Saga and *Sir*

[1] *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, 1898, No. 123.

[2] *Berichte des Hamburg. Museums für Kunst und Industrie*, 1903. M. Raymond Koechlin, the eminent authority on ivories, informs us that this is a counterfeit.

[3] Marchegay and Salmon, *Chroniques d'Anjou*, I, p. 235.

Tristrem 'il semble résulter que Tristan, désesperé des progrès de son mal, forme le dessein de s'abandonner aux vagues, et qu'il est conduit par la Fatalité seulement, et non par sa volonté, en Irlande, où il trouve la guérison[1].' Nevertheless he rejects the apparent testimony of these derivatives of Thomas, and does so on grounds that to me seem insufficient. Let me quote the passages in question. In lines 1145–50 of the Middle English poem, Tristram says to Mark:

'Em!' he seyd, 'y spille.
Of lond kepe y na mare:
A schip þou bring me tille,
Mine harp to play me þare,
Stouer ynouȝ to wille,
To kepe me, send þou þare.'

Again in ll. 1162–66 the account reads:

A winde to wil him bare
To a stede, þer him was boun,
Neiȝe hand:
Deuelin hiȝt þe toun,
An hauen in Irland.

In ll. 1182–86, after Tristram has learned that he has reached Ireland, the account runs:

Þo was Tristrem unfain
And wele gan vnderstand,
Hir brother he hadde slain,
Þat quen was of þe land,
In fiȝt.

M. Piquet maintains that these last lines may be explained as describing a more vivid realization by Tristram of the peril he had deliberately sought, 'sans que cela signifie que Tristan avait été porté contre son gré sur les côtes d'Irlande[2].' But that is precisely what these lines would naturally be taken to signify: and when taken together with the first passage quoted, which represents Tristram's motive in embarking as sheer wearisomeness of the land, they hardly seem capable of any other interpretation. M. Piquet, however, assumes certain omissions which would give the passages quite a different colouring, and lays much stress on the phrases 'to wil' and 'þer him was boun' in the middle passage, which seem to him to prove that Tristram had a clear destination from the first. But *Sir Tristrem* is notoriously full of line-filling phrases and rhyme-tags that make little or no sense at all. To wrest two whole passages out of their plain meanings in order to square them with two such phrases is a procedure the reverse of that which good sense will dictate.

[1] P. 165. [2] P. 168.

The Saga's testimony is to much the same effect as that of *Sir Tristrem*. First we read that Tristram said to Mark: 'Therefore will I depart hence, wheresoever God may suffer me to go according to His mercy and my need.' The King replied: 'That were great folly, dear nephew, that thou wouldst fain slay thyself.... But sithen thou art minded to depart, I will purvey thee a boat with all thou needest to have with thee[1].'' Later after Tristram has been driven by a storm to Ireland, we learn that he was 'adread of his landing lest the King and his other enemies should learn where he was.' These passages M. Piquet, on the assumption that they are much mutilated, interprets as a desire on Tristram's part to go where by God's will he shall be healed, viz. Ireland, and a reply on the King's part that to go to Ireland would be to commit suicide. If there were any authority besides Gottfried for such an interpretation, it might be accepted, if, as seems probable, the whole passage has been condensed. But it does not seem to me plausible that both the Saga and *Sir Tristrem* in the process of condensation should have omitted reference to the real purpose of the voyage and also included so much that seems to indicate no purpose but a sheer abandonment to the waves.

The case is settled to my mind, as it was to M. Bédier's, by the evidence of the *Folie Tristan*. Of this poem M. Bédier had said that 'les allusions concordent toujours avec la version de Thomas.' M. Piquet points out four slight discrepancies of detail between the two poems (the last of which might turn out to be no discrepancy if we had Thomas's own poem), and maintains the astounding doctrine that 'si l'on peut découvrir dans ce poème *un seul trait* divergent, il perd toute autorité[2].' Now if the *Folie Tristan*, with its four discrepancies, has no authority, Gottfried's *Tristan* must have a minus quantity: and that is an unfortunate conclusion for M. Piquet's thesis, which rests mainly on the authority of Gottfried. As a matter of fact, if the *Folie Tristan* can be shown to have departed from Thomas on only three trivial details, its authority is still higher than that of any other derivative from the same source. What, then, says the *Folie*?

En mer me mis, la voil murir,
Tant par m'ennuat le languir.
Li venz levat, turment out grant,
Et chaçat ma nef en Irlant.
Al pais m'estut ariver
Ke jo deveie plus duter,
Kar j'aveie ocis Morholt...
Od ma harpe me delitoie,
Je n'oi confort, ke tant amoie. Ll. 343—354.

[1] Ch. xxx. [2] P. 170.

So far as the motive for the voyage is concerned, the *Folie* is thoroughly consistent with *Sir Tristrem* and the Saga. We have not only then the source of Thomas but also three of his derivatives agreed on this point. Can there be any question as to Thomas's own version? As Dr Schoepperle points out to me, Thomas found in his source two haphazard voyages of Tristram to Ireland, rationalized away the second one which was at first an adventurous quest for the golden hair, but left it for Gottfried to deal in similar fashion with the first.

As I mentioned in my previous article, this passage from the *Folie Tristan* not only militates in favour of an adventurous voyage, but also in favour of a solitary voyage. In this again it coincides with Thomas's source: furthermore, it is supported by the evidence of one of the Chertsey Tiles. Indeed, an inscription found with the Tiles bears the words SANS GUVERNAIL, and could hardly refer to any other occasion than this voyage in the rudderless boat, as it was probably represented by Thomas. Against this accumulation of authority, the version of *Sir Tristrem*, which provides Governail as his single companion, and the dubious references of the Saga to an indefinite 'they,' who appear only on the voyage itself and are not heard of before or after, do not seem to be disturbing.

M. Piquet brings forth as his strongest argument the point that Morhaut's informing Tristram that only his sister can cure Tristram's wound is irreconcilable with the tradition of the adventurous voyage[1]. To this one can only reply that they are not irreconcilable. It is a wholly conceivable, if not a probable, situation that Tristram, even though he knew where he might find healing, despaired of ever securing it at the hands of his foe's sister, and that only when he found himself actually in her power did he as a last resort try to impose upon her. Dr Schoepperle believes that in Thomas's source, the *estoire*, Tristram had the deliberate purpose of seeking healing (Eilhart does not, however, say so), and believes this factor may be reconciled with his rudderless voyage on the ground that Morhaut was originally conceived of as a monster coming from a land beyond the confines of earth, only to be reached by abandonment to the winds and waves[2].

In regard to M. Bédier's reconstruction, it may further be pointed out that he has omitted on p. 343 the speeches of Bringvain and Cariadoc given at the beginning of ch. lxxxix of the Saga. He offers no explanation.

[1] P. 171.
[2] G. Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, II, p. 390.

Finally, I would suggest two slight emendations in M. Bédier's text of Thomas. At the end of her speech to Mark, Bringvain says:

'Quel semblant que vus en facez,
Ben sai pur quei vus en feinnez,
Que vus ne valez mie itant
Que fere l'osissez semblant.' Ll. 1671–74.

A few lines below the King marvels much that she should have spoken

De sa dutance e de sa honte
Qu'il l'ait suffert, e qu'il le sace
Qu'il se feint, quel semblant que face. Ll. 1680–82.

Now it seems clear that in l. 1681 *sace* should have as its subject the same person as *sai* in l. 1672, namely Bringvain. The end of l. 1681 should therefore read: —e qu'ele sace—.

Again, let us look at the passage where Ysolt, becalmed on the voyage to her dying lover, apostrophizes him:

'Se jo dei em mer periller,
Dunc vus estuet issi neier:
Neier ne poez pas a terre;
Venu m'estes en la mer querre.' Ll. 2915–18.

This last line simply is not true; and l. 2937, 'En mer, amis, que querreiez?' with its conditional tense, shows that Isolt does not conceive it as true. Line 2916 puts us right. It is clearly Isolt's idea that, as Tristram *ought* to drown with her, he *ought* to seek her on the sea. Line 2918 should therefore read:

Venir estuet en la mer querre.

ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS.

U.S. ARMY.

CORNEILLE'S 'POLYEUCTE' TECHNICALLY CONSIDERED.

As early as 1632, Corneille bore witness to the peculiar form of effort involved in the composition of a play. 'C'est,' he says, in the preface of *Clitandre*, 'ce qui ne me tombera jamais en la pensée, qu'une pièce de si longue haleine où il faut coucher l'esprit à tant de reprises et s'imprimer tant de contraires mouvements, se puisse faire par aventure.' And in this same preface, as in many a later note and comment, he shows that much of this effort is applied to the solution of technical problems and the development of technical processes. This is no reflection upon his reputation as a producer of noble and enduring literature. It is, on the contrary, one of the explanations of his greatness and a tribute to his originality. Corneille was the first divinely inspired writer for the stage so to master the technic of his art as to make living and vital for the modern world the fundamental principles of the ancients, bled white by the theorizing leeches of the sixteenth century. The dramatist who deduces from the unity of place the reflection that 'il faut...ou n'introduire qu'une femme...ou que les deux qu'on introduit' should be closely joined by ties of affection or common interest[1]; who congratulates himself on the 'adresse de théâtre' that enabled him to get rid of a third character 'et n'en avoir que deux à la fois à faire parler[2],' who would be 'd'avis que le poète prît grand soin de marquer à la marge les menues actions qui ne méritent pas qu'il en charge ses vers[3]'; who objects to a prison on the stage because 'ces grilles...éloignent l'acteur du spectateur et lui cachent toujours plus de la moitié de sa personne[4]'; who justifies scenes attacked by critics by saying that the spectators 'tous presque ont souhaité que ces entretiens se fassent[5]'; such a dramatist is a practical dramatist. And if Corneille is something greater as well, if he feels 'du Ciel l'influence secrète,' he is but meeting the dual ideal of his age and his

[1] *Discours* I. [2] *Examen* of *Médée*.

[3] *Discours* III. On this point Corneille is far more homme de théâtre than d'Aubignac, who writes: '...toutes les pensées du Poëte, soit pour les décorations du Théatre, soit pour les mouvements de ses Personnages, habillemens et gestes...doivent être exprimées par les vers qu'il fait réciter' (*Pratique du Théâtre*, ed. of 1715, I, p. 46).

[4] *Examen* of *Médée*. [5] *Examen* of *le Cid*.

land. For if there is one thing on which the French seventeenth century insisted, it was a combination of noble inspiration and good technical workmanship; and it is Corneille who was the first to combine the two for the French stage.

Pinero has told us that good workmanship, that *theatrical* talent, must be developed 'by hard study, and generally by long practice[1].' At any particular stage in its development, the effect of this study and practice is to leave with the dramatic workman a new equipment compounded both of broad, general principles and minute, detailed methods of execution. These he naturally seeks to apply and, if he is on the upward road, to develop and perfect in the next work he undertakes. Such was markedly the case with Corneille when he set about composing *Polyeucte*.

Polyeucte is a tragedy, and for some years before composing this play, Corneille had been experimenting with the tragic hero. He had been feeling his way towards the portrayal of characters, serious and strong according to the tenets, not of the ancients, but of the society of his own day; and he had sought at the same time to write such plays as might please, not merely a group of scholars or curious connoisseurs, but also a general theatre-going public, i.e. that spontaneous contemporary audience whose support of *le Cid* showed, according to the words of Chapelain, that 'l'art n'est pas ce qui fait la beauté[2].' In other words he had set for himself, at first unconsciously perhaps but later with avowed intent, two requirements. To fulfil these, his tragic hero must first be endowed with 'tragic' characteristics of mind and feeling; and secondly he must be theatrically successful, he must keep the attention of a theatre audience constantly fixed upon him.

The results of Corneille's first attempts to meet these requirements were not satisfactory. Long-suffering Clitandre and one-piece Horace, however well they may, in Corneille's own mind, have satisfied the first, certainly did not satisfy the second; and as for Rodrigue of the *Cid*, who without a doubt held the attention of the audience far better than either of the other two, he lacked that mental vigour and devotion to an interest other than love which Corneille had already begun to prize, years before the appearance of wilful Medée or of the oft-quoted Alidor of the *Palais royal*[3].

[1] A. W. Pinero, *Robert Louis Stevenson, The Dramatist*, p. 6.

[2] *Lettre de Jean Chapelain*, 1880, vol. I, p. 366 (letter dated Jan. 16, 1539).

[3] The widow Clarice (*la Veuve*) has a decided mind of her own; the character of the two young girls of *la Galerie du palais* 'a quelque chose de choquant' says Corneille himself, for the same reason; and Daphnis (*la Suivante*), not to speak of Amarante, is no whit less decided than her predecessors. Cf. also Pymante (*Clitandre*).

In *Cinna* however we find a change. Auguste plays a very different rôle. He is imbued with that stoicism so greatly admired in the first part of the seventeenth century; by his position as emperor he holds in his hands, like Rodrigue and Horace, the welfare of a nation, and, unlike Rodrigue, he makes this welfare the prime consideration in the attitude he takes. Thus he satisfies amply the first requirement, and, what is more, he combines with this at least an approximation to the second: Corneille has succeeded in making him count on the stage. The suggestion for this, he found in the source of his play. It is the difference between Octavian and Augustus, the change in the ideals of the character; and especially that meditation, given at some length by Seneca, in which Augustus is moved now by anger, now by lassitude, and leans in turn towards ideas of vengeance and of pardon. Here was a hint which, if followed out, might make of Augustus an active and prominent factor in the progress of the plot. Taking this hint, developing it with help from Dio Cassius, and modifying in the same direction a detail also given by Seneca[1], Corneille shows three stages through which Auguste passes in arriving at that resolve on which hangs the fate of the conspirators. As a result, this character holds our attention; and, though still falling short of the ideal towards which Corneille was striving[2], his rôle is, all things considered, more successful than any to be found in the earlier plays. Corneille had learned that one way of interesting us in his tragic hero was to make him develop before our eyes.

This lesson he seeks to apply in his next play. But to have the idea is one thing; to put it into effect is another. By what methods, by what 'tactics,' as Pinero puts it, was Corneille to give this development to the character of Polyeucte? It was when face to face with this question that he remembered his work on a still earlier play, viz. *Horace.*

The tragic hero of *Horace,* Horace himself, did not possess this development. But there were other characters, or better, other themes

[1] This modification in a scene which Corneille later emphasized as being part of his 'action principale' (*Discours*) is of great importance. Livy says of Augustus' attitude when Livia has advised him to be clement: 'Gavisus sibi quod advocatum invenerat, uxori quidem gratias egit.' In Corneille's play, however, the result of Livia's words is different. Far from agreeing with his wife, Augustus seems to reject her advice, and the only suggestion that he may come round to her views is found in her resolve to take up the matter again.

[2] He had not, for instance, succeeded in giving successful theatrical prominence to the idea that had suggested the alteration indicated in the preceding note, as is proved by the fact that the actors, as les frères Parfait and Voltaire tell us, soon began to omit altogether the rôle of Livie. Cf. also note 3, p. 47.

in the play; and it was in the treatment of these that Corneille had discovered the principle he needed. This principle consisted in the establishment of a carefully arranged series of incidents. Some of these Corneille had found in Livy; others he himself had invented[1]. And the series as finally established had yielded a set of useful impulses. The battle thrice threatened and twice deferred, the separate announcements of the choice of the champions, and the progress of the combat given in two separate instalments, had each in its turn served to keep his play advancing. To apply this same principle to the psychological drawing of his main character, this was the idea which now made it possible, although the sources failed this time to furnish adequate suggestions, to give to Polyeucte the development obtained in the portrayal of Auguste. By means of it, Corneille could again make his hero hold our attention. Accordingly he once more establishes a series of events. He invents three distinct impulses, none of them found in the Martyrdom of Saint Polyeucte, and all of them of such a nature that, being psychological rather than physical, they minister more directly to character development. They are the dream of Pauline, the 'baptême effectif' of Polyeucte, and the death of Polyeucte's fellow Christian, Néarque. The first permits him to show us Polyeucte more heedful of Pauline's anxiety than of Néarque's exhortation; the second to show the same Polyeucte already outdoing his friend in Christian enthusiasm; and the third to portray him entirely detached from the things of this world, and considering Pauline as nothing but an 'obstacle à mon bien[2].'

But Corneille is not yet satisfied. The prominence given to his hero by the application of the principle just described, had done little more than make up for the differences between the sources of *Cinna* and that of *Polyeucte*; so drawn, Polyeucte was hardly more prominent than Auguste in *Cinna*, and Corneille desired something more. For, in spite of the improvement I have noted, Corneille's contemporaries had refused to see in Auguste the most important character of the play in which he appeared[3]. What was still needed was a closer and more striking connection of Polyeucte with the emotional possibilities of the plot.

[1] The separate announcement of the champions and the incomplete reports of their combat. Cf. Corneille's theory as expressed in *Discours* I: 'Il est constant que...les moyens de parvenir à l'action demeurent en notre pouvoir. L'Histoire souvent ne les marque pas, ou en rapporte si peu, qu'il est besoin d'y suppléer pour remplir le poème.'

[2] *Polyeucte*, I, 1; II, 6; IV, 2.

[3] Cf. Balzac's famous letter to Corneille (Jan. 17, 1643) which makes Emilie and Cinna the heroine and hero of *Cinna*.

Now in *Horace*, Corneille had succeeded in developing an emotional crisis of which he might well be proud. This is the murder of Camille. It is true that having developed two crises in each of his two preceding plays[1], he had made the same mistake here, so that the development of the elegiac theme, connected more specially with Sabine and the battle of the champions, had somewhat drawn our interest away from the dynamic theme connected with Camille[2]. But it is also true that, although the assassination of Camille may be an 'action momentanée... sans aucune préparation dans les trois actes qui la précèdent[3],' this preparation is bad only if considered from the point of view of the play as a whole. Considered within the narrower limits of the fourth act, it is a capital piece of work which prepared Corneille's hand for something still better later on. Let us examine it for a moment.

According to history, Camille is to be killed by her brother. Livy says that, meeting Horace as he returns from the fight and recognizing on his shoulders a tunic which she herself had made for her fiancé, Camille 'solvit crines et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat.' Thereupon Horace, flushed with pride and angered at her disturbance of the public joy, runs her through, wishing a similar death to anyone who mourns for an enemy of Rome.

Corneille was not content with this. With true dramatic instinct, he felt that such a crisis needed more preparation. Accordingly he devoted almost the whole of the fourth act to the embitterment of Camille. The story of Curiace's death is told by his rival, Valère[4]; but still more potent is the growing exasperation she feels at unmitigated Roman patriotism as represented in her father. She finds no sympathy in him for the one brother who, as he believed, had fled before the three Albans; when it is known that Horace has triumphed, le vieil Horace gives vent to rejoicing that takes no heed of the slain; and finally he turns upon Camille with a speech that excites her to the highest pitch of resentment: he orders her not to weep for Curiace, he suggests that her sorrow arises from the fear that she may not find another husband, and, worst of all, exhorting her to adopt the attitude of the very man who has killed her Curiace, reminds her that she and he are of the same blood[5]. It is not surprising, therefore, that Camille

[1] *L'Illusion Comique* and *le Cid*.

[2] Cf. Corneille's own statement stressing the 'inégalité dans la dignité' of Sabine and Camille: 'Ajoutez...que Camille, qui ne tient que le second rang dans les trois premiers actes, et y laisse le premier à Sabine, prend le premier en ces deux derniers où cette Sabine n'est plus considérable' (*Examen* of *Horace*).

[3] *Discours*, I.

[4] Act IV, 2.

[5] Act IV, 1, 2, 3.

should now break out in an impassioned monologue against her 'impitoyable père,' that she should recapitulate impetuously all the suffering that she has endured[1], and finally greet her returning brother with insults that not only wound his personal pride, but invoke the Gods against that Rome which he, like his father, holds sacred above all things[2]. Even though we neglect evidences of preparation appearing in previous acts, we find in these five successive scenes an excellent experiment in motivation. The impression it made upon Corneille's mind is proved by the fact that he repeats the whole procedure some three years later; amplifying it by means of that series of impulses already described, he makes of it the one great theme that runs from the beginning to the end of *Polyeucte*.

The fact is that the single crisis of *Polyeucte* is modelled directly upon this second crisis of *Horace*; and the resemblance is indeed so great between the two that it is evident even in matters of detail. The dream, the baptism, and the death of Néarque lead Polyeucte to a state of mind that will brook no opposition. Thereupon, he, like Camille, is aroused by the pleading of Pauline and the deceit of Félix to the highest pitch of exasperation (to obtain which, Corneille has changed the order of events as given in his source)[3]; like her, he breaks out into an impassioned summary of what he has been made to suffer[4], ending with an insult to Félix and the Roman gods as Camille had insulted Horace and Roman patriotism; and in both plays these insults are cut short by strikingly similar lines which mean death[5]. Nor is this all; for, in each case, this last scene is immediately followed by a short talk in which Félix-Horace proclaims the righteousness of his deed to a doubting subordinate[6].

Thus by returning to the methods of *Horace* and modifying them according to ideas gained by his work on *Cinna*, Corneille has improved his technic. The development of his tragic hero is smoother, more

[1] Act IV, 4. [2] Act IV, 5.

[3] *Polyeucte*, V, 2. In the Martyrdom of S. Polyeucte (at least as quoted by Corneille) the interview with Pauline comes after, not before, the more exasperating ruse of Félix.

[4] This use of the summary is still another peculiarity in which we may trace the technical improvement of Corneille. It is better in *Polyeucte* than in *Horace*, being more concise and contributing more powerfully to the climax. It had already appeared in the earlier plays—twice, for instance, in both *la Suivante* (IV, 4; V, 4) and *Clitandre* IV, 7; (V, 4) where, in the fourth act of each, it helps us to keep abreast of the complication of the plot. Note that, appearing in the very last scene of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, this same summary serves merely to tell once more the story of the play.

[5] *Horace.* C'est trop, ma patience à la raison fait place;
Va dedans les enfers plaindre ton Curiace. (*Horace* IV, 3.)
Félix. Enfin ma bonté cède à ma juste fureur:
Adore-les, ou meurs. (*Polyeucte* V, 3.)

[6] *Horace*, IV, 6; *Polyeucte*, V, 4.

detailed; and it holds our attention from the beginning of the play to the end.

There is another feature in which the play of *Polyeucte* shows a decided technical advance. This is the rôle of the rival. The corresponding rôle in the preceding play of *Cinna* had left much to be desired. Voltaire has pointed out that neither Maxime's character nor his love for Emilie, appearing for the first time in the third act, is interesting to the audience[1]. He seems further to suggest that Maxime was not necessary to the plot, since the state of mind of either Cinna or Emilie or both might well have led to the discovery of their conspiracy[2]. More recently Petit de Julleville exclaims 'Que dire des incidents romanesques qui sont mêlés à cette passion mal imaginée: le projet d'enlèvement, le faux suicide[3]?' The last of these criticisms, at least a part of it, can be readily dismissed: this was neither the first nor the last time that Corneille was to indulge his own taste and that of his contemporaries for *incidents romanesques*; they were not blemishes in his eyes. But the other criticisms call for more careful consideration and are more closely connected with our subject. Why should Corneille make so much of Maxime?

In attempting to answer this question, we should note three things. First, Corneille, like his contemporaries, had insisted on introducing a rival into all his plays so far, going even to the trouble of inventing him if he was not found in the sources[4]: this was a necessity according to the taste of the day. Secondly, Corneille not only needed another man for the very successful political discussion of Act II, where he has entrusted to Cinna and Maxime the parts played by Maecenas and Agrippa in the account of Dio Cassius, but also made excellent use of Maxime for the cumulative effect of Act V, where Cinna, Emilie and he, one after another, try the resolution of Auguste; and, in the third place, Corneille was in all probability yielding to the criticism directed against Valère, the rival in the preceding play, *Horace*. In his *Pratique du Théâtre*, d'Aubignac finds Valère's speech in the fifth act 'froid, inutile et sans effet, parce que *dans le cours de la pièce*, il n'avoit pas paru touché d'un si grand amour pour Camille, ni si pressé pour en obtenir la possession, que les spectateurs se dussent mettre

[1] 'Ni son amitié ni son amour n'intéressent. J'ai toujours remarqué que cette scène est froide au théâtre....L'amour de Maxime ne fait aucun effet, et tout son rôle n'est que celui d'un lâche sans aucune passion théâtrale.'

[2] 'Si le trouble de Cinna, celui de Maxime, celui d'Emilie ouvraient les yeux de l'empereur, cela serait beaucoup plus noble et plus théâtrale.'

[3] *Théâtre Choisi de Corneille*, Paris, 1913, p. 377.

[4] E.g., Valère in *Horace*.

en peine de ce qu'il doit dire après sa mort'; and it is no doubt to d'Aubignac's objection that Corneille replies in the *Examen* of this play[1], when, excusing himself for not making more of Valère, he writes: 'Il n'y avoit point de place pour lui au premier acte et encore moins au second....Il ne manque pas d'amour durant les trois premiers actes, mais d'un temps propre à le témoigner.' To be sure, both the *Pratique du Théâtre* and this *Examen* appeared many years after the production of *Cinna*; but we have some ground for believing that what d'Aubignac published later he had already said to Corneille personally at a time when *Cinna* was not yet written[2]. It is quite possible, then, that Corneille, needing Maxime for one or both of the scenes I have mentioned, was impelled by contemporary criticism of Valère to keep more constantly before the audience the person of his inevitable rival.

However this may be, we cannot neglect these facts: the rôle exists in *Cinna*; it is more developed than that of the rivals in the serious plays that came before, *le Cid* and *Horace*[3]; and its connection with the plot has certain definite characteristics. Maxime betrays Cinna to Auguste and when he proposes that Emilie flee with him, he has a double claim to her consideration: he is a fellow-conspirator and the only one who can carry on the intrigues in which she is interested, and he offers to save her from what looks like certain death. Thus he creates a very real danger for the life of the lover, and he puts the resolution of the heroine to a severe test. This danger and this test, though present, are negligible in both *le Cid* and *Horace*; here they force themselves upon our attention; and in *Polyeucte* they become an integral part of the very important rôle of Sévère.

As Maxime imperils the life of Cinna, so Sévère causes the death of Polyeucte; and as Maxime tests the resolution of Emilie, so Sévère, as a result of their former relations and of the express suggestion of Polyeucte himself, puts to the test Pauline's devotion to her husband. But, in other respects, Sévère is very different from Maxime. Corneille was not going to repeat the mistakes of the former play: this time he

[1] Cf. notice to *Horace* in Vol. III of *Œuvres de P. Corneille*, Grands Ecriv. d. l. France, Paris, 1862.

[2] In his *Troisième dissertation concernant le poème dramatique*, d'Aubignac speaks of having seen Corneille 'deux fois: la première quand, après son Horace, il me vint prier à la lecture qu'il en devait faire chez feu M. de Boisrobert....' The same criticism may have been made originally by Chapelain, who, on Feb. 14, 1640, already knew 'la manière dont je voudrais qu'il (Corneille) eust tenue pour en faire une chose accompli' (cf. *Lettres de Jean Chapelain*, 1880, Vol. I, p. 576), and writing to the same Balzac nine months later (Nov. 17) says: 'Dès l'année passée je lui dis qu'il falloit changer son cinquième acte des Horaces, et lui dis par le menu comment.'

[3] With the exception of the early tragi-comedy *Clitandre*, in writing which Corneille had already tried his hand at 'incidents romanesques,' e.g. the disguise, the 'aiguille,' etc.

would not give the rival an uneven part, now vital and then again futile; nor would he make him unsympathetic. What Maxime lacked was not only adequate development, but charm as well; and both these things Sévère was to possess.

I have described already how, when plotting the play of *Horace*, Corneille had strengthened the relations between Camille and her brother: Livy had stressed almost exclusively the motives of Horace, his pride and his patriotism; and to this, Corneille had added the exasperation that impels his sister to oppose him. In a similar way Corneille now set to work to strengthen the reasons for bringing together Pauline and Sévère; his former plays, *le Cid*, *Horace*, and *Cinna*, had brought out exclusively a one-sided attraction between the rival and the heroine, e.g. the love of Maxime for Emilie; and to this, Corneille now adds an equally potent bond drawing the heroine to the rival. He makes Pauline return Sévère's love; and the result of this addition is one of those opportunities which no practical dramatist can resist. It leads Corneille back to familiar ground. Pauline, his first married heroine[1], is naturally bound to Polyeucte by duty; as a consequence of this addition, she is also bound to Sévère by love. Let Sévère but be endowed with sympathetic qualities, let him but conform to the ideal of military prowess and chivalric submission to his lady, so dear to the society of 1642, and we return to that situation out of which Corneille has wrought his greatest success so far, viz. *le Cid*. Accordingly, our author makes of this character, unmentioned by his sources, not only a type of the idealized Roman beloved of the guests of Mme de Rambouillet, but also a great soldier and a perfect gallant. He goes still further: inventing for the purpose an illustrious 'prétexte[2],' he brings him to see Pauline and once more has the opportunity to portray the trials of love[3] and to develop that meeting which in *le Cid* had aroused 'un certain frémissement dans l'assemblée, qui marquoit une curiosité merveilleuse et un redoublement d'attention pour ce qu'ils avoient à se dire dans un état si pitoyable[4].' Moreover, the interview of the lovers follows the same course as before: after a discussion of their position, Sévère and Pauline fall into lyric lament, the famous 'Rodrigue, qui l'eût cru...Chimène qui l'eût dit' finding

[1] With the exception of *Médée* written at the period when he, as he says, 'n'avoit pas encore fait réflexion qu'il y avoit un art de la tragédie' (Letter to M. de Zuylichem, cf. *Œuvres*, 1862, Vol. x, p. 450).

[2] *Examen* of *Polyeucte*.

[3] See especially II, 1; IV, 6.

[4] *Examen* of *le Cid*.

an echo in 'Adieu, trop vertueux objet, et trop charmant...Adieu, trop malheureux et trop parfait amant[1].'

The rôle of Pauline may well have improved as a logical accessory of the improvement in the rôles of Polyeucte and Sévère. It is true that, from the point of view of character-drawing, Camille is superior to Chimène; and it is likewise true that Emilie shows now and again a softer side in her peculiarly unvaried personality[2]. But there appear in the heroines of Corneille's greatest plays no such unmistakable signs of growth based upon experimentation, as we find in the cases of the tragic hero and the rival. The fact is that, as the attitude of Polyeucte changes, so must change the feelings, or possibly only the speech and acts[3] of Pauline. Corneille had no intention of repeating the error of *le Cid* and allowing Scudéry or any other critic to accuse his heroine of forgetting her duty. As Polyeucte becomes more and more determined in his faith, she must of necessity, then, increase her efforts to regain her influence over him, until at last, in the magnificent scene of Act 4, having tried in vain to move him by an appeal to his ambition and to his patriotism, she utters the cry of the abandoned mistress. Having developed Pauline's character to this extent, it took but little originality to carry it on a little farther, to make her adopt entirely her husband's belief, and at the same time to introduce an idea which was present in the minds of Corneille's contemporaries. Our author was doing little more than push on to a logical conclusion when he caused Pauline to be touched by divine grace. As proof, we need but compare the conversion of Pauline and that of her father Félix: the one we accept almost without question, the other leaves us decidedly unsatisfied.

There is still another feature of Corneille's technic in *Polyeucte* which, though it may seem superficial at first, is closely connected with the points I have been making. This is Pauline's dream. Com-

[1] Cf. Voltaire: 'Ces vers-ci sont un peu de l'églogue...nulle pitié, nulle terreur, rien de tragique; cette scène ne contribue en rien au nœud de la pièce; mais elle est intéressante par elle-même.' This does not, of course, as Voltaire well knows, mean that it makes no contribution to the development of the characters. On the contrary: 'C'est une préparation à ce qui va suivre.'

[2] E.g. the last lines of I, 3 which, as Petit de Julleville points out (*id.*, p. 415), have a certain superficial resemblance to those of *le Cid*, v, 1.

[3] Competent critics to the contrary, it is not impossible to agree, at least to a certain degree, with the famous opinion of Mme la Dauphine. Cf. with even Pauline's most impassioned utterances, the artifice with which Chimène pleads against Rodrigue in *le Cid* (IV, 5, 11, 1375–84) and her passionate exhortation to the king (II, 8) ending with the lines:

Immolez, non à moi, mais à votre couronne,
Mais à votre grandeur, mais à votre personne;
Immolez, dis-je, sire, au bien de tout l'État
Tout ce qu'enorgueillit un si grand attentat.

menting on this, Voltaire wrote: 'il ne sert de rien dans la pièce: ce n'est qu'un morceau de déclamation. Il n'en est pas ainsi du songe d'Athalie....Celui de Pauline est un peu hors d'œuvre; la pièce peut s'en passer.' Technically speaking, nothing could be further from the truth.

To see this, we must again turn back to *Horace*. Here, in this great experimental play, Corneille attempted many new things, and little occupied his attention more than what I might call tragic foreshadowing of the dénouement. Writing a work which, for the first time, he called a tragedy[1], he sought to impress his audience with the expectation of momentous events. But still uncertain in his technic, instead of using one method, he used several; and as he used a dual plot, so his tragic foreshadowing is obtained not by a single, but by a triple effort. To a writer fresh from the technical study forced upon Corneille by the peculiar criticism of *le Cid*[2], an obvious method of producing the effect he wanted was the use of prophecy. Thus it happens that, in the very first scene of *Horace*, Sabine proclaims the future greatness of Rome, a prophecy repeated with a more precise allusion to its source by le vieil Horace in III, 3.[5] From Greek tragedy as well as from more recent plays[3], Corneille borrowed a second idea, that of the oracle. Being careful to give it a deceptive clarity for the sake of dramatic effect[4], he introduced it twice at the beginning of the play[5], recalled it, for the sake of suspense, just before the final crisis[6]; and finally closed the play with twelve lines which not only explain its meaning, but end with a repetition of the text itself of the oracle.

Yet even the prophecy and the oracle were not enough. Closely allied to the oracle is a third method of foreshadowing, viz. the dream which figured conspicuously not only in the plays but also in the theoretical writings of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries[7]. By

[1] Except of course for *Médée*, in which he had Seneca's play to help him (cf. note 1, p. 52). Both *Clitandre* and *le Cid* bore originally the designation 'tragi-comédie.'

[2] Cf. the marginal note dictated by Richelieu, on the manuscript of *les Sentiments de l'Académie* and *Œuvr. de P. Corneille*, 1862, Vol. III, p. 34: 'L'applaudissement et le blâme du Cid n'est qu'entre les doctes et les ignorants, au lieu que les contestations sur les autres pièces' (*Jerusalem* and *Pastor Fido*) 'ont été entre les gens d'esprit'; also Chapelain's letter to Balzac (June 13, 1637): 'Il (*le Cid*) eust passé pour barbare en Italie...ce qui a donné beau jeu à M. de Scudéry....'

[3] E.g. *Electra*, the *Choephoroe*, the *Pastor Fido*.

[4] *Examen* of *Horace*.

[5] *Horace*, I. 2, 3.

[6] *Horace*, III, 3.

[7] Hardy, with whose works Corneille tells us that he was familiar (*Examen* of *Mélite*), also uses the dream for foreshadowing, e.g. in *la Mort d'Achille*, *Timoclée*, etc. Prof. D. C. Stuart of Princeton draws my attention to a similar use by Seneca (*Troades*), by Trissino (*Sofonisba*), by Jodelle (*Cléopâtre*) and others.

introducing a dream only a few lines after the oracle, and by giving it an opposite tone, Corneille seeks in *Horace* to excite still more the curiosity of the spectator. Camille, reassured by the one, is thrown into dismay by the other which, with its death and carnage, gives 'une ébauche...de ce qui doit arriver de funeste[1].'

Such richness is in reality poverty, the effect of uncertain technic. D'Aubignac attacked the last lines which explain the oracle[2] and Corneille evidently felt the justice of this attack, since he omitted this explanation in the editions published after 1656. Here was another mistake which he had no intention to repeat; and in *Polyeucte* he retains but one of the three methods, the dream.

When commenting upon this dream, he has himself noted its superiority to that of *Horace*[3]. Indeed it is so much better conceived, it is used with so much greater skill, that it alone does all, and more than all, the work of the combined prophecy, oracle, and dream of the earlier play. Like that combination, it appears seven times[4]; but it is in every case more effective. For instance, Polyeucte, returning safely to Pauline, makes of this safe return an opportunity to cast doubt upon the disaster suggested by the dream, just as Julie, bringing the news that the combat has been stopped, had reassured Camille on the meaning of the oracle[5]; but the misgivings of Pauline are better founded than the rather unconvincing doubt of Camille, because the dream is at the same time more comprehensive and more precise than the oracle. The most striking improvement, however, is seen first in the skilful way in which the dream is used, as I have already pointed out, to mark a stage in the development of the character of Polyeucte; and secondly, in its use as part of the exposition. Here, not only does it permit Corneille to satisfy a requirement which had attracted his attention at least eight years earlier[6], but it also permits him to effect that remarkable improvement in the rôle of the rival which I have also explained above. The oracle, the prophecy, and the dream of *Horace* had neglected Valère; in *Cinna*, the love of Maxime for Emilie

[1] *Examen* of *Horace*.
[2] Cf. *Pratique du Théâtre*, Bk II, chap. 9.
[3] *Examen* of *Horace* and also that of *Polyeucte*.
[4] *Polyeucte*, I, 1, 2, 3; II, 3, 4; III, 3; IV, 3.
[5] *Polyeucte*, II, 4; *Horace*, III, 3.
[6] Cf. *Examen* of *Polyeucte*. Corneille wishes to make more plausible the speeches devoted to an explanation of the situation at the opening of the play. In *Médée* he makes believe that Pollux has only just returned from a journey (cf. *Examen* of *Médée*); in *Cinna* he makes Emilie speak as a result of her anxiety as to the danger to which she is exposing Cinna (cf. *Discours* I); here in *Polyeucte* he is still more successful, finding an explanation for the very hour at which Pauline makes the explanation: 'comme elle n'a fait ce songe que la nuit d'auparavant....'

does not appear until the third act; whereas in *Polyeucte*, the dream, conceived as Corneille himself has remarked, with 'plus d'éclat et d'artifice[1],' emphasizes at the very opening of the play that situation which is one of its greatest beauties. Thus it is due in some measure to the dream that Corneille could justly say of *Polyeucte* 'A mon gré, je n'ai pas fait de pièce où l'ordre du théâtre soit plus beau et l'enchaînement des scènes mieux ménagé[2].'

Polyeucte is one of the most beautiful and one of the most original plays of Corneille. What I have attempted to show in these pages is the part played by previous experimentation in the development of this originality. If Corneille was able in 1642 to give effective dramatic form to such characters and such a situation, it was because of the practice, criticism and success of plays written before that date. Roughly speaking, the crisis of *Polyeucte* is modelled directly on that of the second theme in *Horace*; his tragic hero, Polyeucte, is the result of a long series of experiments of which the most significant are found partly in the same play and partly in *Cinna*; the situation and characters of Sévère and Pauline are a return to the *Cid*, made possible by a lesson learned again from *Cinna*; and finally, one of the most striking elements of the 'tactics' of the play is the excellent use of the dream that assumes the combined functions of the prophecy, oracle and dream of *Horace*.

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[1] *Examen* of *Horace*.

[2] *Examen* of *Polyeucte*.

ENTRE LA PENSÉE FRANCO-ANGLAISE ET LA PHILOSOPHIE ALLEMANDE: LES PORTALIS ÉMIGRÉS, ET HERDER[1].

Les Portalis, père et fils, après avoir au 18 Fructidor cherché un asile en Suisse, puis dans la Forêt-Noire, se réfugièrent en Holstein, et y vécurent de mars 1798 à 1800. Grâce à l'accueil bienveillant du Comte de Reventlow[2], il leur fut loisible de mettre à profit leur séjour pour s'initier aux lettres allemandes. En ont-ils fait vraiment une étude approfondie, de ce 'nouveau Tusculum' où ils se trouvaient placés 'comme providentiellement,' pour observer les 'deux camps de la philosophie moderne[3]'?

Deux ouvrages nés ensemble, l'un posthume et resté à l'état d'esquisse[4], l'autre peu connu, témoignent de ce qu'une assimilation assez hâtive devait laisser de profit à deux esprits distingués, dont le malheur pouvait étendre les prises, sans faire table rase de leurs habitudes ni abolir d'un coup leurs préventions.

L'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Histoire et Antiquités, de Stockholm, couronnait en 1800 un *Discours* du jeune Portalis, *Du Devoir de l'Historien, de bien considérer l'influence et le caractère de chaque siècle, en jugeant les grands hommes qui y ont vécu*[5]. Le père composait en 1798 un ouvrage intitulé *De l'usage et de l'abus de*

[1] Extrait d'un ouvrage à paraître prochainement, sur *La fortune intellectuelle de Herder en France.*

[2] L'exil des Portalis les conduisit à Bâle, puis Zurich, puis Fribourg-en-Brisgau (rencontre avec Delille et Mallet du Pan), puis un village de la Forêt-Noire et Tubingue où, au passage, ils voient Suard. Ils sont en Holstein (Tremsbüttel) en mars 1798 (à Emckendorff deux mois plus tard). Le père regagne Paris le 18 février 1800; le fils épouse, en Basse Lusace, en mai 1801, la comtesse de Holck. Voir A. Boullée, *Biographies contemporaines*, II, 204—206, R. Lavollée, *Portalis*, p. 110 ss. et la *Notice* (p. 24) en tête de Portalis père, *De l'usage et de l'abus de l'esprit philosophique.* Voir aussi Mallet du Pan, *Mémoires et Correspondance*, II, 331—334, 357 (II, 393, 406, 410, lettres de Portalis, datées de Emckendorff).

[3] Frégier, *Portalis philosophe chrétien* (1861), p. 11.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[5] '...afin d'éviter, d'un côté, de maintenir et perpétuer les principes faux et nuisibles à la société, et, de l'autre, de ne point diminuer et affaiblir, en critiquant les erreurs des grands hommes, l'estime et l'admiration qui est due aux qualités éminentes, à l'activité, fermeté, courage d'esprit et aux autres vertus héroïques, si essentielles à conserver pour l'indépendance et le bonheur des nations.' Paris, Bernard, an VIII, 1800, 8°, 157 p. (daté du 31 décembre 1799). Voir la *Bibliothèque française* de Pougens, no. 6, p. 1—12, et l'*Esprit des Journaux*, frimaire an IX, p. 53—63.

l'esprit philosophique durant le XVIII^e siècle, publié pour la première fois en 1820 par les soins de son fils, qui y joignait un *Essai* sur l'origine, l'histoire et les progrès de la littérature française et de la philosophie[1].

Herder est cité dans l'un des deux ouvrages: l'autre ne lui doit-il rien? Portalis père recourt à Herder philosophe; lui-même ou son fils ont-ils ignoré Herder historien?

Herder était connu dans l'entourage des Portalis exilés. Ils avaient trouvé en Holstein—outre des Français qui les y attirèrent, Quatremère de Quincy, le général Matthieu Dumas, Vanderbourg, d'Angivilliers—un cercle familier d'écrivains allemands de marque, les frères Christian et Léopold de Stolberg, poète et historien, le philosophe Jacobi, les historiens Hegewisch, Schlosser, Kleuker, et d'autres encore[2]. Les relations de Herder avec Jacobi dataient de loin; Spinoza les avait rapprochés, puis désunis; Jacobi venait de renouer avec Herder malade, oubliant les infidélités à Spinoza pour ne connaître plus que l'homme, l'ami de feu Hamann, et le théologien avec qui il se sentait en plein accord. Ils devaient se rencontrer de nouveau en 1803, peu avant la mort de Herder. Quand Portalis connut Jacobi, Herder venait de rendre témoignage à la ferveur de son antikantianisme[3]. Peut-être aussi l'un des Stolberg, que la prédication de Herder à Weimar avait enthousiasmé jadis, se souvenait-il encore de lui avec estime, malgré sa récente conversion au catholicisme, dont Jacobi lui avait tenu rigueur plus que Herder lui-même[4].

Les Portalis, guidés par eux, comprirent-ils Herder dans l'admiration que leur inspira la littérature allemande? Le fils en célèbre le soudain enrichissement 'de chefs d'œuvre de tous genres,' dû à 'une foule d'hommes distingués presque tous contemporains, et qui donnent à l'Allemagne le superbe spectacle que présenta le siècle de Périclès à la Grèce étonnée[5].' Le père loue les mérites supérieurs de l'allemand pour la traduction des ouvrages grecs, et cite comme versions 'modèles' celles de Stolberg, Voss ou Schlosser. Il juge passé le temps où l'on

[1] Edité en 1820, 1827, 1834, 2 vols in 8°. Les références seront données d'après cette 3^e édition (table des deux volumes en tête du premier). Voir, au sujet de l'ouvrage, le *Conservateur*, III, 1820–21, Damiron, *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Philosophie française au XIX^e siècle*, Avant-Propos, p. VII (1828), Picavet, *Les Idéologues*, p. 500; Aug. Nicolas le citera dans ses *Etudes philosophiques sur le Christianisme*, I, 27; III, 489; IV, 453, etc. (21^e édition, 1865.) Portalis père est mort le 25 août 1807.

[2] Boullée, ouvrage cité, p. 205. Cf. Mignet, *Eloges historiques*, p. 229—236: 'une sorte d'académie européenne....'

[3] Haym, *Herder...*, II. 275—277 et ss. (visite de Jacobi à Weimar), 472, 549, 557, 676, 695, 803; II, 696.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, 348, 560 (date de la conversion: 1784).

[5] Portalis fils, *Du devoir de l'historien...*, p. 67. Il appelait l'Allemagne 'sa seconde patrie': Mignet, *Eloges historiques*, p. 277.

n'étudiait l'allemand 'que pour la guerre,' le français étant alors la langue universelle du Nord de l'Europe, et l'anglais celle des sciences. La littérature des Allemands, 'née subitement de nos jours,' n'a pas eu d'enfance; 'dans un court espace de temps, ils ont brillé dans tous les genres et les ont tous épuisés'; poètes grands et petits en témoignent, de Klopstock, Schiller, Goethe, Bürger, Gleim et Gessner, à Gerstenberg, Hölty, Voss, Claudius, Hagedorn, Gellert et Pfeffel—sans oublier Kotzebue, ni Jacobi ou les Stolberg: 'ces auteurs sont contemporains et ils sont presque tous encore vivants[1].'

L'éloge est sincère sans doute, mais fait un peu de confiance; hors de la poésie, le ton change. Le fils, après le père, citera Winckelmann, mais en passant[2]. Le père nomme Lavater, qu'il connut à Zurich, mais, loin de croire avec lui que la Physiognomonie soit une science véritable qui se puisse réduire en règles et en principes, se déclare persuadé 'qu'il sera toujours plus sûr de juger les hommes par leurs actions que par leur visage.' L'esthétique littéraire de Lessing ou de Wieland n'a pas non plus gagné en lui un adepte[3]; il nie, malgré Lessing, que la laideur corporelle soit plus tolérable en poésie que dans les beaux-arts, et s'il relève dans l'*Agathon* l'éloge qui y est fait de Shakespeare, c'est pour montrer où peut conduire 'la fureur des systèmes'; le mélange du tragique et du comique, des pleurs et du rire, ne lui dit rien qui vaille. Avant Lessing et Winckelmann 'il existait, dit-il, une grande masse d'observations philosophiques qui suffisaient pour nous diriger'; Dubos, Le Batteux, Caylus, l'*Essai* de Montesquieu sur le Goût, lui sont encore de suffisants oracles. A quoi bon, par un abus de la philosophie, porter trop loin l'analyse du sentiment, chercher des raisons 'à ce qui n'en a point,' et discuter 'lorsqu'il ne faut que sentir'? 'Une saine philosophie avait posé les véritables règles' dont le 'nouveau philosophisme' n'a respecté aucune; c'était celle de Laharpe et Marmontel.

Ce nouveau *philosophisme* fut certainement la principale étude de Portalis le père. Il jugeait plaisant le spectacle d'écrivains distingués qui se battaient 'pour des abstractions ou pour des logogriphes.' Les 'échecs' que subissaient tels professeurs allemands ne l'affligeaient en aucune façon, à en juger par la lettre où il raconte à Mallet du Pan l'affaire du célèbre Fichte, le 'sophiste' d'Iéna[4]. Tant d'égoïsme méta-

[1] Portalis père, *De l'usage et de l'abus de l'esprit philosophique*, I, 376, 360, 364.
[2] *Essai* (1820), p. 70, 80; *De l'usage et de l'abus...*, I, 306.
[3] *De l'usage et de l'abus...*, I, 168 note, 270, 332, 318, 306, 305.
[4] Mallet du Pan, *Mémoires et Correspondance*, II, 410 (22 mai 1799). Portalis père, *De l'usage...*, II, 77.

physique lui paraissait 'le comble du délire'; il renvoyait dos à dos, comme également absurdes, idéalistes et matérialistes absolus.

Entre autres ouvriers en 'bagatelles philosophiques[1],' c'est à Kant surtout qu'il s'en est pris. Son fils le nommait, avec Malebranche, Condillac et Locke, comme un des obligés de Descartes[2], ce fondateur de la liberté de penser. Il semble avoir lui-même étudié comparativement les systèmes de Kant et de Jacobi, 'avec ardeur et persévérance[3].' Il admire la force de pénétration de Kant, pressentant l'existence d'une planète que Herschell allait découvrir, mais le juge, comme philosophe, presque aussi 'fou' que Fichte. Il consacre tout un chapitre de son livre à l'examen de la philosophie critique et des conséquences qu'en déduit Kant lui-même; ailleurs encore il discute la conception Kantiste de Dieu, de la morale et de la philosophie de l'histoire[4].

Et c'est contre lui qu'il appelle Herder à l'aide. 'Gardons-nous de croire, dit-il, que les hommes raisonnables ont tous passé sous le joug des novateurs en philosophie. Les écrits de Jacobi, de Bardili, de Herder et d'une foule de philosophes estimables, prouvent que le véritable esprit philosophique pénètre chez les Allemands comme en France et en Angleterre.' Ailleurs, critiquant le principe même de la morale de Kant, et niant la distinction posée par le Kantien Reinhold entre *expérience* et *philosophie*, il se refuse à reconnaître l'existence de la *Raison pure* et de son aspiration à ce 'droit insensé' d'être plus puissante qu'elle-même, et rappelle la 'judicieuse observation' de Herder au début de sa *Métacritique*, que la raison pure ne serait jamais qu'un contenant sans contenu, une fiction platonique[5].

Au vrai, que doit-il à Herder? Ami de Franklin[6], de Fénelon[7], disciple peut-être[8] des Ecossais et de Reid, en tout cas de Bacon, et faisant cas de la philosophie pratique bien plus que de la spéculation, il est en garde contre toute métaphysique, persuadé que 'ce sont les phénomènes intérieurs et extérieurs qui seuls alimentent la raison' et que 'rien de ce qui est, ne peut être connu ni prouvé *a priori*.

[1] Portalis père, *De l'usage...*, p. 410.
[2] Portalis fils, *Du devoir de l'historien...*, p. 66.
[3] Frégier, *Portalis philosophe chrétien*, p. 62, 286. Jacobi cité dans l'ouvrage de Portalis père, *De l'usage...*, II, 77.
[4] Portalis père, *De l'usage...*, I, 157, note (cf. *Correspondance* de Mallet du Pan, II, 410, lettre citée); I, 183—228 (chap. VII et VIII); I, 264 et ss., II, 53—57, 23 et ss.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, 227, II, 57.
[6] Il le cite (II, 131) pour prouver une fois de plus que la morale n'est pas une science spéculative. (Chapitres de l'Enthousiasme, du Fanatisme, de la Superstition.) Les citations sont faites d'après la traduction de la *Vie* de Franklin publiée en l'an VI par Castera.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, 266 'l'admirable Fénelon' (*Traité de l'Existence de Dieu*).
[8] Frégier, *Portalis philosophe chrétien*, p. 77, 97, 113, 301.

L'existence est un fait, dit-il, et un fait quel qu'il soit ne peut être fondé que sur ce qu'Emmanuel Kant appelle des preuves *empiriques*.' Selon lui, les nouveaux systèmes métaphysiques de l'Allemagne 'ne sont propres qu'à reculer, dans cette vaste partie de l'Europe, les progrès des véritables lumières,' à former 'de mauvais raisonneurs et des sophistes[1].'

Tout cela est bien selon l'esprit de Herder, mais n'est pas moins selon l'esprit de Jacobi. Quand Portalis parlait des faits comme des véritables matériaux de nos connaissances, les notions générales n'étant que des idées réfléchies que nous acquérons par les faits, quand il s'écriait: 'Tout est perdu si l'on méconnaît une fois la force ou l'autorité de l'expérience,' qui limite nos connaissances en même temps qu'elle en est le principe, on pouvait songer surtout à Bacon. Mais n'est-ce point Jacobi qui l'inspire quand il déclare un peu plus tard : ' il ne s'agit que de bien étudier ce que nous sentons, ce qui se passe en nous, de ne pas remplacer par des suppositions arbitraires les instructions directes que le sentiment nous donne....N'oublions jamais que le sentiment est en métaphysique le seul principe de toutes nos véritables découvertes,'— ou encore : ' Le caractère des vérités premières, le caractère des grandes vérités, est d'être à la portée de tout le monde, c'est-à-dire d'exprimer, sinon ce que tout le monde observe, du moins ce que tout le monde sent[2] ' ?

L'essentiel de sa réfutation de Kant, il le doit à ses propres habitudes et répugnances intellectuelles; c'est de là qu'est né l'ouvrage entier contre le philosophisme en général et les abus de 'l'esprit philosophique.' Si bien qu'on a pu s'étonner à la fois qu'il s'y occupe avant tout de la France, et que, traitant de la France, il ait cru devoir s'abandonner à des digressions sur l'Allemagne[3]. Qu'a fait Kant, sinon déchaîner un *philosophisme* plus célèbre et plus pernicieux que tout autre ? Portalis est antimétaphysicien comme le très grand nombre des Français de son temps. On l'a noté déjà, en croyant combattre Kant, souvent il a combattu Leibnitz et Descartes lui-même; et, par réaction Lockiste contre la théorie des idées innées, il a fait à la métaphysique de Kant plus d'un grief que peut-être elle ne méritait pas[4]. Sur la théorie même de la raison pure, sa réfutation s'en tient en somme à des contre-affirmations, où il prend position au nom des 'faits' contre tout système,

[1] Portalis père, *De l'usage et de l'abus de l'esprit philosophique*, II, 57 ; I, 265, 183, 204.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 213, 217, 227 ; II, 55.
[3] Frégier, ouvrage cité, p. 26.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 139, 135. Voir notamment, chez Portalis, I, 226 : ' les cartésiens, les malle-branchistes et les kantiens ' réunis dans la condamnation des idées innées ou vues en Dieu, et non formées par notre esprit. Cf. p. 184, prototypes de Platon, idées innées de Descartes, visions en Dieu de Malebranche, et idées a priori de Kant.

croyant avec Montaigne que nous ne connaissons le tout de rien, autrement dit que l'essence des choses nous est inconnue: 'Nous sommes hommes avant que d'être géomètres; nous sentons avant que de raisonner[1].'

Ce ne sont pas seulement les idées *a priori* d'espace et de temps qu'il nie, d'autant plus énergiquement qu'Emm. Kant les avait mises au premier rang; mais aussi toutes *catégories* de jugements et d'idées. Herder avait dit, déjà, que chez Kant elles étaient reprises d'Aristote[2]. Mais était-il le seul?

Quand Portalis taxe Kant d'immodestie pour son mépris des métaphysiciens antérieurs, quand il déclare, 'la parole est la physique expérimentale de l'esprit,' se souviendrait-il que Herder voulait substituer à la soi-disant critique de la raison pure une Physiologie de l'intelligence humaine[3]? Ce serait là, en ce cas, tout le secours qu'il lui doit. Il avait eu le mérite de lire les *Critiques* de Kant en latin[4]; a-t-il poussé bien avant la lecture de la *Métacritique* allemande? On fera sagement d'en douter. Polémiste plus que philosophe, superficiel le plus souvent, mais d'une vigueur d'esprit qui mérite l'attention, Herder suivait de point en point la méthode de Kant, passant de la Théorie générale de la connaissance à l'Esthétique, puis à l'Analytique et à la Dialectique transcendantales. Après une déclaration générale d'hostilité qui est une profession de foi, sans trop s'attarder aux procédés de la logique transcendante, Portalis va droit aux applications du Kantisme, à la morale religieuse, humaine et historique: et la *Kalligone* qui les discutera n'a pas encore paru[5].

Lorsque, traitant des beaux-arts en général, sans penser à Kant particulièrement, Portalis distingue entre la peinture qui travaille sur des surfaces, et la sculpture ou l'architecture qui s'exercent sur des masses, les unes et les autres devant se borner à des actions instantanées ou à des objets seulement juxtaposés (tandis que la poésie peut peindre les actions progressives, interdites aux arts—sans renoncer à décrire les traits physiques), est-ce un souvenir de l'esthétique de Herder? Aurait-il connu sa *Plastik*[6]? Ou plutôt Vanderbourg, que Herder semble

[1] Portalis père, *De l'usage et de l'abus...*, I, 190, 215, 194, 200. [2] *Ibid.*, I, 196, 200, 198.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 183, 190; cf. Herder, *Metakritik*, I, 1 (édition Suphan, XXI, 41). Rapprocher le mot de Portalis, dont lui-même reporte l'origine à Montesquieu, et que cite (avant celui-ci) Sainte-Beuve, *Lundis*, t. V, p. 369, 2e article sur Portalis: 'Interrogeons l'histoire, elle est la physique expérimentale de la législation.'

[4] Edition Schmidt-Phiseldux (Hafniae, 1796): v. Portalis I, 183, note. Il renvoie aussi aux *Prolégomènes à toute métaphysique future*, traduction latine de Born (Leipzig 1797).

[5] Herder publie sa *Metakritik* en 1799, sa *Kalligone* en 1800.

[6] Portalis père, *De l'usage et de l'abus...*, I, 309—312 (chap. XVI): cf. par exemple, Herder, édition Suphan, VIII, 15.

n'avoir jamais beaucoup occupé[1], mais qui va traduire le *Laocoon*, n'a-t-il pas fait connaître à Portalis les théories voisines de Lessing, qu'au début de sa carrière Herder continuait, tout en les critiquant[2]?

Au reste, même eût-il vraiment connu Herder, l'intimité intellectuelle ne fût pas allée plus loin que les besoins de sa campagne anti-Kantiste. Quand il nomme, parmi les historiens contemporains de Kant, les auteurs d'ouvrages 'excellents' qui n'ont point adopté son système historique, il mentionne Spittler, Pütter, Schmidt, Heinrichs, Hess, Hegewisch qu'il connaissait, Jean de Müller et Schiller lui-même : il paraît ignorer tout de Herder historien, si éminente que soit la place occupée dans son œuvre par une philosophie de l'histoire, fort peu Kantiste en esprit. Mais Portalis ne veut à aucun prix entendre parler de philosophie de l'histoire. Toute l'œuvre de l'esprit philosophique appliquée à l'histoire, c'est selon lui de distinguer le vrai du vraisemblable, de nous donner un cours de sagesse pratique, et d'ériger une sorte de tribunal : ' l'histoire est une sorte de vie à venir que les grands et les héros redoutent '... Encouragements et leçons pour les sciences et les arts, conseils de politique et hauts exemples pour la morale : voilà ce que peut donner l'histoire, à condition d'être préservée de l'esprit de système, plus dangereux là que partout ailleurs. Quant à ces philosophes modernes, et Kant tout le premier, qui ' ne regardent les faits historiques que comme une base sur laquelle on peut bâtir les systèmes les plus arbitraires,' ils ne font qu'étager des ' fictions ' sur les réalités de l'histoire. Il y faut, si l'on est sage, 'se réduire à observer les actions communes des hommes, et ne pas vouloir s'enquérir des prétendus secrets de la nature[3].' Prétendre, comme Kant, se servir de l'Ecriture ainsi que d'une simple carte géographique dont on se fait fort de combler les lacunes, transformer en règle de morale ou de politique des faits qui le plus souvent résultent de la fortune et du hasard, subordonner entièrement l'individu à l'espèce,

[1] On ne trouvera le nom de Herder mentionné par Vanderbourg, ni dans sa traduction du *Laocoon*, qui va paraître, ni dans les articles contemporains de la *Bibliothèque française* de Pougens (1801, no. 5, p. 43, sur le Kantisme selon Villers : ' l'auteur du présent article a trop peu étudié lui-même les ouvrages originaux du père de la philosophie critique, pour décider si le Citoyen Villers a parfaitement rempli ce dernier but...'), ou des *Archives littéraires de l'Europe*, où Villers l'accusait d'avoir ' pointillé sans fin et d'un ton de Jésuite sur les Allemands ' (v. Wittmer, Thèse de Genève 1907-8, p. 309, lettre de Villers à Jacobi, 1808) : par exemple I, 102, sur les *grâces* de Wieland, II, 247 ou V. 325, traductions de Schiller (*Le Commun et le Bas dans les Beaux Arts* ; *Du Sublime*), ou III, 300, à propos des *Lettres* de son ami Koeppen de Lübeck, sur le Paysage, ou II, 169 et 377. sur le Maréchal de Munnich, II, 335, sur Delille traducteur. Suivant le duc de Broglie (*Souvenirs*, I, 45), Vanderbourg était ' frotté de germanisme ' ; on peut croire que Herder n'y entra pour rien.

[2] Voir notamment *Kritische Wälder*, I, 16, édition Suphan III, 133 ss.

[3] Portalis père, *De l'usage et de l'abus...*, II, 25—27, 12, 13, 15, 33, 27, 22, 25.

qui seule compterait selon lui : autant d'entreprises osées ou chimériques. 'Qu'est ce donc que l'espèce, séparée des individus qui la composent ? Y a-t-il autre chose que des individus dans la nature ?' Passions humaines et révolutions qui les déchaînent ; accidents physiques, sol, mers, variétés des climats qui les traduisent, 'quand le philosophe de Königsberg aura résolu ces problèmes d'une manière satisfaisante, on pourra s'occuper avec lui du soin de changer la manière d'écrire l'histoire[1].'

Est-ce à Herder qu'il songe ici, contre lui ? Point. C'est Montesquieu que son individualisme historique oppose à Kant : Montesquieu dont l'*Esprit des lois* fut 'comme la Bible de la famille juridique des Portalis[2].' Sans doute, nul évènement, nul peuple, nul individu, ne pourrait plus désormais être tenu pour isolé ; quelle que soit l'utilité des 'Vies particulières,' il n'y a plus d'histoires particulières, 'on a toujours à mouvoir des masses et à saisir un ensemble général' ; mais il lui semble que les faits sont suffisamment 'liés' par des philosophes tels que Robertson et Hume[3], ou même par des historiens de la croissance et de la vieillesse des 'empires,' tels que Mably, Condillac et Raynal ; est-il sûr même qu'il ne songe pas à Bossuet ? De l'essai tenté par Herder pour concilier le rôle de la volonté individuelle et l'action constante des déterminations physiques ou collectives, il semble n'avoir rien connu ou retenu au profit de sa lutte contre l'histoire à la *cosmopolite*, dont il ne veut point.

Est-ce lui qui a donné à son fils, ou tous deux ne doivent-ils pas à leur temps, à la hantise d'évènements récents, cette aversion pour 'l'esprit de système ou de prévention, mille fois plus dangereux que l'ignorance,' et pour les 'sophistes' qui pensent transformer l'histoire en système de philosophie ? 'L'histoire est un cours d'expériences morales faites sur le genre humain' ; si l'on veut la rendre 'utile,' il en faut bannir l'esprit de système[4]. Pour le fils lui aussi, l'individu fait l'histoire, beaucoup plus que l'espèce : 'Chaque individu a sa fin en lui-même, et c'est là le but de la nature....L'homme n'existe pas pour la société, la société n'existe que pour l'homme' : il juge désastreuses les conséquences de la maxime célèbre de Buffon, appliquée de l'histoire naturelle à la politique et à la morale : 'la nature s'embarrasse peu des individus, elle

[1] Portalis père, *De l'usage...*, II, 23—25.
[2] Mignet, *Eloges historiques*, p. 229 ; le jeune Portalis l'analysait à l'âge de dix ans.
[3] Portalis père, *De l'usage et de l'abus...*, II, 31, 27.
[4] Portalis fils, *Discours...*, p. 129, 134, 141 ; cf. 84. (Cf. dans l'*Essai* de 1820, p. 103 : 'le juif Spinoza, enveloppé dans les replis tortueux d'une métaphysique obscure.') *Discours*, p. 85 : à propos de l'histoire : 'la morale, dont elle n'est que la partie expérimentale, et qu'il n'en faut jamais séparer.'

ne s'occupe que de l'espèce.' Il fait de cette erreur un dogme: 'Le mot peuple, comme le mot somme, ne me présente d'autre idée que le résultat d'une addition....puisque dans la nature il n'y a que des unités[1].' Les conseils qu'il donne aux historiens sur la recherche et la discussion des témoignages, l'utilisation des sources contemporaines, le devoir d'impartialité et de modération, sont de valeur générale, applicables à tout ordre de recherches historiques. L'historien philosophe' n'a besoin que de sagacité, pour saisir 'en quoi les choses et les personnes diffèrent, en quoi elles se ressemblent[2].'

La seule théorie qu'il hasarde, comme une ébauche de celle des Héros ou des Surhommes, va contre l'idée même d'une philosophie de l'histoire. Mercier avait dit qu'une grande découverte est l'œuvre non d'un homme mais d'une génération. 'Quel est donc, réplique Portalis, cet esprit humain que l'on veut séparer de l'esprit de l'homme, et qu'on transforme en âme universelle du monde?' Son 'grand point de vue,' c'est que l'influence des grands hommes agit dans tous les sens sur la masse du genre humain, et que leur propre génie entre pour beaucoup dans la composition de celui de leur siècle; le 'sublime de l'humanité,' le mérite des 'héros' de l'histoire ne saurait être exagéré par elle[3]. Sans doute c'est là une idée familière à Herder. Dès le *Torso* consacré à la mémoire d'Abbt, il insistait sur les rapports étroits qui unissent un auteur à son temps. Plus tard, il faisait valoir le rôle capital des biographies comme éléments d'étude psychologique; la meilleure histoire des temps jadis lui paraissait être celle que pouvait écrire un Commines. 'Avant toute chose' il souhaitait des autobiographies d'hommes remarquables, regrettant que les Allemands fussent très en retard sur ce point; il applaudit, après 1790, aux premières tentatives que donne J. G. Müller par ses 'Confessions d'hommes remarquables sur eux-mêmes.' Même dans ses *Lettres théologiques*, il recommandait l'étude des sources, et des sources contemporaines, comme le moyen d'étude le plus sûr et le plus rapide. Et ses *Lettres pour servir à l'avancement de l'humanité* font la part très large à ce moyen d'action et d'éducation[4]. Mais si le jeune Portalis a passé en revue Pythagore, Socrate, Confucius, les Pères, Penn, Fénelon, Hunyade et Scanderbeg, peut-on conclure qu'il en a dû l'idée à Herder?

[1] Portalis fils, *Discours...*, p. 137. 136.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 145, 149. 255, 84.
[3] *Ibid.*. p. 12, 82, 81, 8, 83 (cf. 88: c'est surtout l'homme de génie qui est inséparable de son siècle, etc.).
[4] Herder, édition Suphan, II, 265; VIII, 180; IX, 334; cf. XXIII, 220 ss. (grand éloge de tous les *Mémoires* français); *ibid.*, 231, il cite les autobiographies en témoignage, pour aider à sa démonstration que tout se paye ici-bas (*Adrastea*); XVII, 22 et 265; XI, 92 ss., cf. X, 13—14.

De même, pour qu'il énumérât, après *l'Essai sur les Mœurs*, entre autres, les grandes inventions humaines, boussole, imprimerie, poudre à canon, découverte de l'Amérique, fallait-il nécessairement qu'il lût Herder[1]?

'Chaque peuple, dit-il, tient du génie de ses premiers fondateurs, du climat qu'il habite, un esprit général qui règle la marche de ses idées, de son goût et de ses mœurs.' Ici Montesquieu suffit à fonder sa doctrine. Quand il donne comme une erreur dangereuse de 'transporter à d'autres temps et à d'autres lieux les maximes d'un autre pays ou d'un autre siècle,' on croirait presque entendre un disciple de Herder; mais Voltaire avant lui avait été fort catégorique sur ce point[2].

La synthèse de l'histoire universelle qu'il esquisse ailleurs très rapidement, l'Egypte et l'instinct religieux, la Grèce et l'instinct moral, Rome et la politique, les peuples septentrionaux et leur 'sentiment profond et mélancolique,' les ordres religieux du Moyen âge, tout spéculatifs et scolastiques...ne rappelle guère les évocations que faisait Herder dès son *Encore une Philosophie de l'Histoire*, puis dans ses *Idées*[3]. Portalis ne parle pas de la perfectibilité, autrement qu'on en parlait en France depuis Turgot et Condorcet, et dans le camp hostile, dénonçant sous l'idée un abus de mots, et niant qu'il y ait perfectibilité de l'espèce, puisqu'il n'y a point persistance, et que l'espèce 'naît et meurt à chaque instant' et ne saurait être capable, selon lui, ni de volonté, ni de conscience. Il nie encore le progrès du genre humain 'pris en masse,' et semble croire tout au plus au progrès de certaines sociétés ou de certains peuples, vivifiés un temps par leurs hommes de génie, après quoi 'tout retombe dans l'inertie et le chaos.' L'*Humanität* de Herder se fût indignée de tant de pessimisme hautain: 'Notre espèce, comme notre globe, en fournissant sa carrière, n'entrevoit jamais la lumière qu'à demi. Les connaissances humaines sont une chaîne presque toujours interrompue...et l'on se trouve, après bien des travaux, au point d'où l'on était parti[4].' Si, enfin, dans l'*Essai* de 1820, apparaît la question de l'*Origine des Langues*[5] chère à Herder, c'est que Bonald avant Portalis jeune l'avait posée, l'un des premiers en France, sans que Herder semble y avoir été pour rien.

[1] Portalis fils, *Discours...*, p. 34 ss., 58; Herder, par exemple édition Suphan v, 533.

[2] Portalis fils, *ibid.*, p. 86, 83. Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, Introduction (Des prophètes juifs): 'Il ne faut pas, encore une fois, juger des mœurs, des usages, des façons de parler anciennes, par les nôtres; elles ne se ressemblent pas plus que la langue française ne ressemble au chaldéen et à l'arabe.' Cf. *ibid.*, supra: 'Ces mœurs ne sont pas nos mœurs, etc....'

[3] Portalis fils, *ibid.*, p. 112—121. Cf. Herder, édition Suphan, v, 487, 495, ss., et VIII, 371; v, 499 ss., 517, et *Ideen*, livres 13, 14, et 17.

[4] Portalis fils, *ibid.*, p. 136—138.

[5] Portalis fils, *Essai* (1820), I, p. 29.

'Jurisconsulte, s'essayant par la philosophie à la législation[1],' Portalis père se trouva combattre dans le même camp que Herder, et lui emprunta un argument.

Il n'est pas impossible que le fils l'ait connu lui aussi, puisqu'il servit de secrétaire à son père presque aveugle[2].

Si utile que puisse être cette rapide revue de leurs opinions, comme *témoin* au seuil d'une époque, il faut bien le constater pourtant: en dépit de quelques rencontres ou contacts d'idées, ni l'un ni l'autre de ces deux Français de mérite, plus au courant des choses d'Allemagne que la très grande majorité de leurs contemporains, mais enfants du XVIII[e] siècle quoi qu'ils en aient parfois, et fils des philosophes anglais et français, n'ont réellement subi l'influence de la pensée allemande, et ne sauraient, en particulier, passer pour des Herdériens.

HENRI TRONCHON.

PARIS.

[1] G. Hello, *Philosophie de l'histoire de France*, 1840 (2[me] partie, Biographies), p. 377.
[2] Mignet, *Eloges historiques*, p. 236.

LESSING'S INTERPRETATION OF ARISTOTLE.

IV[1].

I. The Unities.

Lessing discusses the three dramatic Unities of Time, Place and Action in connection with the *Meropes* of Maffei and Voltaire, in Stück xliv, xlv and xlvi of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, without, however, mentioning Aristotle's name. It is hardly necessary to review here the general history of the Unities[2]. The validity of two of them, those of Time and Place, for which the authority of Aristotle had, on insufficient grounds, been claimed by the early Italian critics, was questioned long before the seventeenth century was out[3], and since Houdar de la Motte, in the *Discours sur la Tragédie*, which forms the preface of *Les Macchabées* (1721), had emboldened the eighteenth-century dramatists to disregard them in practice[4], there was little new to be said on the subject. As a matter of fact, Lessing adds nothing to the controversy

[1] Concluded from *Modern Language Review*, vol. xii, p. 339.

[2] See H. Breitinger, *Les Unités d'Aristote avant le Cid de Corneille*, 2nd ed., Geneva, 1895; J. Ebner, *Beitrag zu einer Geschichte der dramatischen Einheiten in Italien*, Erlangen, 1898; K. Borinski, *Die Poetik der Renaissance und die Anfänge der literarischen Kritik in Deutschland*, Berlin, 1886, pp. 214 f., 360 f.; S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, 7th ed., London, 1907, pp. 274 ff.; J. H. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, 2nd ed., New York, 1908, pp. 89 ff.

[3] François Ogier in his Preface to Schélandre's *Tyr et Sidon*, had, as early as 1626, opposed the Unity of Time on the ground that it made it necessary for the poet to narrate, instead of represent, interesting and vivid scenes. Early in the eighteenth century the Abbé Vatry repudiated the Unity of Place in *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vii, pp. 182 ff. Cp. also Brumoy, *Théâtre des Grecs*, i, p. 211.

[4] Houdar de la Motte, *Œuvres*, Paris, 1754, iv, pp. 38 ff.: 'Loin que l'unité de lieu soit essentielle, elle prend ordinairement beaucoup sur la vraisemblance. Il n'est pas naturel que toutes les parties d'une action se passent dans un même apartement.... Je dispenserois donc en bien des rencontres les Auteurs dramatiques de cette unité forcée, qui coûte souvent au Spectateur des parties de l'action qu'il voudroit voir, et ausquelles on ne peut supléer que par des récits toujours moins frapans que l'action même. L'unité de tems n'est pas plus raisonnable, sur tout si on la pousse à la rigueur comme l'unité de lieu: car en ce cas. il ne faudroit prendre pour l'action que le tems de la représentation même; et cela par les mêmes principes, sur lesquels on prétend établir l'unité de lieu... Je ne prétens donc pas anéantir ces régles; je veux dire seulement qu'il ne faudroit pas s'y attacher avec assez de superstition, pour ne les pas sacrifier dans le besoin à des beautés plus essentielles.' From the above it will be seen that I do not attach any value to the attempt by E. Aspelin (*Lamottes Afhandlingar om Tragedin, granskade och jemförda med Lessing*, in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xvi, Helsingfors, 1888, pp. 141 ff.) to establish Lessing's direct indebtedness to La Motte.

except to give it more trenchant expression than it had yet received. He quotes with approval from Johann Elias Schlegel's *Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters*, that writer's plea for the practice of the English dramatists in respect of the Unity of Place: 'Die Wahrheit zu gestehen, beobachten die Engländer, die sich keiner Einheit des Ortes rühmen, dieselbe grossentheils viel besser, als die Franzosen, die sich damit viel wissen, dass sie die Regeln des Aristoteles so genau beobachten[1].' Lessing expresses a similar sympathy with the English poets, but he is less timid, and accepts less reluctantly the logical consequence of his view, a consequence which Schlegel is inclined to shirk by adding: 'Ich will hierdurch die Gewohnheit, die Einheit der Zeit und des Ortes zu beobachten, keineswegs in Verachtung bringen; sondern ich sage es bloss, um einer jeden Regel ihren rechten Werth zu bestimmen, damit man nicht fortfahre, wie viele thun, nach der äusserlichen Form der Schauspiele, ihre innerliche Schönheit zu schätzen[2].'

If any part of the *Dramaturgie* is based on an older stratum of notes, which come down from a period anterior to Lessing's interest in Aristotle as Aristotle, it would seem to me to be these sections on the Unities. Lessing's standpoint and the presentation of his argument are characteristic of the period of his *Beyträge* or *Theatralische Bibliothek*, when he translated Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*[3], and the merits of the English and Spanish drama were only just beginning to dawn on him.

Schlegel had recommended his readers to turn to Hédelin d'Aubignac's *Pratique du Théâtre* for an authoritative explanation of the Unities[4], and to that treatise, then nearly a hundred and twenty years old, Lessing also had recourse. D'Aubignac, he found, demanded that the scene should not be greater than the 'espace dans lequel une vuë commune peut

[1] J. E. Schlegel, *Werke*, III, Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1764, p. 294; ed. Antoniewicz, p. 223 (Lessing, *Schriften*, IX, pp. 370 f., and note).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 295 (p. 224).

[3] From this translation (*Schriften*, VI, p. 262): 'Vors erste aber erlauben Sie mir zu sagen, dass die Einheit des Orts, sie [die Alten] mögen sie noch so sehr beobachtet haben, doch niemals eine von ihren Regeln gewesen ist; wir finden sie weder bey dem Aristoteles, noch Horaz, noch bey sonst einem, der von der Kunst geschrieben, und sie ist nur erst neuerlich von den Franzosen zu einer Vorschrift der Bühne gemacht worden. Die Einheit der Zeit hat selbst Terenz, der doch ihr bester und regelmässigster komischer Dichter ist, vernachlässiget.'

[4] 'Wer eine ausführliche Erklärung derselben verlangt, kann sie nirgends vollkommener und mit mehrerm Verstande abgehandelt finden, als in Hedelins theatralischer Dichtkunst, einem sehr guten Buche, welches zu einer gründlichen Kenntniss des Theaters vorzügliche Dienste leistet' (*Werke*, III, p. 293). Elsewhere (*Werke*, III, p. 21; ed. Antoniewicz, p. 45), he speaks of d'Aubignac as one 'welchen man in den Regeln der Schaubühne auch für einen Aristoteles gelten lassen muss.'

avoir un homme marcher, encore qu'on ne le puisse pas bien reconnoître...' 'Si le Poëte,' he goes on—I put the passages side by side:

D'Aubignac.	Lessing.
Si le Poëte representoit par son Theatre tous les endroits ensemble d'un Palais, ou tous les quartiers d'une Ville, ou bien toutes les Provinces d'un Etat, il devroit faire voir alors aux Spectateurs, non seulement toutes les choses generalement qui se sont faites dans son histoire; mais encore tout ce qui s'est fait dans le reste du Palais, et dans toute la Ville, ou dans tout cet Etat.	Die Scene muss kein ganzer Pallast, sondern nur ein Theil des Pallastes seyn, wie ihn das Auge aus einem und eben demselben Standorte zu übersehen fähig ist. Ob sie ein ganzer Pallast, oder eine ganze Stadt, oder eine ganze Provinz ist, das macht im Grunde einerley Ungereimtheit[1].

And Lessing recalls how Corneille had claimed—he says 'schon,' although Corneille's *Trois Discours* appeared subsequently to the *Pratique du Théâtre*—that 'ce qu'on feroit passer en une seule ville auroit l'unité de lieu,' together with his proviso that the scene should not be changed in the course of the same act[2].

Lessing's argument takes the form of a *reductio ad absurdum* of the classical practice, and he lets his brilliant wit play round Voltaire's often childish subterfuges to comply with the rules in his *Mérope*. The observance of the Unity of Time gives the best opportunity for ridicule. He shows the absurdity of crowding together events, as Corneille had shown the unnaturalness in Euripides' *Suppliants* and Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*[3]; or still better, as Scudéry had criticised the *Cid* in his *Observations sur le Cid*, published in 1637:

Mais faire arriver en vint quatre heures la mort d'un pere, et les promesses de mariage de sa fille, avec celuy qui l'a tué; et non pas encor sans le conoistre; non pas dans une rencontre innopinée; mais dans un duel dont il estoit l'appellant; c'est (comme a dit bien agreablement un de mes amis) ce qui loing d'estre bon dans les vint quatre heures, ne seroit pas suportable dans les vint quatre ans. Et par consequent (je le redis encor une fois) la regle de la vraysemblance n'est point observée, quoy qu'elle soit absolument necessaire. Et veritablement toutes ces belles actions que fit le Cid en plusieurs annees, sont tellement assemblees par force en cette Piece, pour la mettre dans les vint quatre heures, que les Personnages y semblent des Dieux de machine, qui tombent du Ciel en terre: car enfin, dans le court espace d'un jour naturel, on eslit un Gouverneur au Prince de Castille; il se fait une querelle et un combat, entre Dom Diegue et le Comte, autre combat de Rodrigue et du Comte, un autre de Rodrigue contre les Mores; un autre contre Dom Sanche; et le mariage se conclut, entre Rodrigue et Chimene: je vous laisse à juger, si ne voila pas un jour bien employé, et si l'on n'auroit pas grand tort d'accuser tous ces personnages de parresse? il est du subjet du Poëme Dramatique, comme de tous les corps phisiques, qui pour être parfaicts, demandent une certaine grandeur, qui ne soit ny trop vaste, ny trop resserree[4].

[1] *Pratique du Théâtre*, liv. II, ch. vi, Amsterdam, 1715, i, p. 93; *Dramaturgie*, IX, p. 371.
[2] *Dramaturgie*, pp. 371 f.; *Trois Discours*, ed. Ch. Marty-Laveaux, pp. 119 f.
[3] *Trois Discours*, *ed. cit.*, p. 112.
[4] A. Gasté, *La Querelle du Cid*, Paris, 1898, pp. 77 f.

There is no ground for believing that Lessing was familiar with this passage, but it contains precisely the kind of argument which he uses so effectively. In his study on Plautus in the *Beyträge*, he had already pled for a certain amount of freedom. He had shown that the journey which Philocrates makes in the *Captivi*, might have been completed within twenty-four hours; but, he goes on to say, even if this is not credible, it is a 'Vergehen, das Plautus mit hundert alten und neuen Dichtern gemein hat.' Moreover: 'Zuschauer, welche keine Kunstrichter sind,... lassen sich von der Hitze der Handlung fortreissen, und ich bin gewiss, die meisten Römer werden diese Uebereilung des Plautus nicht bemerkt, wenigstens nicht angemerkt haben[1].' In the *Dramaturgie* he sums up the whole argument in one pregnant sentence: 'Denn was er an Einem Tage thun lässt, kann zwar an Einem Tage gethan werden, aber kein vernünftiger Mensch wird es an Einem Tage thun[2].'

In Stück xlvi (pp. 377 f.) Lessing speaks of the 'Einheit der Handlung' as 'das erste dramatische Gesetz der Alten[3].' And he mentions in this connection the influence of the chorus in rendering the Unities of Time and Space necessary, a point which seems to have been first made by Castelvetro: it was dwelt on more than once by D'Aubignac who was no doubt Lessing's source:

> Encore (he says in one of these passages) ne pouvons-nous pas oublier une raison particuliere aux Anciens, et qui est essentielle originairement à la Tragédie, sçavoir est que les Chœurs, dont ils se servoient, ne sortoient point regulierement du Theatre depuis qu'ils y étoient entrez; et je ne sçai pas avec quelle vraisemblance on eût pu persuader aux Spectateurs que des gens qu'on n'avoit point perdu de vuë, fussent demeurez vingt-quatre heures en même lieu; ni comment on eût pu s'imaginer que dans la verité de l'action, ceux qu'ils representoient eussent passé tout ce temps sans satisfaire à mille besoins naturels non plus qu'eux[4].

Lessing had thus nothing new to say on a subject which, before his time, had been pretty well threshed out. In spite of his brave words: 'Möchten meinetwegen Voltairens und Maffeis Merope acht Tage dauern, und an sieben Orten in Griechenland spielen! Möchten sie aber auch nur die Schönheiten haben, die mich diese Pedanterieen vergessen machen![5]' it is doubtful whether his convictions went much

[1] *Schriften*, iv, pp. 187 f.

[2] Stück xlv, *Schriften*, ix, p. 375.

[3] P. 377 f. Nicolai said of the Unity of Action (*Abhandlung vom Trauerspiel*, ed. Petsch, p. 14): 'Wenn also endlich die Handlung eines Trauerspiels so wohl von fremden Handlungen ununterbrochen fortdauert, als auch von ihren eigenen Nebenhandlungen nicht verwirrt oder undeutlich gemacht wird, so wird sie die Eigenschaft haben, die die Kunstrichter schon längstens unter dem Namen der Einheit anbefohlen haben; eine Eigenschaft, die einem jeden dramatischen Stücke, das vollkommen schön seyn soll, unentbehrlich ist; denn an einem dramatischen Stücke, dem die Einheit der Handlung fehlet, können zwar wohl einzelne Stellen, aber unmöglich das Ganze, Beyfall verdienen.'

[4] Liv. ii, ch. vii; *ed. cit.*, pp. 109 f. Cp. also ch. vi (i, p. 87).

[5] Stück xlvi, *Schriften*, ix, p. 379.

beyond those expressed by Nicolai in his *Abhandlung*: 'Die einzige Pflicht des Dichters wird also nur seyn, sich der Einheit der Zeit und des Orts, so viel möglich, zu nähern, und wenn er um grösserer Schönheiten willen davon abweichen muss, es so einzurichten, dass die Abweichung dem Zuschauer nicht sehr merklich werde[1].' That is to say, he approved of a moderate freedom conditioned by the general unity of the work. But I can hardly think that the author of *Emilia Galotti* and *Nathan der Weise*, and the opponent of the irregular drama of the 'Sturm und Drang,' would have approved, any more than Nicolai, of 'die üble Gewohnheit der meisten Engländer, den Schauplatz ohne Noth alle Augenblicke verändern zu lassen.'

II. The Best Form of the Tragic Fable.

Lessing's discussion of the best form of the tragic fable is introduced in Stück xxxvii of the *Dramaturgie* in connection with *Merope*. He quotes from the fourteenth chapter of Aristotle's *Poetics*, and then proceeds to consider the difficulty raised by Dacier—attention had first been drawn to the matter by Castelvetro—of reconciling Aristotle's preference for a tragic plot in which the tragic issue is prevented by timely recognition, with the statement in chapter xiii that a good tragic fable should end tragically, not happily. Lessing cites Dacier and Curtius, who had both failed to solve the difficulty.

In his statement of the problem Lessing draws on Curtius. That writer had summed it up in his note 193:

> Die ganze Ordnung, nach welcher Aristoteles die tragischen Handlungen zählet, ist folgende: von unten auf ist die erste oder unvollkommenste Gattung, wenn man wissentlich ein Verbrechen begehen will, es aber nicht ins Werk richtet: die zweyte, wenn man es wissentlich wirklich begeht: die dritte, wenn man es unwissentlich begeht, aber hernach erkennet: die vierte, wenn man es unwissend begehen will, aber vorher erkennet. Dieses scheint einer andern Stelle des Aristoteles zu widersprechen. Dieser Kunstrichter hat oben im 13. Cap. fest gesetzet, dass ein gutes Trauerspiel sich vielmehr mit dem Unglücke als Glücke der handelnden Personen endigen müsse. Hier aber zieht er die vierte Gattung, wo das Verbrechen nicht begangen wird, und das Stück einen glücklichen Ausgang hat, der dritten vor, worinn der Ausgang unglücklich ist. Die genaue Ueberlegung, womit Aristoteles schrieb, erlaubet nicht, einem so grossen Manne einen Widerspruch beyzumessen. Dacier hat schon gesuchet, den Aristoteles zu rechtfertigen, allein seine Gründe scheinen nicht zureichend. Er will, Aristoteles rede hier nicht von der Tragödie und ihren Handlungen überhaupt, sondern zeige nur, auf was für Art ein Dichter sich der Verbrechen in bekannten Fabeln bedienen müsse.

And now Lessing turned up the text of Dacier, when he found:

> Le Sçavant Victorius est le seul qui l'ayt veuë; mais comme il n'a pas connu de quoy il s'agissoit dans ce Chapitre, et que ce n'est que par-là qu'on peut la résoudre, il n'a pas seulement tenté de l'éclaircir... Ils [the commentators] ont tous crû

[1] Ed. Petsch, p. 15.

qu'Aristote parloit icy de la constitution des fables en general, mais il ne travaille qu'à enseigner, comment on doit se conduire dans les actions atroces pour ne pas changer les fables, et pour s'en servir comme il faut; voilà le dessein de tout ce Chapitre, etc.[1]

Curtius criticises Dacier, but in the end confesses that he is equally unable to offer a solution.

I have quoted these passages at length because they are characteristic of Lessing's use of his sources. It will be noticed that, in enumerating the kinds of plot, he mentions them not in Dacier's order, nor, as far as I can see, in the order adopted by any of the other authorities, Latin or French, whom Lessing consulted, but in that used by Curtius in his note. Lessing does not present Aristotle to his readers in Curtius's translation; but if his paraphrase of part of Aristotle's fourteenth chapter be compared with Curtius's version of it, it is impossible to deny indebtedness here, too; the phrases have an unmistakable similarity.

CURTIUS.

Nothwendiger Weise müssen alle Begebenheiten zwischen Freunden, Feinden, oder gleichgültigen Personen vorgehen. Ein Feind, der seinen Feind tödtet, erwecket weder bey Ausübung noch Beschliessung der Handlung, ein Mitleiden, ausser demjenigen, was mit Vollbringung des Unglücks verknüpfet ist: und auf gleiche Weise verhält es sich mit gleichgültigen Personen. Wenn aber dergleichen Unglück sich zwischen Freunden zuträgt, wenn ein Bruder den andern, der Sohn den Vater, die Mutter den Sohn, der Sohn die Mutter ermordet, oder ermorden will, oder eine andere ähnliche Handlung vornimmt; so sind dieses Begebenheiten, die man für das Trauerspiel aufsuchen muss.

LESSING.

Alle Begebenheiten müssen entweder unter Freunden, oder unter Feinden, oder unter gleichgültigen Personen vorgehen. Wenn ein Feind seinen Feind tödtet, so erweckt weder der Anschlag noch die Ausführung der That sonst weiter einiges Mitleid, als das allgemeine, welches mit dem Anblicke des Schmerzlichen und Verderblichen überhaupt, verbunden ist. Und so ist es auch bey gleichgültigen Personen. Folglich müssen die tragischen Begebenheiten sich unter Freunden eräugnen; ein Bruder muss den Bruder, ein Sohn den Vater, eine Mutter den Sohn, ein Sohn die Mutter tödten, oder tödten wollen, oder sonst auf eine empfindliche Weise misshandeln, oder misshandeln wollen...[2].

[1] Curtius, p. 213; Dacier, pp. 235 f.

[2] Curtius, ch. xiv, pp. 28 f.; Lessing, Stück xxxvii, p. 339. Cp. also the phraseology in Lessing's Stück xxxviii: *πράξεως μίμησις* (Dacier's 'imitation d'une action') is in both Curtius and Lessing 'Nachahmung einer Handlung'; *σύνθεσις πραγμάτων* ('composition des choses') is 'Verknüpfung von Begebenheiten'; *μῦθος ἁπλοῦς* and *μῦθος πεπλεγμένος* ('fable simple,' 'fable implexe') are 'verwickelte (in Curtius sometimes also 'zusammengesetzte') Fabeln' and 'einfache Fabeln'; *ἀναγνώρισις* (Dacier: 'reconnoissance') is 'Erkennung' (in Curtius occasionally also 'Erkenntniss'); *περιπέτεια* (Dacier: 'péripétie' or 'changement de fortune'; Batteux: 'révolution' or 'péripétie') is in Curtius 'Peripetie' or 'Glücksveränderung,' which is also Nicolai's word (p. 22); Ramler uses 'Glücksveränderung' and Lessing 'Glückswechsel'; while *πάθος*, which under French influence ('passion'), Curtius had wrongly translated 'Leidenschaft,' is rightly translated by Lessing 'Leiden.' (Dacier, it might be noted, apologised for his use of the word 'passion' (p. 164): 'Je sçay bien que le mot *passion* n'est François, en ce sens, que dans les choses de la Religion, et que par tout ailleurs, il signifie les sentimens, ou pour mieux dire, les maladies de l'ame; mais il n'y en a point qui explique si bien ce qu'Aristote a voulu dire.') Lessing, like all the eighteenth-century critics of Aristotle, was to a certain extent handicapped by the traditional interpretations of the Greek terms.

If the reader will compare this with the more independent translations of Aristotle which Lessing inserts in the later sections of the *Dramaturgie*, he will, I think, agree, that Lessing's serious and original study of Aristotle fell, not, as Gottschlich would have us believe, between two letters of the early correspondence, but rather between the first and second volumes of the *Dramaturgie* itself.

But to come back to the difficulty of chapter xiv: the explanation which Lessing offers is that Aristotle is considering each of the ingredients of a tragic plot on its own merits. The best 'Glückswechsel' is where there is a change from better to worse; and the best form of 'Leiden' is where the persons concerned do not know one another and the recognition comes in time to prevent the carrying out of the tragic act. There is no contradiction, says Lessing, for Aristotle is speaking of two different aspects of the matter. This explanation has, however, met with no greater acceptance than Dacier's: and it is doubtful if even the most modern interpreters of Aristotle have got much nearer to justifying what in the end must be frankly recognised as an inconsistency[1].

III. The Character of the Hero.

In Stück lxxiv, in connection with the *Richard III* of Weisse, Lessing mentions the Aristotelian doctrine that 'der Held der Tragödie weder ein ganz tugendhafter Mann, noch ein völliger Bösewicht seyn müsse[2],' a canon against which Weisse seriously offends[3]. But Lessing breaks off the discussion abruptly in order, as a preliminary step, to define the meaning of ἔλεος and φόβος. In Stück lxxix he returns to *Richard III* and condemns in the most vigorous and trenchant manner —these pages of the *Dramaturgie* belong to the most brilliant of the whole work—the introduction of an unmitigatedly bad character in tragedy. But the fullest discussion of the character of the hero is

[1] See for instance Bywater's edition of the *Poetics*, Oxford, 1909, p. 225: 'In chap. xiii Aristotle was thinking only of the emotional effect of tragedy as produced by the most obvious means; here he comes to see that the same effect may be produced in a finer form without their aid. It is his somewhat tardy recognition of the necessity of avoiding τὸ μιαρόν that has caused this change of view.'

[2] *Schriften*, x, p. 97.

[3] G. Witkowski has pointed out (*Euphorion*, II, 1895, pp. 517 ff.) that all that Lessing brings forward against Weisse's play could also be brought against its original, Shakespeare's *Richard III*. And even 'Stl.,' the critic of the *Dramaturgie* in Klotz's *Deutsche Bibliothek* had asked (IV, p. 500): 'Erscheint denn Richard beym Shakespear weniger als Tyrann?' Cp. Lessing's references to Shakespeare's play in *Laocoon*, XXIII (*Schriften*, IX, pp. 141 ff.); here he compares Edmund with Richard in his opening monologue: 'Höre ich hingegen den Grafen von Glocester sagen...so höre ich einen Teufel, und sehe einen Teufel; in einer Gestalt, die der Teufel allein haben sollte.'

reserved for Stück lxxxii and lxxxiii, where it is brought forward in controversy with Corneille.

Before I deal with these sections of Lessing's work, however, it will be convenient to examine several passages in which Lessing discusses the so-called 'Christian tragedy' and the legitimacy of introducing 'martyrs' into tragedy. The first of these passages (Stück i) hardly touches on the dramatic aspect of the question at all: it recommends the dramatist—from the superior standpoint of the eighteenth-century rationalist—to avoid the martyrs who figure in Christian tragedies, or, if he cannot avoid them altogether, to see, at least, that the motives which induce them to seek death are of the strongest[1]. In Stück ii he continues the subject, and warns against the miracle of sudden conversion. In any case, he says, the Christian with his 'stille Gelassenheit,' his 'unveränderliche Sanftmuth' is not well adapted to the purposes of tragedy. And he finally offers the modern theatre the advice: 'Man liesse alle bisherige christliche Trauerspiele unaufgeführet[2].' Lastly, at the close of Stück lxxv, Lessing states Corneille's argument on the admissibility of martyrs from the *Discours sur la Tragédie*[3], and in Stück lxxxii he discusses the whole matter with reference to the views of Dacier and Dubos as well as of Corneille. Aristotle says that to let a perfectly good man become unhappy without any fault on his part is 'grässlich' (*μιαρόν*). Corneille 'accommodates himself' to Aristotle with a view to justifying his *Polyeucte*, by showing that the reason why this is legitimate is that our feelings are excited against the doer of the wrong rather than in sympathy with the stainless victim.

The admissibility of 'Christian tragedies' was a frequent theme of discussion among the critics of the time. Saint-Évremond, for instance, in his essay *De la Tragédie ancienne et moderne* (1672) had put the matter in a form which suggests Lessing's objections:

> L'esprit de notre Religion est directement opposé à celui de la Tragédie. L'humilité et la patience de nos Saints sont trop contraires aux vertus des Héros que demande le Théâtre. Quel zèle, quelle force le Ciel n'inspire-t-il pas à Néarque et à Polyeucte: et que ne font pas ces nouveaux Chrétiens pour répondre à ces

[1] Curtius, in his translation of the *Poetics*, defended Corneille, but, like Lessing, he recognised the unsuitability of martyrs as subjects of modern tragedies (pp. 187 f.): 'Die christlichen Märtyrer können also, überhaupt betrachtet, ohngeachtet der Regel des Aristoteles, Vorwürfe der Tragödie seyn, wenn nicht einige andere Betrachtungen, in Ansehung der Sitten, und Denkungsart des itzigen Jahrhunderts, uns anriethen, dieselbe zwar nicht von der Bühne zu verbannen, aber doch auch nicht oft aufzuführen.'

[2] Pages 189 f. Cp. also Nicolai's view, quoted in my previous article (*Modern Language Review*, xii, p. 328).

[3] Lessing quotes Corneille's *Trois Discours* in translation in the *Dramaturgie*, in Stück lxxv, lxxviii, lxxxii and lxxxiii. Occasionally (e.g. Stück lxxv, p. 105, ll. 16 ff.) he adopts literally the translation he had published in 1750 in the *Beyträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters*; but in most cases he alters words and phrases.

heureuses inspirations?...Polyeucte a plus d'envie de mourir pour Dieu, que les autres hommes n'en ont de vivre pour eux. Néanmoins, ce qui eût fait un beau Sermon faisoit une misérable Tragédie, si les entretiens de Pauline et de Sévére, animés d'autres sentiments et d'autres passions, n'eussent conservé à l'Auteur la réputation que les Vertus Chrétiennes de nos Martyrs lui eussent ôtée. Le Théâtre perd tout son agrément dans la représentation des choses saintes, et les choses saintes perdent beaucoup de la religieuse opinion qu'on leur doit, quand on les représente sur le Théâtre[1].

Possibly Lessing had this passage in his mind, but I am doubtful if it is to be regarded as a source[2]. A. G. Kästner, again, had in Schwabe's *Belustigungen* for 1742 (116 ff.) published *Gedanken über die christlichen Tragödien*; but this essay does not touch at all upon the point which Lessing raises. If outside suggestion is to be sought for Lessing's criticism of the Christian tragedy, I do not think that we need look beyond Dacier. After justifying Aristotle in his exclusion from tragedy of the misfortunes of a very virtuous man—the passage is in his first note to Aristotle's thirteenth chapter—he goes on:

M. Corneille voyant que cette maxime bannit les Martyrs du Theatre, cherche des autoritez pour défendre son Polyeucte, par d'autres endroits que par ses grands succez, et il trouve enfin un Minturnus qui examine dans son Traité du Poëte, Si la Passion de Jesus-Christ et les Martyres des Saints, doivent être exclus du Theatre, à cause de leur vertu, et qui décide en sa faveur.... Le succez justifie assez le Poëte; mais je ne sçay s'il seroit aisé de justifier ce succez. Je ne parle icy que du sujet dont peu de gens jugent, car d'ailleurs c'est peut-être la piece de M. Corneille la mieux conduite, elle est pleine de beaux sentimens et a de parfaitement beaux caractéres, où les mœurs sont marquées admirablement. Il n'y a personne qui ne s'intéresse pour Pauline et pour Severe, et qui ne soit touché de leur malheur, et c'est ce qui fait réussir la piece; mais ce sujet n'est nullement propre au Theatre, qui ne doit exposer ny le bonheur ny le malheur d'un homme tres vertueux. De quelque maniére qu'on regarde le martyre, ou comme un mal ou comme un bien, il ne peut exciter, ny la pitié ny la crainte, et par consequent il ne purgera pas les passions, ce qui est l'unique but de la Tragedie, comme on l'a déja vû. Cette regle d'Aristote fait encore le procez à beaucoup d'autres pieces qui n'ont pas laissé de plaire, mais elles ont plû par d'autres endroits que par le sujet, et par des endroits qui étant conformes aux regles, ont toute la beauté qu'ils peuvent avoir[3].

Weisse's *Richard III*, as we have seen, gives Lessing his best opportunity for discussing the unsuitability of the complete villain for tragedy (Stück lxxix), and in lxxxii he meets Corneille's temporising arguments in the interest of that writer's own work. He discusses the meaning

[1] *Œuvres*, Amsterdam, 1739, III, pp. 175 ff.

[2] Saint-Évremond is mentioned by Lessing in Stück lxxx (p. 124), but only in a quotation from Voltaire.

[3] Page 186. Mendelssohn repeatedly expressed, with reference to Shaftesbury, his objection to 'perfect characters' (*Schriften*, IV, i, pp. 496, 579 ff., IV, ii, pp. 144 ff., 237 f.). He was inclined, however, to make an exception (IV, ii, p. 146): 'Ich weiss nur einen Fall, da die vollkommenen Charaktere auf der Bühne erträglich sind; dieser ist: wenn die tugendhaften Personen unglücklich werden, wenn sie durch ihre Tugend selbst einen Raub des Neides und der Verfolgung abgeben, und mit ihrem Schicksale in einem beständigen Kampfe leben müssen. Alsdann erregen sie unser Mitleid; und schlagen desto tiefere Wunden in unser Gemüth, je mehr Liebe, Hochachtung und Bewunderung sie sich durch ihre moralische Vollkommenheit erworben. Sobald der Tugendhafte aber das Unglück überkommt, wird er gleichgültig.'

of μιαρόν (which Corneille had very inadequately translated 'abominable'): 'das Grässliche,' he says (p. 134), 'liegt nicht in dem Unwillen oder Abscheu, den sie [the characters] erwecken: sondern in dem Unglücke selbst, das jene unverschuldet trift.' He denies that such fates can awaken in us 'Mitleid' in the sense demanded by tragedy.

In the matter which fills the first paragraph of Stück lxxxiii—that is, Lessing's vigorous criticism of Corneille's interpretation of the Aristotelian χρηστός, that the manners should be 'good'—Lessing is again indebted in the main to Dacier for his statement of the case, although it should not be overlooked that Calepio[1] expresses very similar views in the second article of his fifth chapter. Dacier's note is as follows:

> Dans tout ce Livre il n'y a rien de plus clairement expliqué que cette premiere condition des mœurs, *qu'elles soient bonnes.* Cependant on s'y est trompé, car on a crû qu'Aristote veut qu'elles soient vertueuses. M. Corneille a solidement réfuté cette explication, qui condamneroit également tous les Poëmes anciens, tant les Poëmes Epiques que les Tragiques, où l'on voit beaucoup de personnages vicieux, et il a fort bien vû qu'il falloit chercher une bonté qui fût compatible avec les mœurs moralement mauvaises, et avec celles qui sont moralement bonnes; mais c'est cela même qu'il n'a pû trouver, l'explication qu'il donne à ces paroles d'Aristote, n'étant pas meilleure que l'autre; *Pour moy,* dit-il, *je croy que c'est le caractére brillant et élevé d'une habitude vertueuse ou criminelle, selon qu'elle est propre et convenable à la personne qu'on introduit;* mais outre que cette explication condamneroit encore beaucoup de caractéres que les anciens Poëtes ont faits, et qui n'ont ny cette grandeur d'ame, ny cette élevation que M. Corneille demande, il est certain que cette qualité ne conviendroit pas toûjours avec les deux autres, qui sont la ressemblance et la convenance. Je ne raporteray point icy toutes les autres explications, cela seroit inutile. Ce qu'Aristote dit, *que les mœurs doivent être bonnes,* c'est ce qu'Horace traduit, *notandi sunt tibi mores,* comme je l'ay expliqué, c'est-à-dire, *qu'il faut que les mœurs soient bien marquées,* soit qu'on introduise un personnage moralement vicieux, ou un personnage moralement bon.... L'Auteur du Traité du Poëme Epique a admirablement traité toute cette matière, on ne peut rien voir de plus judicieux, que tout ce qu'il en a écrit, aussi a-t-il toûjours pris Aristote pour guide[2].

Unfortunately, however, Lessing breaks off abruptly, without arriving at any definite conclusion; he reserves his consideration of the matter for the Commentary of Aristotle which he is planning: 'Ich kann mich itzt nicht in einen weitläuftigen Beweis einlassen: er lässt sich nur durch den Zusammenhang, durch die syllogistische Folge aller Ideen des griechischen Kunstrichters, einleuchtend genug führen' (p. 136). Lessing saw the difficulty in Aristotle's ὅπως χρηστὰ ᾖ, which, as he rightly says, means 'schlechterdings eine moralische Güte'; and he admitted that the explanation must depend on the nature of the προαίρεσις or intention. Thus he felt that he could not pronounce

[1] See previous article, *Modern Language Review*, XII, pp. 327, 329.

[2] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 245 f. Cp. Brumoy, *Discours sur l'origine de la Tragédie, Théâtre des Grecs*, I, p. 126.

finally on the matter until he had carefully studied the *Rhetoric*, and had investigated Aristotle's moral philosophy in all its bearings.

It is, however, perhaps not altogether irrelevant to note that an explanation which Lessing's previous master, Batteux, had already offered, might have appealed to him; after criticising Corneille's view, Batteux continues:

> D'autres enfin pensent que la bonté dont il s'agit ici est une bonté légale, c'est-à-dire, la conformité des mœurs avec la loi naturelle, qui commande la vertu et proscrit le vice. Le terme d'Aristote semble signifier particulierement cette espèce de bonté. C'est une certaine droiture d'ame, qui porte l'homme à l'équité, et à la bienveillance : mais droiture qui peut se rencontrer avec des fautes considérables, même avec des crimes, pourvû que ce soit des crimes où l'on tombe par imprudence, par foiblesse, par emportement. Il n'y a pas un héros d'Homère qui soit méchant ou vicieux par caractère ou par principe. Cependant il n'y en a pas un qui n'ait quelque défaut.... Qu'en général les personnages poëtiques soient bons, mais d'une bonté qui souffre quelque écart ou quelque excès passager, dans le genre de la vertu qui fait la base des mœurs[1].

And another critic of Aristotle, with whose work Lessing was also familiar, Marmontel, had put the matter perhaps more acceptably. Marmontel speaks of 'une bonté morale, c'est-à-dire, un fond de bonté naturelle qui perce à travers les erreurs, les foiblesses, les passions.' And he meets the difficulty—the real difficulty of the presence of subsidiary vicious characters in the drama—by saying that Aristotle has only in view 'le personnage intéressant,' and 'voulant qu'il fût malheureux par une faute involontaire, il n'avoit pas besoin de lui opposer des méchans[2].' But Lessing gives no indication of his own view.

IV. Drama and History; The Use of Names.

The question of the relation of Tragedy to the facts of History is discussed repeatedly and in varied connections, by Lessing in his *Dramaturgie*. It was a problem of dramatic theory which had a particular fascination for eighteenth-century critics of the drama. D'Aubignac, for instance, deals with it in Book II, chap. i, of his *Pratique du Théâtre*; Madame Dacier considers it in the Preface to her translation of the *Odyssey*; Batteux in various places of his work[3]; Dubos devotes Sections xxviii and xxix of his first volume to 'La vraisemblance en Poësie' and 'Si les Poëtes Tragiques sont obligés de se conformer à ce que la Géographie, l'Histoire et la Chronologie nous apprennent positivement'; and in Switzerland Breitinger had given considerable space to the matter in his *Critische Dichtkunst*[4]. It is, of course, also

[1] Traité iv, ch. xiii, *Ed. cit.*, II, p. 275 ff.
[2] *Poétique Françoise*, II, pp. 179, 181.
[3] *Ed. cit.*, I, pp. 28 f.; II, 263 f.; III, 11 ff.
[4] Vol. I, pp. 277 ff.

discussed more or less by all commentators on Aristotle. This aspect of Lessing's dramatic theory, it should be added, has been made the subject of a careful and helpful study by the late Professor Wetz of Freiburg, in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*[1]. But Wetz does not deal with Lessing's possible sources; there is thus room for a reconsideration of the question on the lines of the present investigation.

In Stück xi of the *Dramaturgie* Lessing insists that the dramatic poet is no historian: 'er erzehlt nicht, was man ehedem geglaubt, dass es geschehen, sondern er lässt es vor unsern Augen nochmals geschehen'; his object is not historical truth; he only uses historical truth to further a 'höhere Absicht[2].' In Stück xix Lessing returns to the matter[3], citing Aristotle's opinion—it is, as we have seen, the first time Aristotle's name is mentioned in the *Dramaturgie*—that the poet has only to concern himself with history in so far as it is 'einer wohleingerichteten Fabel ähnlich, mit der er seine Absichten verbinden kann.' If the historical fact suits his purpose, well and good, but it is not necessary for the poet to search for facts or to be bound by them. 'Was ist das erste, was uns eine Historie glaubwürdig macht? Ist es nicht ihre innere Wahrscheinlichkeit[4]? Und ist es nicht einerley, ob diese Wahrscheinlichkeit von gar keinen Zeugnissen und Ueberlieferungen bestätiget wird, oder von solchen, die zu unserer Wissenschaft noch nie gelangt sind?' The view, expressed by a French critic in the *Journal encyclopédique*[5], is not tenable, that the purpose of the theatre is to perpetuate the memory of great men. 'Auf dem Theater sollen wir nicht lernen, was dieser oder jener einzelne Mensch gethan hat, sondern was ein jeder Mensch von einem gewissen Charakter unter gewissen gegebenen Umständen thun werde. Die Absicht der Tragödie ist weit philosophischer, als die Absicht der Geschichte.'

There is nothing in the above passages which makes the search for

[1] Vol. ix (1896), pp. 145 ff.
[2] ix, pp. 227 f.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 261.
[4] Curtius in his *Abhandlung von der Wahrscheinlichkeit*, appended to his translation of Aristotle, distinguishes (pp. 400 ff.) 'innerliche' and 'äusserliche Wahrscheinlichkeit.' 'Die innere Wahrscheinlichkeit beruhet auf den Gründen, welche die Sache wirklich in sich hat. Je stärker diese Gründe sind, desto näher gränzet der Satz an die Wahrheit, und desto grösser, ist die innerliche Wahrscheinlichkeit.' Lessing emphasises again the need of 'innere Wahrscheinlichkeit' in Stück xxxiv.
[5] May 1765, pp. 97 f.: 'M. de Belloy assure, avec raison, que c'est en excitant la vénération de la France pour les Grands hommes qu'elle a produits, qu'on parviendra à inspirer à la nation une estime et un respect pour elle-même, qui seuls peuvent la rendre ce qu'elle a été autrefois. C'est par là que les tragiques Grecs entretenoient le patriotisme et l'amour de la liberté dans l'ame de leurs Spectateurs; ils n'alloient chercher leurs sujets que dans leur histoire.'

a source necessary; nor indeed did Aristotle's statement leave much room for ambiguity of interpretation. Batteux, for instance, says:

> Aristote compare la Poësie avec l'Histoire. Leur différence, selon lui, n'est point dans la forme ni dans le style, mais dans le fonds des choses. Mais comment y est-il? L'Histoire peint ce qui a été fait: la Poësie, ce qui a pu être fait. L'une est liée au vrai, elle ne crée ni actions, ni acteurs. L'autre n'est tenue qu'au vraisemblable: elle invente: elle imagine à son gré: elle peint de tête. L'Historien donne des exemples tels qu'ils sont, souvent imparfaits. Le Poëte les donne tels qu'ils doivent être. Et c'est pour cela que, selon le même Philosophe, la Poësie est une leçon bien plus instructive que l'Histoire[1].

And Dacier:

> L'Historien ne fait pas sa matiére, il ne dit que ce qu'il sçait, et on n'en demande pas d'avantage, pourvû qu'il s'attache uniquement à la verité. Il n'en est pas de même du Poëte, comme c'est luy qui est l'Auteur de sa matiére, il ne suit que la necessité ou la vray-semblance, c'est-à-dire, que tout ce qu'il dit a pû ou dû arriver, comme il le dit, et si quelquefois il tire quelque chose de l'Histoire, ce n'est qu'autant que l'Histoire peut l'accommoder, et qu'elle luy fournit des sujets, comme il auroit pû les feindre, car autrement il y change tout ce qui ne l'accommode pas[2].

In Stück xxiii Lessing considers the question: why does the tragic poet use true names? Does he take the characters from these names; or does he use the names because they correspond to the characters he requires for his action? In the latter case, the poet may depart from history as far as he likes, so long as he remains true to the characters. 'Nur die Charaktere sind ihm heilig; diese zu verstärken, diese in ihrem besten Lichte zu zeigen, ist alles, was er von dem Seinigen dabey hinzuthun darf; die geringste wesentliche Veränderung würde die Ursache aufheben, warum sie diese und nicht andere Namen führen[3].'. As has been observed[4], Lessing approaches perilously near to the famous receipt for writing tragedies which Gottsched adapted from Le Bossu, according to which the poet was to set out from the 'moralische Lehrsatz,' and ransack history for 'berühmte Leute' to illustrate the 'Lehrsatz.'

Lessing returns to this matter of the names a few pages later: in Stuck xxiv he says:

> Die Tragödie ist keine dialogirte Geschichte; die Geschichte ist für die Tragödie nichts, als ein Repertorium von Namen, mit denen wir gewisse Charaktere zu ver-

[1] *Ed. cit.*, I, pp. 28 f.; cp. also his discussion of the relation of the Epic to history, IV, ch. i, *ed. cit.*, II, pp. 179 ff.

[2] *Poétique d'Aristote*, pp. 136 f. This note is virtually repeated by the German translator Curtius (pp. 148 f.). Cp. also Diderot, *De la Poésie dramatique* (Lessing's translation, II, pp. 418 ff.).

[3] Pp. 280 f. It is just possible that Lessing may have been brought on to this theme by a remark of the critic of Voltaire's edition of Corneille in the *Journal encyclopédique*, July 15, 1764, pp. 36 f.: 'Conservés l'unité dans le caractère, mais variés-le par mille nuances, tantôt par des soupçons, par des craintes, par des espérances, par des réconciliations et des ruptures, tantôt par un incident qui donne à tout une face nouvelle.'

[4] Cp. J. Petersen in Lessing's *Werke*, *Goldene Klassiker-Bibliothek*, VI, p. 180.

hindern gewohnt sind. Findet der Dichter in der Geschichte mehrere Umstände zur Ausschmückung und Individualisirung seines Stoffes bequem: wohl, so brauche er sie. Nur dass man ihm hieraus eben so wenig ein Verdienst, als aus dem Gegentheile ein Verbrechen mache[1]!

No doubt, Elias Schlegel, who helped to bring Lessing's ideas on dramaturgic questions to a focus when he began his *Dramaturgie*, had considerable influence on him here too. In his essay, *Vergleichung Shakespears und Andreas Gryphs*, Schlegel wrote as follows on the question of the dramatist's use of historical personages:

Man kann den Charakter einer Person, die in der Historie bekannt ist, zwar in etwas ändern, und entweder höher treiben, oder etwas weniger von seinen Tugenden und Lastern in ihm abbilden, als die Geschichte ihm zuschreibt. Aber wenn man weiter gehen wollte, so würde man mit seiner Menschenmacherey mehr zum Romanenschreiber, als zum Dichter, werden.... Denn sind es Namen, die in der Historie bekannt sind: so wird einem Zuschauer, der nicht ungelehrt ist, indem er diesen Namen hört, auch dieser Charakter beyfallen. Und an statt, dass er ein Vergnügen über die Aehnlichkeit, die der nachgeahmte Held mit dem wahren hat, empfinden sollte: so wird er ein Misvergnügen über die Unähnlichkeit dieser beyden Helden empfinden. Dieses wird nicht so leicht geschehen, wenn der Charakter in den Hauptumständen ähnlich, und nur in Nebenumständen verändert wird[2].

And Lessing's indebtedness to Elias Schlegel is even more clearly seen in the next passage (Stück xxxiii) where he deals with the matter. He repeats his former assertion that the characters are 'more sacred' to the poet than the 'facts':

Einmal, weil, wenn jene genau beobachtet werden, diese, insofern sie eine Folge von jenen sind, von selbst nicht viel anders ausfallen können; da hingegen einerley Factum sich aus ganz verschiedenen Charakteren herleiten lässt. Zweytens, weil das Lehrreiche nicht in den blossen Factis, sondern in der Erkenntniss bestehet, dass diese Charaktere unter diesen Umständen solche Facta hervor zu bringen pflegen, und hervor bringen müssen.... Nur sollte er sich, im Fall dass er andere Charaktere, als die historischen, oder wohl gar diesen völlig entgegen gesetzte wählet, auch der historischen Namen enthalten, und lieber ganz unbekannten Personen das bekannte Factum beylegen, als bekannten Personen nicht zukommende Charaktere andichten[3].

Lessing does not return to this subject again until near the end of the *Dramaturgie*. In Stück lxxxix he discusses once more the relation of poetry to history, and quotes, 'nach meiner eigenen Uebersetzung,' a passage from Aristotle's ninth chapter. But the aspect of the question with which Lessing is now concerned, is not the relation of the

[1] Pp. 282 f. In his *Literaturbriefe* (iv, No. 63, Oct. 18, 1759; *Schriften*, viii, pp. 168, 170; cp. Petersen's edition, p. 180) Lessing had also insisted on the poet's freedom in dealing with history: 'Der Dichter ist Herr über die Geschichte; und er kann die Begebenheiten so nahe zusammen rücken, als er will...Ich meinte, nur der Verfasser der Parisischen Bluthochzeit [Gottsched] stehe in dem schülerhaften Wahne, dass der Dichter an einer Begebenheit, die er auf die tragische Bühne bringen solle weiter nichts ändern dürfte, als was mit den Einheiten nicht bestehen wolle, übrigens aber genau bey den Charakteren, wie sie die Geschichte von seinen Helden entwirft, bleiben müsse.'

[2] *Werke*, iii (1764), pp. 48 f.; ed. Antoniewicz, pp. 82 f.

[3] *Schriften*, ix, p. 323.

characters to the historical figures which they represent, but whether they are to be 'individual' or 'general,' specific characters or generalised types; and whether, in this respect, comedy differs from tragedy. The controversy arises in the first instance from a passage in Diderot. That writer had asserted the traditional view that tragedy draws its characters mostly from history, that these characters are great historical personages with historical names; while comedy is free to invent both characters and names. Thus tragedy gives us individuals; comedy, types. Lessing found this view imposed on Aristotle by his translators, Dacier and Curtius; it is also expressed by Bishop Hurd, whom Lessing quotes at great length, with the purpose, one is inclined to suspect, of filling up the remaining parts of the *Dramaturgie*[1]. But he has to admit that Hurd has approached the question with more understanding than his predecessors, and indeed, his view does allow a loophole and a justification for Lessing's own more ruthless—and, I think, by no means substantiated—interpretation of Aristotle, namely, that the characters of tragedy stand precisely on the same footing as the characters of comedy, in respect of treatment. Both must be drawn with a view to the Aristotelian *καθόλου*. Lessing is in so far right that there should be no differentiation in treatment between comedy and tragedy; but it is difficult to see how a certain differentiation is to be avoided as between a well-known historical character—such as is frequently chosen for the hero of a tragedy—and an invented character chosen to embody, say, the vice of avarice. But, of course, the conditions might be reversed; the hero of a tragedy might be invented, of a comedy historical. But he is essentially right in his contention that a certain generalisation of all characters, whether in comedy or tragedy, is necessary if the drama is to fulfil Aristotle's demand that it should be more philosophic than history.

This standpoint and this argument seem to me only such as Lessing might reasonably be expected to maintain, in view of what he had already said on the relation of drama to history; and especially at a stage of his study when he had considered the subject in all its bearings[2]. But unfortunately, here, too—as before in connection with

[1] When Lessing was writing these later sections, he wrote to Nicolai (Feb. 2, 1768, *Schriften*, XVII, p 243) that he had to 'um sich greifen, um die Materie so lange zu dehnen, bis die Gesellschaft wieder nach Hamburg kömmt'; the task was the harder as towards the end he had 'den Kopf voller antiquarischen Grillen.'

[2] Here, again, Zerbst (*op. cit.*, pp. 15 ff.) would claim Heinsius as Lessing's source; but I am not convinced of the necessity. The passage which Zerbst quotes is from *De constitutione tragoediae*, cap. v, where Sophocles' treatment of the character of Ajax is compared with Thucydides' description of Pericles or Alcibiades. Of the poet Heinsius says: 'Non enim quae sunt facta ab Ajace, aut dicta, sed quae vero est simile aut necesse, facta esse a tali vel dicta, exponit.... Ajacem, non quod fuit, quis enim hoc novit? sed

the 'manners' of the hero—Lessing breaks off inconclusively; he leaves the question to be discussed in his future commentary on Aristotle.

V. Comedy.

Like Aristotle, Lessing has little to say on the subject of Comedy, and that little is of small consequence. Being exclusively in the earlier parts of the *Dramaturgie*, it is, if anything, more a reproduction of traditional views than what he has to say concerning Tragedy.

The purpose of Comedy is dealt with in Stück xxviii in connection with Regnard's *Le Distrait*: 'Die Komödie [sagt man] müsse sich nur mit Fehlern abgeben, die sich verbessern lassen. Wer aber von Natur zerstreut sey, der lasse sich durch Spöttereyen eben so wenig bessern, als ein Hinkender.' Lessing is here only translating what the brothers Parfait had quoted from the *Lettres d'un François* of the Abbé Leblanc[1]. What Lessing himself adds obviously arises out of this; he questions the Frenchman's contention that a 'distrait' is not a fair theme for comedy. But even if he were right, why should comedy, he asks, be limited to 'verbesserliche Untugenden'?

In the following section Lessing proceeds to define the 'use' of comedy: 'Ihr wahrer allgemeiner Nutzen liegt in dem Lachen selbst; in der Uebung unserer Fähigkeit das Lächerliche zu bemerken; es unter allen Bemäntelungen der Leidenschaft und der Mode, es in allen Vermischungen mit noch schlimmern oder mit guten Eigenschaften, sogar in den Runzeln des feyerlichen Ernstes, leicht und geschwind zu bemerken[2].' This is obviously a development of the definition which he had given in his letter to Nicolai of November 13, 1756: '[Die Komödie] soll uns zur Fertigkeit verhelfen, alle Arten des Lächerlichen leicht wahrzunehmen. Wer diese Fertigkeit besitzt, wird in seinem Betragen alle Arten des Lächerlichen zu vermeiden suchen, und eben dadurch der wohlgezogenste und gesittetste Mensch werden. Und so ist auch die Nützlichkeit der Komödie gerettet[3].' The limitation which

ut furiosum et magnanimum heroem. Oedipum, non ex vero sed verisimili, quod optime intellegit. Idque potissimum ex comoedia antiquorum apparere, philosophus ostendit. Quae cum non ex vero, sed ex verisimili et aequo actionem effinxisset totam, personarum quoque nomina, non vera sed pro ea, quam excogitarat actione, imponebat.'

[1] 'La Comédie ne doit jouer que les défauts qu'elle peut corriger. Les plaisanteries que l'on fera sur un boiteux, lui aideront aussitôt à marcher droit, que la Pièce de Regnard corrigera un homme qui est né distrait' (Parfait, *Histoire du Théâtre françois*, xiv (1748), p. 74). *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, p. 302.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 303.

[3] *Schriften*, xvii, p. 66; Petsch, p. 54. Curtius in his *Abhandlung von den Personen und Vorwürfen der Comödie* in his translation of the *Poetics*, p. 397, claimed that everybody was agreed 'dass die Vorstellung und Verbesserung des Lächerlichen in den menschlichen Handlungen der Endzweck des Lustspiels sey.'

Lessing now introduces under the influence of the criticism of the *Distrait*: 'Die Komödie will durch Lachen bessern; aber nicht eben durch Verlachen,' was not foreign to the older definitions. Batteux, for instance, says: 'L'objet de la Comédie est donc la difformité dans les mœurs, présentée par son côté ridicule.... Il faut observer que tout ridicule n'est pas risible. Il y a un ridicule qui nous ennuie, qui est maussade.... Celui qui se montre sur la scène comique est toujours agréable, délicat: et ne nous cause aucune inquiétude secrette[1].' Bishop Hurd, too, held 'in opposition to the general sentiment, that *ridicule* is not the *essence of comedy*'; but I am doubtful whether Lessing knew Hurd's book at this stage.

The whole argument obviously depends on the definition of the 'Lächerliche'; Lessing deals with this in Stück xxviii. It was the kind of question which, as we have seen, appealed to Lessing in the metaphysical period of his Correspondence with Nicolai and Mendelssohn. He does not accept Aristotle's definition (ch. v), which, according to Batteux, is: 'tout défaut qui cause difformité sans douleur, et qui ne menace personne de destruction, pas même celui en qui se trouve le défaut. Car s'il menaçoit de destruction, il ne pourroit faire rire que ceux qui n'ont pas le cœur bon. Un retour secret sur eux-mêmes leur feroit trouver plus de charmes dans la compassion[2].' Nor does he take up the polemic which Corneille entered into in his first *Discours* against Aristotle's definition.

Lessing sets up a new definition of the 'Lächerliche': 'Jede Ungereimtheit, jeder Kontrast von Mangel und Realität ist lächerlich,' which is a modification of what he had already said in the *Laokoon*: 'Hässlichkeit ist Unvollkommenheit, und zu dem Lächerlichen wird ein Contrast von Vollkommenheiten und Unvollkommenheiten erfodert[3].' This, in turn, comes from Mendelssohn, and is rooted in the Wolff-Baumgarten aesthetic theory: in his *Rhapsodie über die Empfindungen*, Mendelssohn had said:

> [Das Lachen] gründet sich, sowohl als das Weinen, auf einen Kontrast zwischen einer Vollkommenheit und Unvollkommenheit. Nur dass dieser Kontrast von keiner Wichtigkeit sein und uns nicht sehr nahe angehen muss, wenn er lächerlich sein soll. Die Thorheiten der Menschen, die wichtige Folgen haben, erregen mitleidige Zähren; die aber ohne Gefahr sind, machen sie bloss lächerlich. Man nennt einen solchen Kontrast eine Ungereimtheit, und sagt daher, ein jedes Lächerliche setze eine Ungereimtheit zum voraus. Ein jeder Mangel der Uebereinstimmung zwischen Mittel und Absicht, Ursache und Wirkung, zwischen dem Charakter eines Menschen und seinem Betragen, zwischen den Gedanken und der Art, wie sie

[1] *Ed. cit.*, III, pp. 189 f.
[2] *Ed. cit.*, III. pp. 188 f.
[3] *Dramaturgie*, IX, p. 302; *Laokoon*, XXIII (*Ibid.*, p. 139).

ausgedrückt werden ; überhaupt ein jeder Gegensatz des Grossen, Ehrwürdigen, Prächtigen und Vielbedeutenden, neben dem Geringschätzigen, Verächtlichen und Kleinen, dessen Folgen uns in keine Verlegenheit setzen, ist lächerlich[1].

The main conclusions to which this investigation of Lessing's interpretation of Aristotle seem to me to lead are as follows. The greater part of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* is written without any direct or special reference to Aristotle ; and the current view that Lessing had the Aristotelian *Poetics* constantly before his eyes, is not in accordance with fact. There were two periods of his life when he was more or less intensively occupied with Aristotle, the period of his Correspondence with Nicolai and Mendelssohn in 1757–58, and the year 1768, when he was approaching the end of his work on the *Dramaturgie*. In the earlier of these periods his results were restricted by the limitations of his point of view ; in the later period, by the fact that, owing to the failure of the Hamburg Theatre and the claims of other controversies, his interest in the drama and its theory was declining. Not the interpretation of Aristotle, but the confutation of French dramatic theory and practice stands in the foreground of the *Dramaturgie* ; the fulcrum round which it turns is not Aristotle, but Voltaire.

Lessing's indebtedness to predecessors and contemporaries has hitherto in large measure been ignored. That his early views, when he was freeing himself from the leading-strings of Gottsched, should have been formed under the influence of Batteux, was only natural : but it seems to me also clear that many of these views persisted down to the period of the *Dramaturgie*, were, in fact, once more brought home to him by the appearance of the translation of Batteux's work by his friend Ramler in a new edition, a few years before he began his work for the Hamburg theatre. And on Ramler's judgment Lessing, we know, laid great weight. To Batteux was united, now, as in the earlier, formative period of Lessing's aesthetic thinking, the decisive influence of Lessing's friend, and in so many matters of literary and aesthetic judgment, his mentor, Moses Mendelssohn. In matters of detail, Lessing's handling of the *Poetics* in his *Dramaturgie*, and especially of Corneille's interpretation of that treatise, was far more influenced by Dacier than has been hitherto recognised. Later French critics, such as Marmontel, and more particularly Diderot, whom Lessing had translated, no doubt also helped to mould his views ; but they have left little—strangely little—traces on his interpretation of Aristotle. The truth is that, in spite of his sympathies with the French 'moderns' of

[1] *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, pp. 256 f.

his own time, Lessing never frankly faced the problem of 'accommodating' them to Aristotle; to the last he remained a conservative upholder of the letter of the Greek lawgiver, in this respect an 'ancient' of the ancients.

Much weight has been laid, and rightly laid, on Lessing's assertion that Shakespeare (with whom he expressly associated Sophocles and Euripides) was a more faithful observer of the laws of Aristotle than Racine, Corneille, Voltaire, Crébillon[1]. Perhaps this was the greatest, as it was the most widely influential of Lessing's critical dogmas; one might even say that it was the most illuminating of his interpretations of Aristotle, if only because it enthroned Aristotle as a lawgiver, not for the Greek drama alone, but for that of all time. The mental attitude involved must not, however, be overlooked. If Lessing held Shakespeare to be worthy of a place beside Sophocles, it was because he found it possible to fit him into Aristotle's scheme; there is no hint that he regarded Shakespeare as the touchstone of Aristotle's universality as a theorist of tragedy. After all, this claim for Shakespeare's essential obedience to the Aristotelian law was an intuition, not a reasoned conclusion; not one word that Lessing says in the *Dramaturgie* about Shakespeare—not even in his discussion of *Richard III*, where it might be most readily expected—shows that Lessing was prepared to defend his view by logical argument. One must accept his belief in the Aristotelian character of the Shakespearian drama less as a tribute to Aristotle, than as one to the compelling force on Lessing's sensitive judgment of the greatest of the moderns.

Lessing arrived at no new discovery or conclusion on any point of Aristotelian criticism that has proved acceptable to later generations; but he gave extraordinarily brilliant settings to the views he maintained; here lies the real strength of his work, not in its novelty. Lessing's interpretation of Aristotle is incomplete and inconclusive; we have seen how more than one crucial question is relegated, just when a solution seems within reach, to the unwritten Commentary on the *Poetics* which for a time was uppermost among his plans. But had that Commentary been written, we have every reason for believing that, in Lessing's own phrase, it would have left 'den Dacierschen weit hinter sich.' Of the unfulfilled promises of Lessing's life none is surely more regrettable than this.

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[1] Cp. end of Stück lxxxi (*Schriften*, x, p. 131).

GERMAN 'WAR-WORDS[1].'

GERMAN, in common with other European languages, has been enriched, or swollen according to the point of view, by the accession of a large number of words, created or revised or endowed with a new significance under the exigencies of war. As German books and newspapers have for the past few years been comparatively inaccessible, a collection of a few of these 'war-words,' noted from time to time in the course of official duties, may not be without assistance to teachers and students of German. It would be an interesting task—at present in the nature of things utterly impracticable—to trace the history and vogue of some of these neologisms, and, in particular, to determine the extent to which the several languages have brought the latter into general currency. There would doubtless be not a few instances of 'mutual influence' by languages, whose speakers were not only opposed to each other on the battle-field, but were in addition actively engaged in eliminating the outward signs of each other's 'culture.' To quote one curious example, the French 'il n'y en a plus' has been annexed both by the British soldier in the form of 'na poo' and by the German as 'na plü,' in each case with a large extension of meaning.

In the appended list an attempt has been made to group together a few of the more frequent topical expressions occurring in newspapers and communiqués. In some cases the rendering in German is obvious enough and the words were commonly employed before the war, but it has been considered advisable to place these on record when they refer to actual war conditions. Technical terms are included only in so far as they are in general use (an elastic conception!) outside the special groups of speakers chiefly concerned with the objects they designate. A certain number of slang terms are interspersed, but the reader is referred for additional examples to that excellent collection of German military slang, *Expressions d'Argot allemand et autrichien*, by René

[1] In addition to words denoting German institutions the British newspapers have extensively employed certain expressions, which are merely 'Lehnübersetzungen' (to use an untranslateable word!) e.g. 'break through,' 'barring position,' 'fore-field,' 'U-boat,' 'culture' or 'Kultur,' 'frightfulness,' and—I suggest with diffidence—the ubiquitous 'secretariat' and 'directorate' (German 'Direktion'), though with regard to the latter I may be withholding credit due to the French.

Delcourt, Paris 1917. In connection with naval slang I hope to publish a few notes in the *Modern Language Review* in the near future.

It is advisable to state that every German expression supplied is authenticated by documentary evidence. At the same time it is more than probable that some of the words (especially the slang terms) have enjoyed merely a local and transient popularity.

Political Expressions.

League of nations, Völkerbund, Liga der Nationen.
Allies (Entente), die Verbandsmächte, die Allierten[1], die Verbündeten.
Allies (Central Europe), die Verbündeten, die Bundesgenossen.
the Entente, die Entente, Ententemächte.
the Central Powers, die Mittelmächte.
Central Europe, Mitteleuropa.
peace note, Friedensnote.
peace proposals, Friedensvorschläge.
peace preliminaries, Friedenspräliminarien, Vorfrieden.
peace conference, Friedenskonferenz.
Wilson's 14 points, die 14 Punkte, die Wilsonschen Grundsätze.
exchange of notes, Notenwechsel.
armistice offer, Waffenstillstandsangebot.
separate peace, Sonderfrieden.
conference table, Verhandlungstisch.
conference chamber, Verhandlungszimmer.
declaration of war aims, Kriegszielerklärungen.
unconditional surrender, bedingungslose oder vorbehaltlose Kapitulation.
evacuation of occupied territory, Räumung der besetzten Gebiete.
reparation, restitution, Schadenersatz.
self-determination, (freie) Selbstbestimmung.
political maturity, cf. politische Mündigkeit.
a peace of justice, Rechtsfrieden.
peace by understanding, Verständigungsfrieden.
an honourable peace, ein ehrenvoller Frieden.
a peace of violence, Gewaltfrieden.
a shameful peace, Schmachfrieden, Schandfrieden.
'jingo,' 'never-endian' (adj.), kriegswütig; (subst.), Kriegsbetzer und Kriegstreiber.
League to enforce peace, Bund zur Friedenserzwingung.
pacifism; pacifist (adj.), Pazifizismus; pazifizistisch.
defeatism, Miesmacherei, Flaumacherei.
the War Cabinet, das Kriegskabinett.
premier position, Vorzugsstellung.
political ascendancy, Machtstellung.
military preponderance, militärisches Übergewicht.
to demand guarantees, Sicherheiten verlangen.
the Constituent Assembly, die Konstituante, Nationalversammlung, verfassunggebende Versammlung.
the Ukraine, die Ukraine.
Soviet government, Sovjetregierung.
(war) to end war, den Krieg abbauen.
the Austrian solution, die austropolnische Lösung.
border states, Randstaaten.
inter-allied, inter-alliiert.
Majority Socialist, Mehrheitssozialist.
Independent Socialist, Unabhängiger Sozialist.
Day of Intercession, cf. ein ausserordentlicher Bettag.
reprisals, Repressalien.
exchange of prisoners, Gefangenenaustausch.
prisoners of war agreement, Gefangenenvereinbarung.
repatriation, Heimschaffung, Heimbeförderung.
(victory) 'within reach,' in Reichweite.
to 'hack one's way through,' sich durchhauen.
a 'scrap of paper,' ein Zettel.
majority parties, Mehrheitsparteien.
Fatherland party, Vaterlandspartei.
preventive arrest, Schutzhaft.
military dictatorship, Militärdiktatur.
Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, Arbeiter- und Soldatenrat, A- und S-rat.
proportional representation, P.R., Verhältniswahl.
plumping, Stimmenhäufung.'

[1] The foreign word 'Alliierte' appears to be confined to the Entente powers, while Verbündete' applies to both sides, though more properly to the Germanic powers.

Military Personnel.

Generalissimo, Generalissimus.
the supreme War Lord, der oberste Kriegsherr.
supreme command, oberste Heeresleitung.
main headquarters, grosses Hauptquartier.
quartermaster-general, der erste Generalquartiermeister.
chaplain, Feldgeistlicher.
liaison officer, Verbindungsoffizier.
despatch rider, Meldereiter, Stafette.
motor transport driver, Kraftwagenfahrer.
A.S.C., Train.
R.A.M.C., cf. Sanitätskorps.
lines of communication, Etappe.
service behind the lines, Etappendienst.
expeditionary force, Expeditionskorps.
Rifle regiment, cf. Schützenregiment.
Army group of the Crown Prince, Heeresgruppe Kronprinz.
parlementaire, Parlamentär.

Recruiting.

man-power problem, Mannschaftsnot.
recruiting authorities, Ersatzbehörden.
conscription, Dienstpflicht, allgemeine Wehrpflicht.
enlistment, Einstellung, Diensteintritt.
to join up, einrücken.
to call up, zum Militärdienst einziehen.
calling up notice, Gestellungsbefehl.
to exempt, reklamieren.
to withdraw an exemption, eine Reklamierung aufheben.
exempted, militärfrei.
to comb out, herausziehen.
shirker, 'Cuthbert,' Drückeberger.
to 'put back,' zurückstellen.
medical examination, Musterung.
re-examination, Nachmusterung.
physique, Körperbeschaffenheit.
fit for general service, felddienstfähig[1].
fit for garrison service, garnisondienstfähig; garnisonverwendungsfähig (g.v.).
unfit, rejected, kriegsunbrauchbar.
age-limit, Altersgrenze.
to raise the age, das Dienstalter heraufsetzen.
raw recruit, 'rookie,' Rauhbein.
demobilisation, Demobilisierung, Demobilmachung.
national service, vaterländischer Hilfsdienst.

Attack and Defence.

general offensive, gemeinsame Offensive.
relief offensive, Entlastungsoffensive.
to pass to the attack, zum Angriff übergehen.
army of manœuvre, Manövrierarmee.
to break through, durchbrechen.
a 'break through,' Durchbruch.
to break into positions, einbrechen.
to gain ground, Boden, Gelände gewinnen.
to envelop, roll up, aufrollen.
a turning movement, Umgehungsbewegung.
a successful defence, eine erfolgreiche Abwehrschlacht.
to be held up, ins Stocken geraten.
a set back, Rückschlag.
to repel smartly, energisch zurückweisen.
to repulse sanguinarily, blutig abweisen.
to beat off, ward off, abschlagen, abwehren.
a shortening of front, Frontverkürzung.
counter offensive, Gegenoffensive.
counter attack, Gegenangriff.
counter thrust, Gegenstoss.
a raid, Streifzug.
a raiding party, Erkundungsabteilung.
'storm troops,' Sturmtruppen, Stosstruppen.
cavalry screen, Kavallerieschleier.
smoke screen, Rauchschleier.
tanks, Panzerkraftwagen, Sturmwagen, Panzerautos, Tanks[2], Panzerwagen.
attacking waves, Sturmwellen.
moppers up, Vernichtungstrupp.
to drive home the attack, den Angriff durchführen.
bombing attack, Handgranatenangriff.
shock tactics, Stosstaktik.
zero time, Nullpunkt.
partial engagements, Teilkämpfe.
on a broad front, auf einer breiten Front.

[1] A further subdivision of the categories ('Tauglichkeitsgrade') is gv. 'Feld' = 'garrison duty abroad' (British B 1); gv. 'Etappe' (behind the lines, British C 1), gv. 'Heimat' (C 1), av. = 'arbeitsdienstverwendungsfähig,' with sub-groups av. 'Feld' av. 'Etappe' and av. 'Heimat,' corresponding to 'labour abroad' (B 2), 'behind the lines' and 'at home' (C 2).

[2] Used by von Scheuch in a speech made in October 1918. 'Panzerwagen' is often used in communiqués.

Positions.

line of resistance, defence, Widerstands-, Verteidigungslinie.
trench warfare, Stellungskrieg.
firing line, Feuerlinie.
fighting line, Gefechtslinie.
frontage, Frontlänge.
sector, (Front-)abschnitt.
pivot of the line, Angelpunkt.
switch-line, Zweigstellung, Riegelstellung, Schnenriegel, Sicherungslinie.
salient, Vorsprung.
trench, Schützengraben.
communication trench, Laufgraben, Verbindungsgraben.
support trench, Unterstützungsgraben.
'fore-field,' Vorfeld, Vorgelände.
no man's land, 'Niemandland,' Zwischengelände.
rear positions, rückwärtige Stellungen.
back area, Kolonnengebiet.
wire entanglement, Drahtverhau, Stacheldrahtverhau.
strong points, Stützpunkte.
key position, Schlüsselgraben.
dug-out, Unterstand.
'funk-hole,' Druckposten, Fuchsloch, Kaninchenloch, Löwenhöhle.
crater, Trichter, Minenkrater.
shell hole, Granatloch, Granattrichter.
listening-post, Horchposten, Lauschposten.
observation post, Beobachtungsstand.
rail head, Kopfstation.
bridge head, Brückenkopf.
slag heap, 'tail,' Halde.
fosse, pit head, Zeche.
sunken road, Hohlweg, eingeschnittener Weg.
live wire barrier, blanker Draht.

Casualties.

casualty list, Verlustliste.
the missing, die Vermissten.
the disabled, die Kriegskrüppel, Kriegsbeschädigten.
a stretcher case, transportfähig.
stretcher-bearer, Krankenträger.
field dressing station, Verbandplatz, Verbandstelle.
casualty clearing station, Krankensammelstelle.
rest hospital, Genesungsheim.
orderly, Krankenwärter.
the 'pictures' (operation), die dramatische Operette.
shell-shock, Nervenschock.
motor ambulance, Krankenkraftwagen.
gassed, gaskrank, gasvergiftet.
the field of honour, das Feld der Ehre.
Roll of Honour, Ehrentafel.

Artillery.

to put a gun out of action, gefechtsunfähig machen.
to silence, neutralize, niederkämpfen.
to come into action, eingreifen.
to 'register,' sich einschiessen.
artillery preparation, Vorbereitungsfeuer.
barrage, Sperrfeuer.
drumfire, Trommelfeuer.
to 'lift' (the barrage), vor-, wegverlegen.
artillery duel, Geschützkampf, Artilleriekampf.
a high explosive shell, Sprenggranate.
star shell, Leuchtgranate.
live shell, scharfe Granate.
a direct hit, Volltreffer.
a 'dud,' Blindgänger, 'Ente.'
ammunition dump, Munitionslager, Stapel.
anti-aircraft (A.A.) guns, 'Archies,' Fliegerabwehrkanonen, Flakgeschütze.
anti-tank gun, Tankabwehrgeschütz.
long range gun, Ferngeschütz, weittragendes Geschütz.
trench mortar, Minenwerfer.
flame-thrower, Flammenwerfer.
liquid fire, flüssiges Feuer.
emplacement, Einschnitt, Geschützstand.
S.O.S., Notsignal.

Gas.

poison gas, Giftgas.
asphyxiating gas, erstickendes Gas.
to gas, vergasen.
gas mask, Gasmaske, Gasschutzmaske.
respirator, Atemschützer.
gas shells, Gasgranaten.
tear shells, Reizgranaten.

Miscellaneous Military Expressions.

(1) *Conduct of war:*
atrocities, Kriegsgreuel.
looting, Plünderung, Plündern.
non-combatants, Nichtkombattanten.

to kidnap (inhabitants), verschleppen.
'break up,' collapse, Zerrüttung.
military necessity, militärische Notwendigkeit.
'frightfulness,' 'Rücksichtslosigkeit.'
(2) *Soldier's effects:*
tin hat, Sturmhaube, 'Gewittertulpe,' 'Kochgeschirr.'
Balaclava helmet, Kopfschützer.
breast armour, Brustpanzer.
brassard, Armbinde.
patch, Patte.
identification disk, Erkennungsmarke.
puttees, Wickelgamaschen.
periscope, Spiegel.
cap-cover, Überzug.
'grubber,' Schanzzeug.
'dixie,' Feldkessel.
dubbin, Stiefelschmiere.
life-preserver, Totschläger.
pay-book, Soldbuch.
allotment, Zuweisung.
'comforts,' Liebesgaben.
luminous watch, Leuchtuhr, Radiumuhr.
wrist watch, Armbanduhr.
(3) *transport:*
lorry, Lore, Lowry (f.).
touring car, Personenkraftwagen, Tourenwagen.
leave train, Urlauberzug.
(4) *quarters, etc.:*
rest camp, Ruhelager.
rest billets, Ruhequartier.
hutments, Hüttenlager.
remount depôt, Pferdedepot, Remonte depot.

Naval and Shipping Terms.

(a) *Blockade:*
Declaration of London, die Londoner Deklaration.
right of search, Recht der Durchsuchung.
continuous voyage, fortgesetzte Reise.
military zone, das militärische Gebiet[1].
war zone, das Kriegsgebiet[2].
blockade area, barred zone, das Sperrgebiet.
ocean highways, Hochstrassen der See.
to hold up (a prize), aufbringen.
prize crew, Prisenkommando.
prize court, Prisenhof.
freedom of the seas, Meeresfreiheit, Freiheit der Meere.
(b) *Mining:*
mining, mines, Minenwesen.
minefield, Minenfeld.
mined area, Minengebiet.
mine barrage, Minensperre.
drifting mine, treibende Mine, Treibmine.
mine mooring, Minenankertau.
mine layer, Minenleger.
mine sweeper, Minensucher.
to mine, mit Minen verseuchen.
(c) *Submarines, raiders etc.:*
surface craft, Überwasserschiff.
commercial submarine, Handels-U Boot.
conning tower, Kommandoturm, Turm.
periscope, Sehrohr.
awash, im überfluteten Zustande.
track of a torpedo, Blasenbahn, Torpedolaufbahn.
depth-charge, Wasserbombe.
explosive charge, Sprengpatrone.
to come to the surface, auftauchen.
to submerge, dive, tauchen.
to torpedo without warning, ohne Warnung, anrufslos torpedieren.
to sink without trace, spurlos versenken.
unrestricted submarine warfare, uneingeschränkter U-bootskrieg.
intensified submarine warfare, verschärfter U-bootskrieg.
cruiser warfare, Kreuzerkrieg.
raider, Hilfskreuzer, Blockadebrecher.
block ship, Sperrschiff.
troop ships, transports, (Truppen-)transporter.
submarine trap, U-bootsfalle.
submarine base, U-bootsstützpunkt.
mystery ship, 'Simulaccer.'
a naval raid, Vorstoss.
(d) *Shipping:*
freights, Frachtsätze.
losses, Schiffsuntergänge.
submarine sinkings, U-bootsversenkungen.
lack of tonnage, Schiffraumnot.
confederation of shipowners, Reederverband.
convoy, Geleitzug, Konvoi.
well protected, stark gesichert.
dazzlepainting, Schutzfarben, Unsichtbarmalen.
to darken, abblenden.
to make a smoke screen, ein Schiff einnebeln[3].

[1] British declaration of 3 Nov., 1914.
[2] German declaration of 4 Feb., 1915.
[3] For other terms, cf. *Dictionary of Modern Naval Terms*, by Lieut. C. S. Goldingham, R.M.L.S., London, H. Rees, 1914.

Aviation Terms.

aviation, Flugwesen.
aeroplane, Flugzeug, Flugmaschine, Apparat.
'plane, 'bus,' 'Kiste.'
monoplane, Eindecker.
biplane, Zweidecker, Doppeldecker.
seaplane, Seeflugzeug, Wasserflugzeug, Flugboot.
single seater, Einsitzer.
two seater, Zweisitzer.
dirigible, Lenkluftschiff.
kite balloon, Drachenballon.
sausage balloon, 'Himmelswurst.'
parachute, Fallschirm.
battle 'plane, Kampflugzeug.
chaser 'plane, Jagdflugzeug.
bombing 'plane, Bombenflugzeug.
giant 'plane, Riesenbombenflugzeug, Grosskampfflugzeug.
bomb, (Flieger-)bombe.
incendiary bomb, Leuchtbombe.
aerial torpedo, Torpedobombe.
to bomb, mit Bomben angreifen, bewerfen, belegen.
a (bombing) raid, Luftangriff, Bombenangriff, Fliegerangriff.
to cross the coast, die Küste überfliegen.
air-raid warning, Fliegeralarm.
air-raid shelter, Unterstand, Fliegerschutz, Fliegerdeckung.
'all clear,' Alarm aufgehoben.
to shoot down, abschiessen.
to bring down, zum Absturz bringen, herunterholen.
to 'crash,' abstürzen, 'Bruch machen,' cf. 'Damenlandung.'
bombing squadron, Bombengeschwader.
to 'nose dive,' Kopf stehen, die Maschine drücken.
a 'nose-dive,' Sturzflug.
to 'spiral,' abtrudeln, 'Korkzieher drehen.'
to 'side slip,' abrutschen.
to 'bank,' Seitenneigung geben.
to 'taxi,' 'rollen.'
looping the loop, Looping, Schleifenflug.
to 'zoom,' 'anreissen.'
to go up, starten, aufsteigen.
to land safely, glatt landen.
cross-country flight, Überlandflug.
long distance flight, Fernflug.
a volplane, Gleitflug.
air pocket, Luftloch, 'Fallbö.'
hangar, Halle, Schuppen.
aerodrome, Flugplatz, Flughafen, Flugfeld.
'joy stick,' 'Knüppel.'
controls, Steuerung, Steuerungseinrichtung.
aviator, Flieger ; Aviatör (enemy).
pilot, Flugzeugführer, Pilot.
observer, Beobachter.
ace, Fliegerkanone.
ace of aces, die ganz grosse Fliegerkanone.
distinguishing mark, Hoheitsabzeichen.
material damage, Sachschaden.
camouflage, Fliegermaske.
air forces, Flugstreitkräfte[1].

Expressions relating to Economic Conditions.

Economic conference, Wirtschaftskonferenz.
an economic boycott, ein wirtschaftlicher Boykott.
the war after the war, der Krieg nach dem Kriege, der wirtschaftliche Krieg.
maximum prices, Höchstpreise.
minimum wages, Minimallöhne.
reconstruction, Übergangswirtschaft, wirtschaftlicher Wiederaufbau.
Minister of Reconstruction (Brit.), Minister für Wiederaufbau.
skilled labour, gelernte Arbeitskräfte.
to invest in war loan, die Kriegsanleihe zeichnen.
war bonds, Reichsschatzanweisungen.
war credits, Kriegskredite.
decline (of the mark), Rückgang.
food shortage, Teuerung.
food riots, Lebensmittelkrawalle.
food queue, Lebensmittelqueue.
food hoarder, Hamster.
food hoarding, Lebensmittelhamstern, Hamsterei.
rationing (compulsory), Rationierung, Zwangsrationierung.
scale of rationing, Rationssätze.
Ministry of food, Lebensmittelamt, Kriegsernährungsamt.
local food office, Bezirkstelle.
communal kitchen, national kitchen, Volksküche.

[1] For further expressions, especially slang terms, cf. Delcourt, *l.c.*, pp. 13 ff. and an article by P. Beyer, 'Beiträge zur Feldfliegersprache' in the *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, March 1917.

ration book, Lebensmittelkartenheft.
bread ticket, Brotmarke.
war bread, Kriegsbrot, K-brot.
meat cards, (Reichs)-fleischkarten.
meatless weeks, fleischlose Wochen.
butter coupons, Butterabschnitte.
supplementary cards for heavy manual workers, Zusatzkarten für Schwerarbeiter.
cards for various articles, Bezugskarten für Verschiedenes.
illicit trade, Schleichhandel.
profiteering, Kriegswucher, Bewucherung des Volkes.
profiteer, Kriegswucherer, Profitmacher.
profiteering middle man, Zwischenhandelsgewinnler.
excess profits tax, Steuer der Mehrgewinne.
liable to excess profit tax, umsatzsteuerpflichtig.
levy on capital, Kapitalabgabe, Vermögensabgabe.
reduction of potato ration, Kürzung der Kartoffelration.
allotment, Schrebergarten, Kleingarten, Laubenland.
to 'get in' the potatoes, die Kartoffeln bergen.
to plough up (grassland), umpflügen.
cold storage, Gefrierhaus, Kühlhaus.

Miscellaneous.

War wedding, Kriegstrauung, cf. 'sich kriegstrauen lassen.'
War baby, Kriegskind.
Aliens scare, Fremdenhetze.
to denaturalize, entnaturalisieren.
internment camp, Zivilgefangenenlager, Internierungslager.
the home front, die innere Front, die Heimatfront, das Hinterland.
to hold out, 'stick it,' durchhalten.
arm-chair strategists, Heimstrategen, Biertischstrategen.
to 'see it through,' cf. 'wir schaffen's, Kinder.'
Spanish influenza, die spanische Krankheit, die Grippe.
to 'wireless,' funken.
wireless message, Funkspruch.
wireless operator, Funkentelegraphist.
wireless telegraphy, W/T, Funkentelegraphie, F.T.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

-S AND -N PLURALS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH.

The problem of the distribution of -s and -n plurals in Middle English is one which has not yet found any satisfactory solution, for the older view that French plurals in -s influenced the formation of English plurals is notoriously unsatisfactory. If French plurals in -s had really influenced English forms, then we should expect the -s forms to become commonest in the South and the -n plurals commonest in the North, whereas exactly the contrary took place. The Northern plurals in -s begin to appear, moreover, too early to be attributed to any French influence, so that we are obliged to seek the cause of the distribution of the two plural forms in the Old English period.

In seeking the cause of the distribution of the two forms we shall be justified in assuming that where one of two possible forms has succeeded in displacing the other it has done so either because it was a commoner form, i.e. was found in a larger number of words, or else because it was in more frequent use than the other, i.e. although it was not, or may not have been, found in a larger number of words, yet those words in which it was found were in more common use and therefore it was more frequent. It is impossible at this date to say which words were in most frequent use, so that it is not possible to base any theory on that ground. But it is possible to say which class of plural nouns was the most numerous. Doubtless the Old English weak declension contained more nouns, masculine, feminine and neuter, than any single strong declension. One may say, therefore, that there would be a tendency during the period of the simplification of inflexions to substitute the inflexions of the weak declension for the inflexions of the various strong declensions and that the plurals in -n would become more and more numerous, at the expense of the plurals in -s or a vowel, representing the various strong declensions of Old English. There is good ground for the belief, therefore, that the -n plurals represent the normal development of the Old English system, unless it can be shown that the nouns of the separate strong declensions of Old English were, though not so numerous as the weak nouns, yet in more common use. And this cannot be done.

But if the weak nouns were more numerous than the nouns of any single strong declension, we should expect them to replace the strong nouns in the North just as much as in the South, though in fact they did not. There must have been some force operating in the North, then, which hindered the normal development, as seen in the South. And this force must have been a very strong force, for it checked or diverted the natural tendency to simplification of the inflexional system of the language to such an extent that it frustrated and overcame a marked analogical tendency to generalise the commonest inflexion among nouns. One is naturally tempted to look to Old Norse for such a force in any phenomenon affecting the Northern dialect. And it may be that the explanation of the -s plural is to be found there.

It is true that there is not much evidence of the influence of Old Norse on the inflexional system of English. That may be due to the fact that many inflexions had already weakened in the North, or it may be due to the fact that many inflexions were similar in the two languages. But in any case the fact that such important and everyday words as the O. N. pronouns *they, them, their* should have displaced the native equivalents is evidence of a singularly close and intimate fusion of the invaders and the invaded. Old Norse, however, has no plurals in -s, and it might seem impossible, therefore, to presume that the O. E. -s plurals had any connexion with Old Norse. But if Old Norse had no -s plurals it had no -n plurals either—at least in the nominative and accusative cases—and it is in this negative fact that we may find the explanation of the spread of the -s plurals in the Northern dialect.

The Old Norse plurals of weak nouns in the nominative and accusative cases are:

Nom.	hanar	hiorto	smiþior.
Acc.	hana	hiorto	smiþior.

It is evident therefore that the Scandinavian settlers would be quite unfamiliar with the O. E. plural forms in -n in the nom., acc. plural. It may be urged, however, that even if it is true that Old Norse had no -n plurals this is no reason why the Scandinavians should prefer the O. E. -s plurals, for this -s plural was just as unfamiliar to them as was the -n plural, and their own inflections -ar, -or resembled the O. E. -an just as much as they resembled the O. E. -as. But the grounds for supposing that they preferred the -s plurals are more numerous. It is not only a question of the absence of an -n plural in Old Norse, but also of the general resemblance of the Old Norse singular of the weak declension to the singular of the Old English strong declension. Let us compare the two in the singular:

	Old Norse (weak).		Old English (strong).			
	-an stems.	-ōn stems.	-o stems.	-a stems.	-i stems.	-u stems.
Nom.	-a, -e	-a	—	-u, -o	-e	-a, -o, -u.
Gen.	-a	-u, -o	-es	-e	-es	-a.
Dat.	-a	-u, -o	-e	-e	-e	-a, -u, -o.
Acc.	-a	-u, -o	—	-e	-e	-u, -o, -a.

There is clearly a very close resemblance between the Old Norse weak inflexions and the Old English strong inflexions in the singular, and in this way the number of nouns which were declined strong in the singular must have been much greater than the number of those which were declined weak, and such being the case it is quite natural that they should have been declined strong in the plural also.

But if we turn to the Old Norse plurals of the weak declension we shall find that there are still forms which link them strongly with the Old English strong declension rather than with the Old English weak declension. The Old Norse forms are :

	an- stems.		-ōn stems.		
Nom.	hanar	harparar	hiorto	gǫtor	smiþior.
Gen.	hana	harpara	hiartna	gatna	smiþia.
Dat.	hǫnom	hǫrporum	hiortom	gǫtom	smiþiom.
Acc.	hana	harpara	hiorto	gǫtor	smiþior.

Of these forms the nom. agrees with neither the strong nor the weak Old English inflexions; the acc. is much nearer to the Old English strong inflexion than to the weak, and the nom. neuter form *hiartu* is the same as the Old English type *scipu*. The dative form might correspond equally well to the Old English strong or weak declension, but the genitive forms agree as to the majority, *hana*, *harpara*, *smithia*, with the Old English strong forms.

There is ample ground for supposing, therefore, that the Old Norse weak nouns would be declined in Old English as if they were strong. The whole of the singular, the nom. plural neuter, the accusative plural, the dative plural and the majority of the genitive plurals were all nearer to the Old English strong inflexions. The only outstanding difference was the nom. plural masculine and feminine which had -ar, -or. These forms did not exist in Old English, so it is natural that they should have become -as. Once the large number of weak nouns had thus become strong, however, the number of strong nouns must have far outnumbered the weak ones, and the plural in -as probably became general in territory inhabited by the Danes. From there it spread to the rest of the country.

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On the Origin of Natural Gender in Middle English.

The development of natural gender in Middle English constitutes a phenomenon unique in the Indo-germanic languages, but the explanations of the cause of this extraordinary development do not, to my mind, sufficiently account for known facts. There exists, however, substantial agreement among scholars concerning the causes which promoted natural gender. It may be well, therefore, to examine first of all the current views on this subject; to see in what respect they fail adequately to account for all the facts, and then to suggest another view as to the origin of natural gender.

Current theory on this point may be represented by the following quotations:

> Grammatical gender went gradually out of use after the Norman Conquest, owing to the following causes :—
>
> (1) The confusion between masculine and feminine suffixes.
> (2) Loss of suffixes marking gender.
> (3) Loss of case inflections in the masculine and feminine forms of demonstratives. Morris, *Hist. Outlines of Eng. Accidence*, § 81.

> With the loss of inflectional distinctions during Middle English, and mainly owing to that loss, the grammatical gender of Old English was replaced by natural gender. Emerson, *Hist. of the English Language*, § 338.

> The confusion of genders.....was partly due to the working of analogy which levelled out distinctions in declensional types, partly to the weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables to -e which took place during the last quarter of the eleventh and the first quarter of the twelfth century, thus wiping out formal distinctions to a very large extent. Wyld, *A Short History of English*, § 307.

The underlying assumption in all these statements is that there came a time in the development of English when it was no longer possible to distinguish gender in the old way. At that time the inflexions of the noun, the adjective, the articles, and the demonstratives had already weakened or had been lost to such an extent that there were no forms left by which to distinguish one gender from another. This being the case, it was found necessary to substitute a gender which was based, not on grammatical forms, since these had, *ex hypothesi*, disappeared, but on meaning. It is admitted, therefore, tacitly, that mind had some share in this development; but unhappily this activity of the mind is represented as coming into operation only after it had been stimulated by the desperate situation which had arisen from the loss of inflexions. Now it is just this assumption that the mind ever can be, or ever has been, stimulated to such an extraordinary effort by the merely unconscious operation of a sound-law which we would wish to contest.

Let us see to what conclusions this theory will ultimately lead us. It assumes that natural gender sets in *after* the confusion arising from the loss of inflexions. But it does not assume that the introduction of natural gender involved the setting up of any new linguistic material to replace the old; it does not assume that there was any restoration of inflexions. On the contrary the new natural gender must have been expressed by the available material, that is, without the help of any inflexions or suffixes. How, then, was it, in fact, expressed? It was expressed solely by means of the personal pronouns; for all other distinctions of gender had been lost. Is it not then a perfectly natural and obvious objection to this theory, that these self-same pronouns, *he, she* and *it*, would have sufficed to preserve the old grammatical gender? If, *ex hypothesi*, there were no other means of expressing gender than the pronouns *he, she* and *it*, would not these pronouns have served just as well to express grammatical gender as to express natural gender? Or where is the difference? And, moreover, does not the theory that natural gender was a sort of substitute for a lost and much lamented grammatical gender also imply a consciousness of that loss and an effort to retain it? But setting aside this question, is it not more likely that, with a long tradition of grammatical gender, English would have retained such gender by the means at its disposal —the personal pronouns—unless there had been some very strong motive for adopting any other system of gender? Finally, it is said that natural gender was the result of the *confusion* of old grammatical genders. But if the only means of indicating gender was by means of the personal pronouns, how can it be said that gender was confused? The personal pronouns indicating natural gender would have made the distinction of gender just as clear as they do in the case of natural gender in Modern English and, as a matter of fact, English might by means of the pronouns of *he, she* and *it* retain grammatical gender to this day without the very least confusion. Natural gender is neither more—nor less—confusing than grammatical gender.

The current view then merely amounts to saying that after inflexions disappeared it was no longer possible to distinguish gender by means of inflexions: which nobody will deny. But when it is said that the loss of inflexions made it impossible to distinguish gender *at all*, then the statement is a flat contradiction of the fact that gender might have been indicated by the pronouns.

It is true, no doubt, that where grammatical gender prevails inflexions are a valuable aid to the memory in fixing gender. A German

does not know his genders because he has learnt in an abstract way that such and such a noun is masculine and such and such another noun feminine, but because he is in the habit of hearing a word in combination with an inflected adjective or article or demonstrative. Association thus plays a large rôle in remembering gender. No doubt, too, that where all significant meaning has departed from the forms of grammatical gender there might arise confusion in the case of some less commonly used words if all inflexions were lost. But this is quite a different thing from saying that gender could not be indicated by means of pronouns in the great majority of common words. Nor can it be doubted that confusion arises in languages with grammatical gender even though full inflexions are preserved. Some English men and women, for example, say 'I is' despite the existence of such differences as still exist between 'is' and 'am.' Ignorance of the usages of a language may be found anywhere and does not need loss of inflexions to excuse it.

The view we have been discussing is, however, not only theoretically unjustifiable, it is also contrary to certain ascertained facts. In the first place it may be noted that there exists in the period before the inflexions were weakened or lost, indeed already in Old English, a strong tendency to natural gender. It is already almost completely established in the case of the names of living things, with the exception of *wif* and *mægden*, though even in the use of these two nouns a subsequent pronoun is put in the natural, or feminine gender, as: wæs sona gearu wif swa *hire* weoruda helm beboden hæfde, *Elene*, 223; me sæde thæt wif *hire* wordum selfa, *Gen.* 2648; hit sealde thæm mædene and thæt mæden hit sealde *hire* meder, cf. Toller. In the second place the numerous fluctuations of gender in Old English are, significantly enough, found usually in the names of those lifeless things which are either masculine or feminine. Thus *fen* is masculine or neuter, *frith* is masculine or neuter, *secg* is masculine or neuter, *æfest* is masculine, feminine or neuter; *susl* is neuter or feminine; *cyrnel* is masculine or neuter; and similarly with a large number of other nouns the tendency is to make them neuter.

Moreover, just as in Old English we observed that *wif* and *mægden* were constructed with a feminine pronoun, so also in early Middle English we can observe exactly the same process in the case of the names of lifeless things which were originally masculines or feminines. Morris quotes the following:

eal the murhthe the me us behat, al *hit* scal beo god ane, *Moral Poem*, 364.

A clearer case is

He haueth us igarked tha eche blisse, gif we wulleth *hit* iernien..... *Old English Homilies*, 1, 19,

in which *tha* still points to an original feminine.

The following examples are culled at random from a brief investigation of the extracts in volume I of Morris and Skeat's *Specimens:*

and wende the tun betere than *it* ær wæs. II, 81.

the Iudeus.....bohton an Christen child.....and pineden him alle the ilce pining *thæt* ure Drihten wæs pined. II, 86.

iii deoflen ledden an meiden swithe unbesorgeliche, georne escade to Mihhal hwi me *heo* ledde swa. III a, 56.

and funden an asse mid fole. and ledden *hit* togenes him. IV, 20.

and that burh folc hihten the hege strete and bihengen *hit* mid palmes. IV, 23.

nexst fleshe ne schal mon werien no linene cloth, bute gif *hit* beo of herde. IX, 156.

Tho stod on old stoc thar bi-side,
.....
hit was thare hule earding-stowe. XVI, 28.

vor harpe and pipe and fugeles songe
misliketh, gif *hit* is to longe. XVI, 344.

The following examples are derived from the *Owl and the Nightingale:*

theh thu nime euere of tham lepe
hit is eure ful bi hepe. ll. 359, 360.

thah ich iseo his harm bi-uore,
ne cometh *hit* noght of me thar-uare. ll. 1235, 1236.

thu geolpest of seolliche wisdome,
thu nustest hwenne *hit* the come. ll. 1299, 1300.

his gunge blod *hit* drageth amis. l. 1434.

These examples might easily be multiplied, but what is of most significance in those cited is that the change is always in the same direction, towards natural gender, and that the change in the case of the names of lifeless things is always towards neuter. It is, however, very difficult to present any overwhelming mass of evidence on this point because sentences in which the name of a lifeless thing is referred to again by a personal pronoun—and no other pronoun will serve—are, in the nature of things, not very numerous. They would be much more numerous in the spoken language. But the evidence which is available goes to show that natural gender came in by way of the personal pronouns.

But the chief question at issue still remains untouched. We may say that natural gender came in in such and such a manner, but this does not help us to an explanation why it came in at all. If, then, the

reason was not the decay of inflexions, if, as we have attempted to show, this was no compelling reason, what was the cause?

From the evidence it is conceivable that the change came about from one or other of the following causes, or it may have sprung from a combination of any or all of them. In the first place, it is clear from the evidence of Old English that there existed a strong sense of sex. This is shown from the fact that the names of living things are already masculine or feminine. Such a sense of sex might readily develop a sense of sexlessness, or a sense of the distinction between living and lifeless things. How far this sense may have been strengthened by the possibility that the personal pronouns are most commonly used in the masculine and feminine to refer to man and woman, we do not know. But it is a possibility which ought not to be lost sight of. However this may be, it seems more reasonable to attribute such an important change as that from grammatical to natural gender to some psychological cause than to attribute it to a blind and purposeless loss of a few inflexions, especially when such a loss need not lead to any such result at all.

There is another possible cause of the change, which closely resembles the foregoing, and that is that the discarding of grammatical gender is just one more manifestation of the tendency everywhere visible in the history of the English language to simplify its grammatical categories and to dispense with mechanical distinctions. This tendency has gone so far that in Modern English the only syntactic relations still shown by an inflexion are in the possessives and plurals of nouns, in the third person singular indicative of the verb, and in the number, gender and case of pronouns. In Modern English one can say that for ordinary purposes gender does not exist. There is a pronoun for man or boy and a pronoun for woman or girl and nothing more. It is possible that this loss of a sense of gender was already operating in the early Middle English period. The cause is again purely psychological. It can be traced to that general tendency towards economy of expression which is sufficient to account for almost all the changes in accidence and syntax since the Old English period. It is most marked in the tendency to allow context to replace formal grammatical categories. Neither adjective nor article need express number, because it is expressed in the noun; the verb need have no inflexion of number for the same reason. Case is superfluous since it is indicated either by prepositions, by the word-order or by the context: everywhere there is the same tendency to express a grammatical relation once only. Why, then, not express gender also

once only, that is, by the pronoun? Where the noun itself is used there is no occasion for the expression of gender, it expresses itself. The loss of inflexions, whether of number, gender or case, may well have been due to the operation of the broad psychology of national thought, manifesting itself in the analytic formation of cases, in general economy of expression and the simplification of grammatical categories. That case-endings disappeared by reason of the development of the analytical cases, and not *vice versa*, seems evident from the fact that these latter were in common use long before the case-endings disappeared. Why should not the distinction between singular and plural have been levelled down to a single inflexion from a similar motive of simplification? When the inflexions of number and case had thus been lost the inflexions of gender became superfluous, either because of the developed sense of the distinction between lifeless and living things, by which the latter all became neuter, or because the personal pronouns *he* and *she* became restricted in application to male and female and everything else was referred to by *it*.

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'Mealy-mouthed.'

Professor Weekley (unintentionally, of course) has misrepresented my first argument; but a re-statement (unless at enormous length) would hardly be intelligible to readers for whom it is not superfluous. All I need say in rejoinder is that the existence of *meledéaw* no more proves that the simplex has survived into O. E. than the present currency of *mildew* proves the survival of *mil* in Modern English.

My attempt to justify the ordinary etymology of 'mealy-mouthed' is met by Professor Weekley with the rather curious remark that 'perhaps one day we shall find' that the German phrase to which I appeal is a perversion of some older saying containing the Germanic cognate of *mel*. However, he candidly admits that the notion expressed in the German phrase agrees closely with the now current sense of 'mealy-mouthed'; but he attempts to show that the word had a different meaning in Tudor times. I do not think the attempt is successful. The definitions and renderings which he quotes from early dictionaries seem to me to agree at least as well with the present sense of the word as with that which he would assign to it. They show, however, some trace of the notion expressed by Minsheu, that *meal-mouth* literally means one whose words are bland and soft like meal. Lexicographers

(I speak as one of them) are apt to allow their view of the etymology of a word to prejudice their interpretation of its meaning in actual use. In this instance, however, the early definitions are not really wrong, though somewhat wanting in precision. In the *Oxford Dictionary's* quotation of 1576, 'flatterers and meal-mouthed merchants' is a translation of the single word *assentatores* in a Latin version of Isocrates. Apparently the English translator felt that 'flatterers' alone did not sufficiently express the meaning, and therefore he added the alliterative phrase, which was most likely proverbial. The context shows that the reference is to persons who have not the frankness characteristic of a true friend, who, in short, are mealy-mouthed in the usual sense. I have not met with any other use of the expression 'meal-mouthed merchant'; presumably it originally referred to a vice commonly imputed to the trading class, and its alliterative form led to its proverbial use with a widened application. The *Oxford Dictionary's* quotation of 1546 (s.v. *Meal-mouth*) affords no more support to Professor Weekley's contention than does the quotation of 1576. For the 'meal-mouth' spoken of here is *not* the man of persuasive speech. He is just the 'meal-mouthed merchant' of the passage from Fleming—the *assentator*, who, by carefully dissembling his inward disagreement, draws us on to a full disclosure of the secret thoughts that we would knowingly confide only to sympathetic ears.

The French and German phrases quoted by Professor Weekley from Cotgrave and Ludwig have a certain interest, as they recall the medieval proverb relating to the bee: 'Mel in ore, venenum in cauda.'

I should like to know the history of the surname Melmoth, which has at least a superficial likeness to the thirteenth-century *Millemuth*. 'Perhaps one day we shall find' (to borrow Professor Weekley's expression) that *Millemuth* has a demonstrable etymology connected neither with *meal-mouth* nor with the Gothic *miliþ*.

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Notes on Henry Vaughan.

The sources of the following passages appear to have been overlooked by Vaughan's editors:

(i) Thus *Cyrus* tam'd the *Macedon*, a tombe
Checkt him, who thought the world too straight a Room.
The Charnel-House, ll. 35, 36.

The reference is to Plutarch's Life of Alexander, chap. 69. The

king having read the epitaph on Cyrus's tomb ordered a Greek translation to be inscribed underneath, which was as follows:

Ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ὅστις εἶ, καὶ ὁπόθεν ἥκεις, ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἥξεις, οἶδα, ἐγὼ Κῦρός εἰμι ὁ Πέρσαις κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν· μὴ οὖν τῆς ὀλίγης ταύτης γῆς φθονήσῃς ἣ τοὐμὸν σῶμα περικαλύπτει. (Plutarch continues) *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐμπαθῆ σφόδρα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐποίησεν, ἐν νῷ λαβόντα τὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ τὴν μεταβολήν.*

Cf. 'Into what a dump did the sight of Cyrus' tomb strike the most noble Alexander!' Felltham, *Resolves, Of Man's Unwillingness to die.* Mr L. C. Martin has drawn attention in his commentary to some instances of Vaughan's indebtedness to the *Resolves.*

(ii) A day, an hour, a minute (saith *Causabone*) is sufficient to over-turn and extirpate the most settled Governments, which seemed to have been founded and rooted in Adamant.

Man in Darkness, Vol. I, p. 171, in L. C. Martin's edition of Vaughan's Works.

Miss L. I. Guiney in her edition of *The Mount of Olives, etc.* (London, Henry Frowde, 1902), writes, p. 47: 'Whether in the pages of the innumerable commentaries of Isaac Casaubon, or in those of his son Meric, the Editor (after considerable research) is unable to say.' Vaughan was here translating from Isaac's preface to his Polybius (1609), addressed to Henri IV: 'dies, hora, momentum, euertendis dominationibus sufficit, quae adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundatae.' Sign. ã ij verso, ll. 24 sq.

Casaubon's preface at one time deservedly enjoyed a high reputation. Bayle when characterising Calvin's Dedicatory Epistle to François I at the beginning of his *Institutio* as 'une des trois ou quatre Préfaces que l'on admire le plus,' subjoins in a marginal note that 'L'Epitre Dédicatoire de Mr. de Thou [to Henri IV], & la Préface du Polybe de Casaubon, sont de ce nombre.' The third edition of the *Dictionaire* adds to these Pellisson's Préface to the *Oeuvres* of Sarasin. Ed. 1720, Vol. I, p. 725, notes F and 20.

(iii) Candidus & medicans Ignis deus est. *So sings the* Poet.

Flores Solitudinis, 'To the Reader.' L. C. Martin's ed., Vol. I, p. 216.

The poet is St Paulinus of Nola, and the words, except *est,* are taken from his *Natales Sancti Felicis, Natalis VIII,* l. 332.

(iv) At the end of 'The Translator to the ingenious Reader' prefixed to Vaughan's version of Nollius's *Systema Medicinae Hermeticae Generale* is the following, attributed to Plautus:

Qui mali sunt, habeant mala; qui boni, bona; bonos quòd oderint mali, sunt mali; malos, quòd oderint boni, bonos esse oportet.

L. C. Martin's ed., Vol. II, p. 548.

One may search in vain for these words in the Teubner text or Professor Lindsay's edition. The source is the spurious part (23 out of 25 lines) of the Prologue to the *Pseudolus*, which has no MS. authority.

> Studete hodie mihi, bona in scenam affero.
> Nam bona bonis ferri, reor aequom maxume,
> Ut mala malis. ut qui mali sunt, habeant mala:
> Bona, qui boni. bonos quod oderint mali,
> Sunt mali: malos quod oderint boni, bonos
> Esse oportet.
>
> Plautus, ed. Lambinus, 1577, p. 549.

(v) There is sung from all antiquity by some unknowne Poet this following *Hymne* in the stile of a prayer,

> *O Cœlestium princeps Sanitas!*
> *Utinam tecum degere possim*
> *Quod mihi tempus superest vitae!*
>
> At the beginning of Vaughan's translation of John Reynolds's Latin version of Maximus Tyrius's 13th Dissertation. L. C. Martin's ed., I, p. 117.

'By some unknowne Poet' is an addition to the statement of Maximus Tyrius. The quotation, as we learn from Athenaeus, XV, 701, 702, is the beginning of the Paean to Hygieia written by Ariphron of Sicyon. Vaughan, as a writer of Latin verse himself, ought to have felt a qualm in transcribing the first line of the Latin version. Reynolds, or whoever the writer was, seems to have imagined that the first syllable of *Sanitas* was short.

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ABERYSTWYTH.

NOTES ON ROMANIC SPEECH-HISTORY.

In the following notes, β means bilabial *v*; δ = *th* in *then*; θ = *th* in *thin*; ϱ = Bohemian *d'*; κ = Bohemian *t'*; *j* = Italian *j* in *aja*; ξ = German *ch* in *echt*; λ = Portuguese *lh*; $\tilde{n}$ = Spanish $\tilde{n}$; χ = German *ch* in *acht*; η = English final *ng*; *y* = Norse *y*, German *ü*; *œ* = French *œu*, German *ö*; ϑ = Rumanian *ă*, English *e* in *bakery*; $\acute{a}$ = Finnish *ä*, English *a* in *hat*; $\mathring{a}$ = Hungarian *a*, English *a* in *halt*. A grave accent marks stressed vowels that are open, an acute those that are close.

LUCTA.

In western Romanic the group *kt* changed through χt to ξt between vowels[1]. Contact with ξ produced the development $a > \acute{a} > e$ in Hispanic; and it had a closing effect on $\grave{e}$, $\grave{o}$, $\grave{u}$, in most varieties of western Romanic. It would have had the same effect on $\grave{i}$, but this

[1] *Modern Language Review*, VIII, 492.

sound became *é* before *ξ* was developed from *χ*. In France the closure-changes of *è* and *ò* were fractural: **lèξt* > **lieξt*, **òξt* > **uoξt*. The sound *ξ* had no effect on *é* and *ó*; these vowels were not modified by palatal-contact in early Romanic[1]. But it could alter *ù* to *ú*, for *góla* < *gula* was a later development than *péra* < *pira*, as the Rumanian vowel-system shows. Rumanian has *cred* < *crēdo*, *creadă* < *crēdat*, *masă* < *mensa*, *negru* < *nigru*, *neagră* < *nigra*, *pară* < *piṛa*, but *gură* < *gula* beside *nod* < *nōdu*, *oară* < *hōra*.

Portuguese has *estreito* < **estréξto* < **estréχto* < *strictu*, beside *luta* < *luita* < **lúξta* < **lùξta* < **lùχta*, with a formation of *ξ* later than *é* < *è*, but earlier than *ó* < *ù*. The same difference is seen in Spanish *estrecho* and *lucha* < **lúξκξa* < **lùξta*[2], Catalan *estret* and *lluita*, Provencial *estré* and *lucho* (pronounced *lytso* in Mistral's dialect), French *étroit* and *lutte*. Early Provencial *lucha* had the variants *locha* and *loita*, riming with *cocha*, *coita*, in which the *o* was close, not open as Appel and Erdmannsdörffer have assumed[3]. The verbs *cocha* and *coita* are equivalent to **cōctat* for *coactat*, with *ō* borrowed from *cōgere*. The close *o* of *cocha* and *locha* corresponds to the modern sound *u* (*ou* in ordinary spelling: *coucho*, *loucho*). The variation between *lucha* and *locha* can be explained in two ways.

We may suppose that **lùχta* developed through **lùξta* to **lúξta* in some dialects, and through **lóχta* to **lóξta* in others. This double treatment, depending on the relative chronology of *χ* > *ξ* and *ù* > *ő*, has a parallel in the derivatives of *pŭgnu*. The form *poun* (*puη*) < *ponh* indicates a development *pùηnu* > **póηno* > **póññо*, while *pun* (*pyη*) < *punh* implies *pùηnu* > **pùññо* > **púññо*, with a relatively earlier alteration of *ηn*[4].

Rumanian contains evidence of stressless *o* < *u*[5], although it regularly has *u* corresponding to stressed Latin *u*[6]. We may therefore assume that *malu* > *malo* was an earlier development than *gula* > *góla* in Italy and the west. This assumption agrees with the difference between the forms *pun* (*pỳη*) and *pounhal* (*puñal*), found in southern Languedoc[7]: here *ññ* < *ηn* was earlier than *ó* < *ù*, but later than stressless *o* < *u*. Thus **loχtare* could have been contemporary with **lùχta*, making

[1] *Modern Philology*, XI, 347.
[2] *Modern Language Review*, VIII, 494.
[3] Appel, *Prov. Chrestomathie*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 226; Erdmannsdörffer, *Reimwörterbuch der Trobadors*, Berlin, 1897, p. 51.
[4] In modern Provencial, pausal *η* has generally replaced older *ñ*, *n* and *m*. The sound *η* is misrepresented as a weak (or sometimes as an ordinary) dental *n* in the *Atlas linguistique de la France*.
[5] *Romanic Review*, I, 431.
[6] *Modern Language Review*, IX, 495.
[7] *Revue des langues romanes*, XXXV, 301.

lochar and *lucha* normal, *luchar* and *locha* analogic, where $\chi > \xi$ was earlier than *ù* > *ó*.

Either of the foregoing explanations would account for early French *loitier* and *luitier*. But Galician *loita* probably owes its *o* to external analogy. The influence of normal *cuidar* < *cōgitāre* formed analogic *cuida* beside normal *coida* (= Spanish *cueda*) < *cōgitat*. The variation between *coida* and *cuida* changed the like-sounding *escuitar—escuita* to *escuitar—escoita*, which then produced *luitar—loita* for *luitar—luita*, and the noun *loita* went with the verb.

Multu.

In various works dealing with the history of Spanish sounds, it is stated that the *ù* of *multu* and *pugnu* developed through *ó* to *ú*. This theory, which a few years ago[1] I mistook for the truth, is evidently wrong. An early Spanish **moito* would have become **mueto*, in accordance with *cuedo* = Galician *coido* < *cōgito*, *agüero* = Portuguese *agoiro* < **agóreo* < *auguriu*. Spanish *leño* < *lignu* keeps *e*: therefore we have no right to assume a formation of *ú* from *ó* in *puño*. *Cuña* does not rime with *cigüeña* < **tšegóiña* < **κekóñña* < *cicōnia*; its close *u* must have come directly from open *u*. The development *troja* < **tróϱa* < **tróλλa* < **tróllia* < **tróllea* < *trullea* shows that λ could not change *ó* to *ú* in Hispanic. We must admit a direct change of *ù* to *ú* in *mucho* < **múλκξo* < **múλκo* < **mùλto* < *multu*: the formation of *ó* from *ù* was later than *λt* < *lt*, but earlier than *λλ* < *lli*. Palatal-contact made open *u* close, but left close *o* unchanged.

In Galician the change of *ui* to *oi* before dentals was extended to words not belonging to verbs, as *froito* for *fruito* < *frūctu*, *moito* for *muito* < **múλto* < **mùλto* < *multa* (whence also *moi* for *mui*). This confusion has conversely given to *noite* < *nocte* the variant *nuite*: I find *noite* and *nuite* in Pondal's *Queixumes d'os pinos* (La Coruña, 1886), but only *nuite* in the same writer's *Campana d'Anllóns* (La Coruña, 1895). The *o* of *choiva*, a variant of *chuvia* < *pluuia* mentioned by Cornu in Gröber's *Grundriss* (*Port. Sprache*, § 30), seems to have come from the verb *chove*.

The Hispanic treatment of *pulso* agrees with that of *multu*, except that *t* was kept in the west, while *s* was altered: **pùλso* > **púλšo* > *pušo*, whence modern Portuguese *pušu* and Spanish *puχo*. Perhaps *pulsāre* became **polsare*, with stressless *o* < *u* earlier than *λs* < *ls*, and with a retention of *l* after close *o* as in **soltairo* < *sōlitāriu*. But if *o*

[1] *Modern Language Review*, VII, 378.

was developed in **polsare*, the influence of the normal *ú*-forms caused it to disappear at an early time.

Nodu.

Vowel-harmony changed *ó* to *ú* in western Romanic **nuδi* < *nōdī*. As this plural often had nearly the sense of a singular ('knots' = 'tangle'), its *u* was sometimes extended to the historic singular. Thus we find *u* in Asturian *ñudu*, Castilian *nudo*, Catalan *nu(s)*, and the corresponding sound *y* in some of the Gascon forms. The dialect of Bologna has *nåud* < *nōdu* and *nud* < *nōdī*, parallel with *låuv* < *lupu*, *luv* < *lupī*, *fjåur* < *flōre*, *fjur* < **flóri*[1].

Catalan has *cau* < *cadit*, *feu* < *fēcit*, *fiu* < **fiv* < **fiδ* < **fidz* < **fidži* < *fēcī*[2], and *lloa* < *laudat*, so the *s* of *nus* can hardly be connected with the δ of **nuδi*. Presumably *nus* is the plural used as a singular, like *fulla* < **fúoλλa* < *folia* beside *full* < *foliu*. The change was due to conflict with *nu* < *nūdu*; similarly in Spanish the form *nudo* has caused *desnudo* to replace *nudo* < *nūdu*.

Tuscan *nòdo*, Parmese *nœd*, beside *nœva* < *noua*, *óra* < *hōra*, *góla* < *gula*, and Milanese *nœt*, beside *nœva*, *ura*, *gura*, seem to imply a basis with open *o*. Such a basis is to be found in Germanic 'knot.' *Chnode* has kept short *o* in Swiss German[3].

Nomen.

The quality of *o* is variable in Portuguese *nome*. Catalan has *nòm* beside *póm* < *pōmu*, according to Vogel's dictionary. Piedmontese has *nòm*[4] riming with *òm* < *homo*, beside *pum* < *pōmu*, *su* < *sōle*. Sassarese has *ó* < *uo* < *ò*[5] in *lóggu* < *locu*, *nóβa* < *noua*, *ómmu* < *homo*, and *ó* in *nómmu*[6] beside *ò* in *fjòri* < *flōre*, *gòla* < *gula*, *kuròna* < *corōna*, *nòdu* < *nōdu*, *òmmaru* < *umeru*, *sòli* < *sōle*, *tòrra* < *turre*. Sicilian has *loku* < *locu*, *nova* < *noua*, *omu* < *homo*, and *o* in *nomu* beside *u* in *gula* < *gula*, *kuruna* < *corōna*, *pumu* < *pōmu*, *suli* < *sōle*, *turri* < *turre*, *ura* < *hōra*. In southern Italy the dialect of Lecce has *omu* and *nomu*[7] beside *kuruna* < *corōna*, *nutu* < *nōdu*, *pumu* < *pōmu*, *sule* < *sōle*, *ula* < *gula*, *ura* < *hōra*; that of Alatri has *òmə* and *nòmə*[8] beside *góla*, *króna*, *óra*, *sólə*.

The formation of open *o*, in words connected with *nōmen*, was due

[1] Gaudenzi, *Dialetto della città di Bologna*, Torino, 1889, p. 72.
[2] *Modern Language Review*, IX, 497.
[3] Hunziker, *Aargauer Wörterbuch*, Aarau, 1877, p. 151.
[4] *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XVI, 523.
[5] *Modern Language Review*, IX, 498.
[6] *Ar. gl. it.*, XIV, 133.
[7] *Ar. gl. it.*, IV, 131.
[8] *Ar. gl. it.*, X, 171.

to the influence of 'man.' In Latin a man's name was stated by saying *hominī nōmen est X*. A later equivalent may have begun with the genitive: **ὸmenes nómen es(t) X*. The constant association of the two similiar words produced **nòmen* as a variant of *nómen*. In some of the dialects mentioned above, 'name' has evidently adopted the ending that belongs to derivatives of *homo*. In Spanish the development went the other way: normal *huembre* has been replaced by *hombre*, riming with *nombre* < *nōmen*.

Ostrea.

In Meyer-Lübke's Romanic dictionary, Spanish *ostra* is given as a normal derivative of *ostrea*. But *ostras* do not commonly dwell in central Spain, so there are two grounds for seeking their origin outside of the region that produced *vidrio* < **védrio* < **védreo* < *uitreu*. The home of *ostra* is presumably to be found near that of Galician *vidro* or Portuguese *vidro*, corresponding to *a(i)dro* < *atriu*, *cã(i)bo* < *cambio*[1], *ruivo* < **ruvio*, *têrmo* < *termio* < *terminu*. *Ostra* probably came from the west, like *peχe* < *peše* < **péξse* < **péχse* beside native *peθ* < *pets* < **péstse* < **pésĸe*. Portuguese *ostra* has close *o*: the open *o* of *ostrea* became close, by reason of harmonic influence, in the form *ostria*, which exists in Galician as a variant of *ostra*.

Catalan has *ostra*, *ostia* and *ostria*. From *verema* < *venema* < **vendémea* < *uindēmia*, it seems clear that *ostra* may be the normal form, and a partial source of the Castilian word. The Spanish Academy's dictionary gives *ostión* as an Andalusian variant of *ostrón*, meaning 'especie de ostra, mayor y más basta que la común.' This seems to show that *ostia* was imported from the south. Perhaps *ostria* represents an older Andalusian form of the word.

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Florent et Clarisse.
(vv. 4570–4594.)[2]

Regarding the extent to which *Florent et Clarisse* is based upon *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Suchier says[3]: 'Les deux récits concordent jusqu'au

[1] *Modern Philology*, xii, 188.

[2] In the fifth edition of *Aucassin et Nicolette* (translated into French by Albert Counson, Paderborn, 1903), p viii, Suchier says: '*Florent et Clarisse*, en laisses de décasyllables. Cette plate imitation a été composée au xiii^e^ siècle par un continuateur de *Huon de Bordeaux*, qui habitait non loin du pays d'origine de l'auteur d'Aucassin. Le texte a été publié par Max Schweigel, dans les *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen* de Stengel, fasc. 83, Marburg, 1888.'

[3] See *op. cit.*, p. viii.

v. 4903 = *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 24, 6.' The purpose of the present note is to call attention to the fact that the ruse described in vv. 4570–4594 of *Florent et Clarisse* is not found in *Aucassin et Nicolette*, and to try to show that the idea contained in this passage was borrowed from the closely related legend of Floire and Blancheflor[1].

In all three of the stories just mentioned, the two lovers are separated because of the father's opposition to the marriage. In *Aucassin et Nicolette*[2] and in *Florent et Clarisse*[3] the father induces his son to take up arms in defence of his country by promising him the opportunity of enjoying his love after returning from the war. In both cases the promise is broken[4]. In *Florent et Clarisse*, however, Garin deceives Florent still further by telling him that Clarisse had been thrown into the sea:

> Mais la pucelle sera emprisonnée;
> Jamais nul jour n'en sera delivrée.
> *Mon fil dirons qu'ele est en mer jetée*
> Tant qu'il ara autre femme espousée.
> (vv. 4570–3.)

The passage just quoted resembles the statement made to Floire after he returned from Montoire. During his absence Blancheflor was sold to merchants[5], but Floire was told on his return that she was dead:

> La mere a la meschine trueve,
> A cui son corage descuevre.
> 'Dame,' fait-il, 'ou est m'amie?'
> Cele respont: 'El n'i est mie.'
> . . . . . .
> Quant ele mais celer ne l'puet,
> Pitie ot grant, plorer l'estuet:
> En plorant li a dit: 'Morte est.'
> . . . . . .
> Ele mentoit a escïent,
> Ou'au roi en ot fait sairement.
> (vv. 671–686.)

In both cases the father also forces those who know about his plan to deceive his son to swear that they will not reveal it:

[1] For the relation of *Floire et Blancheflor* to *Aucassin et Nicolette*, compare my article on the 'Origin of the Legend of Floire and Blancheflor' (*Matzke Memorial Volume*, Stanford University, 1911, pp. 130–134).

[2] See 8, 34–38.

[3] See vv. 4375–6.

[4] See *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 10, 41–58; *Florent et Clarisse*, vv. 4656–4667.

[5] See *Floire et Blancheflor*, edited by Du Meril, vv. 503–508. For a similar statement in *Florent et Clarisse*, compare vv. 3962–3:

> Iluec me prizent marceant a I jour
> Si m'en porterent dedens la mer maiour.
>
> Fali avés a Clarisse, l'ancelle;
> Jeter l'ai faite en la mer sans favelle.
> (vv. 4664–5.)

Floire et Blancheflor.
Li rois commande la reïne,
Ceus qui saivent de la meschine
Seur lor vie qu'il le celassent,
Que ja a Floire n'en parlassent.
(vv. 653–656.)

Florent et Clarisse.
Les chevaliers a fait li rois jurer
Que ja ses fix n'en sara la verté.
(vv. 4591–2.)

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Giannozzo Manetti, Leonardo Bruni, and Dante's Letter to the Florentines (*Epist.* vi).

Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459) in his *Vita Dantis* says that when the Emperor Henry VII sat down before Florence to besiege it, the Florentine exiles flocked to his camp from all sides, and Dante, who had hitherto refrained from abusive language towards the Florentine government, full of hope, and no longer able to contain himself, indited an insulting letter 'to the Florentines within the city, as he himself calls them'—'Proinde Dantes quoque se ulterius continere non potuit, quin spe plenus epistolam quamdam ad Florentinos, ut ipse vocat, intrinsecos contumeliosam sane scriberet, in qua eos acerbissime insectatur; quum ante hac de ipsis honorificentissime loqui solitus esset.' In this passage there is an unmistakeable reference to the title of Dante's letter, which is addressed 'scelestissimis Florentinis intrinsecis.'

Now Manetti's *Vita* is well known to be little more than a compilation and translation of the *Vite* of Boccaccio and Leonardo Bruni; but from neither of these sources could this particular detail have been derived. Boccaccio does not mention the letter. Bruni's reference to it, though undoubted, is not explicit; he says: 'Essendo Dante in questa speranza di ritornare per via di perdono, sopravvenne l'elezione d'Arrigo di Luzimborgo imperadore, per la cui elezione prima, e poi la passata sua, essendo tutta Italia sollevata in speranza di grandissima novità, Dante non potè tenere il proposito suo dell'aspettare grazia, ma levatosi coll'animo altiero, cominciò a dir male di quelli che reggevano la terra, appellandoli scellerati e cattivi, e minacciando loro la debita vendetta per la potenza dell'Imperadore contro la quale diceva esser manifesto che essi non avrebbon potuto avere scampo alcuno.'

Zenatti, consequently, in his *Dante e Firenze*, accepts the mention by Manetti of this detail as proof positive that Manetti had actually read this letter of Dante (of which, as Zenatti has shown, he at one time or other possessed a MS.); while, on the other hand, Bruni's acquaintance with it, he contends, cannot be regarded as certain on account of the vagueness of his reference: 'Dalle vaghe parole

dell' Aretino, malgrado dello *scellerati*, non è dato di trarre la certezza, ch' egli abbia propriamente avuto sott' occhio anche l' epistola ai Fiorentini; con le sue ora citate, il Manetti ci dà invece la prova più sicura di aver letta quell' epistola, di averne con precisione conosciuto il titolo (*scelestissimis*) *florentinis intrinsecis*' (pp. 418–19).

Torraca, in a review of Zenatti's volume in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* (N.S. x, 121 ff.), pointed out that if Manetti read Dante's letter, at any rate he did not read the date of it (namely March[1] 31, 1311), for he states that it was written at the time of the siege of Florence by the Emperor, whereas, as a matter of fact, the siege was not begun until the autumn of the following year. I am now able to show, however, that Manetti's knowledge of the title and contents of the letter, such as it was, was not necessarily derived from the letter itself, as Zenatti assumed, but was almost certainly derived at second hand, from a passage in Bruni's *Historia Florentina*. This passage runs as follows: 'Extat Dantis poetae epistola amarissimis referta contumeliis, quam ipse inani fiducia exultans, contra Florentinos, ut ipse vocat, intrinsecos scripsit; et quos ante id tempus honorificentissimis compellare solebat verbis, tunc huius[2] spe supra modum elatus, acerbissime insectari non dubitat' (*Hist. Flor.*, I, 542).

No one who compares the phraseology of this passage with that of the quotation from Manetti's *Vita Dantis* given above can have much doubt that this was the source from which Manetti's account of the letter was derived. This passage also proves, what Zenatti doubted, that, whether or no Manetti had a first hand acquaintance with the letter, Bruni certainly had.

Paget Toynbee.

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19 *October*, 1917.

Dante's Letter to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii). Postscript.

Since my article on the above letter was published (see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xiii, 208–27) it has occurred to me that the correct reading in line 160 of the letter (where the Oxford Dante reads 'propter te') is not *populo* as printed in my emended text, which though palaeographically correct does not make very satisfactory sense, but *perpetuo*—'ne degradati collegae [i.e. the two Colonna Cardinals deprived by Boniface VIII] perpetuo remanerent inglorii.' This conjecture receives strong support

[1] Torraca, by a slip, gives the date as '31 maggio.'
[2] That is, of the Emperor.

from the language of the bull of May 10, 1297 (as summarised in Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, No. 24513), in which Boniface VIII pronounced the sentence of deprivation:—'Praesente collegio cardinalium Iacobum S. Mariae in via lata et Petrum S. Eustachii diaconos cardinales de Columna...a cardinalatibus sanctae Romanae ecclesiae et predictarum ecclesiarum deponit omnibusque cardinalatus viribus, commodis, etc. privat *perpetuo*. Privat quoque *perpetuo* Iohannem et Oddonem...fratres dicti Iacobi...'; as well as from the declaration of Boniface in St Peter's thirteen days later (May 23), 'se die 10 Maii Iacobum de Columna et Petrum nepotem eius quondam Romanae ecclesiae cardinales...cardinalatu privavisse *perpetuo*...' (Potthast, No. 24519).

From the palaeographical point of view the emendation is not a very violent one. Though the abbreviation in the MS. strictly speaking ought to stand for *proprio*, *propositio*, or *populo* (of which the last, adopted in my text, alone makes any sense here), in view of the corrupt state of the MS. text, and of the comparatively slight difference in MSS. of the period between *proprio*, *propositio*, *populo*, and *perpetuo*, it is highly probable that the present reading is simply due to a want of discrimination on the part of the copyist. I propose, therefore, to substitute *perpetuo* for *populo* in my emended text of the letter.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.
July 1, 1918.

OTHEOS, ETC., IN ANATOLE FRANCE.

Apropos of Mr Blondheim's footnote on p. 334 of the *Modern Language Review* for 1918 (the names of God used by Anatole France): is it not simplest to suppose that he took the three—Otheos, Athanatos, (I)schyros—from the Trisagion of the Roman liturgy, where they will be found in the Good Friday Office,

agios o theos,
agios ischyros,
agios athanatos,
eleison imas?

This, if not his direct source, must be his ultimate one.

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REVIEWS.

The Case is Altered, by Ben Jonson. Edited by WILLIAM EDWARD SELIM. Newhaven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1917. lxvi + 220 pp. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

This edition was offered as a dissertation for the doctorate of Yale University. It has the great merit of presenting a careful text. Five copies of the 1609 Quarto have been used in preparing it. It reproduces a copy in the library of that generous collector, Mr W. A. White of New York. With this the editor has collated photographic copies of the two British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Kemble copies. The old Quarto was disgracefully printed, and the attempts at correction made while the sheets were passing through the press were clumsy and ineffectual. Dr Selim has aimed at an exact reprint of this chaotic original, with a record of printer's variants. It would have been better if he had given us a line for line reproduction, which could have been done by using smaller type. The innocent-minded printer of the 1609 text drew no invidious distinctions between prose and verse. Sometimes in a prose passage (as in II, ii, 10—12, IV, iii, 1—3) he started a new line with a capital letter suggestive of verse form; in such passages the reprint gives a false impression by breaking the lines. In Dr Selim's text I think 'loft' in I, v, 177 is a misprint for 'lost' and 'spirits' (*ib.*, 197) for 'spirts'—unless these are peculiarities of Mr White's copy. But the text, as a whole, is sound.

On the other hand, the introduction and commentary are at best unsatisfactory and often thoroughly bad. Dr Selim does not merely gather information; he buries himself and his unhappy author under stacks of it piled mountain-high. 'Good Lord, sirra,' cries one of the characters in the play, 'how thou art altred with thy trauell?' Thereupon the editor, in a note of two and a half pages, explains what travel was, and how it altered people. He notices Hakluyt, Coryat, Lithgow; he discusses travel for educational purposes, the abuse of travel, licences to travel, traveller's yarns, traveller's fashions in dress; and Purchas, Mandeville, and Dr Arber come in breathless at the close. For one who can accept the primeval derivation of *κρόμμυον* from *κόρας συμμύειν* philology does not exist[1]; and here again Aristophanes, Diogenes Laertius, Pliny, Shakespeare, Harvey and the Oxford Dictionary are invoked to attest the earth-shaking fact that an onion makes the eyes water. 'The association of tears with an onion,' says the editor, 'is very

[1] Cf. the glossary, p. 202, where 'pristmate' is glossed as a 'form' of 'pristinate.' The editor has worked through this atrocious Quarto without realising that this spelling is a misprint.

old.' Very: but I feel the inappropriateness of *The Modern Language Review* to cope with this kind of editing; it requires a notice in *Punch*. The simple words 'I drempt of this' (v, v, 150) have eleven references to other dreamers in Elizabethan literature; and then:

> For a study on the subject of dreams, the following works will be of value: Büchsenschütz, *Traum und Traumdeutung im Alterthume* (Berlin, 1868); Angraldus, *Discourse concerning Divine Dreams mentioned in Scripture* (tr. Lowde, London, 1676); Baake, *Die Verwendung des Traummotivs in der englischen Dichtung bis auf Chaucer* (Halle, 1906); Seafield, *The Literature and Curiosities of Dreams* (2 vols., London, 1865); and Brand (3. 127).

There is something seriously wrong when work of this kind can be offered for a doctorate and obtain it. It is published as one of the 'Yale Studies in English,' with the imprimatur of the Faculty of the Graduate School. Does that Faculty exercise no supervision over the work presented to it, and give no advice to candidates before letting them proceed to publication? The cause of the mischief is the short-sighted policy which assumes, in spite of frequent evidence of glaring failure, that the delicate task of editing English classics is fit for prentice hands.

Dr Selim carries his crudities into his introduction. His comments on Jonson's 'metrical peculiarities' (pp. xxvii, xxviii) are pure ignorance. He thinks that Jonson *accented* the second syllable of 'justice' in

> For God's sake pitty me, iustice, sweet Lord,

and 'to' in

> Apt to enflame with euery little sparke.

Seven parallels of the poet's lack of ear are tabulated in the footnote on this. For these scansions Dr Selim records his indebtedness to F. W. Wilke's *Metrische Untersuchungen zu Ben Jonson*. It is pitiful that, if an editor cannot judge metre for himself, he should laboriously acquire a misunderstanding of it from a German dissertation.

The discussion of the authorship of the play is also vitiated by the editor's unsound methods. Some of his points are good. He proves from the Kemble copy that Jonson's name was deleted from the title-page—a deliberate cancel, and therefore likely to have been forced upon the publisher by the poet himself. He also considers if and why Jonson abandoned romantic comedy. But as soon as he comes to the internal evidence, he shows complete inability to weigh or to present it. Parallel passages, of course, require fine handling; more folly is written about them than about any other literary subject. But a few striking parallels to *The Case is Altered* can be found in Jonson's other work. 'Speake legibly, this gam's gone, without the great mercy of God,' says the drunken Juniper, staggering and spluttering (v, iii, 57—8); and even in his sober moments he prides himself on his malapropism: 'O *Ingle*, I haue the phrases man, and the *Anagrams* and the *Epitaphs*, fitting the mistery of the noble science' of fencing (II, vii, 8—10). In *Every Man in his Humour*, I, iv, Cob, spell-bound by the oaths of Bobadill, exclaims 'he dos sweare the legiblest, of any man christned,' and in *Cynthia's Revels*, IV, iv, Madam Moria, objecting to her daughter being

called a 'cockatrice' and a 'bitch,' says 'these are no good *epitaphs*...to bestow vpon any gentlewoman.' Still more suggestive is the criticism passed in Act II, scene vii, of *The Case is Altered* upon the audience and their behaviour in the theatre. It is not only that a striking passage (II, vii, 81—8) is repeated verbally in the induction to *Every Man out of his Humour;* the tone of the entire scene, the satire on the audience, the serene assumption of superiority—'And sometimes a fellow that comes not there past once in fiue yeare at a *Parliament* time or so, will be as deepe myr'd in censuring as the best'; 'the rankest stinkard of them all, will take vpon him as peremptory, as if he had writ himselfe *in artibus magister*'—are absolutely Jonsonian. That touch '*in artibus magister*' is an infallible clue. Of Jonson's part authorship, at any rate, there can be no question.

How does Dr Selim present this evidence? We should expect him to single out conclusive points and set them in clear relief. He refers slightly to this test passage from *Every Man out of his Humour*—'Only one test of parallel passages will be noticed here'—and dismisses the reader to his wilderness of notes. The parallels 'will be found in their proper places' there; and such parallels! Here are two:

> *Max.* Are your horse ready Lord *Paulo*,
> *Pau.* I signior the[y] stay for vs at the gate. (I, v, 123—4.)

Compare *Poetaster*, I, ii:

> *Ovid se.* What, are my horses come?
> *Lusc.* Yes, sir, they are at the gate without.

Again, 'wrong not your age with flexure of a knee' in V, v, 105—6 is illustrated by *Every Man in his Humour*, I, iii, 'Come, wrong not the qualitie of your desert, with looking downeward.' The introduction goes on to discuss Jonson's vocabulary, to this effect: 'The words "circle" and "sphere" are common,' adding a crowd of references in footnotes. Lost in this maze of trivialities is a significant test – Jonson's critical glance at oddities of expression, either the use of strange words or the misuse of old ones. I extract one example from the note on II, vii, 80, where Juniper, catching up Valentine's phrase, 'a few *Caprichious* gallants,' says '*Caprichious*? stay, that word's for me'; and Dr Selim aptly quotes *The Staple of News*, 'Emissaries? stay, there's a fine new word.' Then he plunges us into fog again with statistics of Jonson's use of Latin or Greek derivatives of three or more syllables:

> In *The Case is Altered*, the total number of words is approximately 18,160; polysyllables, 482; percentage of the latter, ·0265.

The percentage of *Every Man in his Humour* is ·0248, and I gather that, in the editor's opinion, it proves something. What it does prove, I am afraid, is his hopeless misconception of the art of criticism.

Percy Simpson.

Oxford.

The Poetical Works of Gray and Collins. Edited by AUSTIN LANE POOLE. Oxford: University Press. Cr. 8vo. 324 pp. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

Lovers of Gray and Collins will be grateful to Mr Poole and to the Oxford University Press for this scholarly edition. The editor is to be congratulated on having secured a transcript of the only known copy of the original issue, as a quarto leaflet, of Gray's squib, *The Candidate*, which we believe has never before been reprinted in its entirety, the concluding couplet having been omitted from the reprint in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Jan. 1782[1], as well as from every edition of Gray's works. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* the piece is entitled *Jemmy Twitcher, or the Cambridge Courtship*, which is the title given to it by Mr Gosse in his edition of Gray. Mr Gosse was peculiarly unfortunate in connection with this piece. He includes it among Gray's posthumous poems, though it was printed in 1764, and he gives the date of the death of Lord Hardwicke, High Steward of the University of Cambridge, as May 16, 1764, instead of March 6, and the name of his eldest son as Philip 'Hardwicke,' instead of Yorke. We regret to notice a misprint in Mr Poole's text, namely 'hand' for 'band' in line 22. There is an excellent reproduction of Tyson's etching (now in the British Museum) of Mason's drawing of Etough or Etoffe, the 'fiend of a parson,' as Gray calls him in a letter to Walpole of 1748, a renegade Jew, who became Rector of Therfield in Hertfordshire (not Hunts, as Mr Gosse has it), and Colmworth in Bedfordshire, as a reward for dirty work. Gray, who had a special antipathy to 'Tophet,' as he anagrammatized his name, wrote a stinging epigram on him under Mason's sketch, of which there are several versions extant. Mr Poole reproduces Stonehewer's text from the Pembroke MSS. Gray uses very strong language in connection with this despicable creature and his 'budget of libels' and 'cargo of lies' in one of the newly discovered letters to Walpole. Writing from Cambridge on Nov. 26, 1751, he says: 'I am amazed at the impudence of the fiend (as much a fiend as I knew him)....There are three methods of taking him properly to task, the cudgel, the blanket, and the horse-pond. If you are present at the operation, you may venture to break a leg or an arm *en attendant*, and when I see you, I may possibly give you some reasons why you ought to have broke t'other leg and t'other arm also.'

Mr Poole includes two youthful pieces by Gray which were first printed in the present writer's *Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton*, namely a translation from Statius, and an epistle to Walpole. We do not quite understand on what principle the former is included, while all the other translations by Gray, from Statius, Propertius, Tasso and Dante, are omitted. We regret the omission of these pieces from the point of view of completeness; as well as another omission, upon which Mr Gosse animadverted in a recent letter to the *Times Literary Supplement*, namely that of *The Characters of the Christ-Cross Row.*

[1] No mention of this omission is made by Professor Northup in his recently published *Bibliography of Gray.*

Gray, it is true, when he sent the lines to Walpole in 1747, denied the authorship, but this denial cannot be taken seriously. Walpole himself, an unrivalled authority in a matter of this kind, was convinced that the lines were written by Gray, and he twice put his opinion on record—in a letter to Mason written a year or two after Gray's death, and in a note on his own copy of the lines as follows: 'Gray would never allow the foregoing poem to be his, but it has too much merit, and the humour and versification are so much in his style, that I cannot believe it to be written by any other hand.'

There is a useful chronological table prefixed to each section of the book. We note that Mr Poole makes no mention of the alleged election of Gray to a Fellowship at Pembroke in 1768, the year of his appointment to the Professorship of Modern History. In the chronological table appended to *The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton* (vol. II, p. 335), and in the Introduction (vol. I, p. xxxi), the election is recorded by the present writer on the authority, unimpeachable as he supposed, of the *Graduati Cantabrigienses* for 1823. The authorities at Pembroke, however, state that there is no record in the College books of his election, so that the entry in the *Graduati* must be mistaken. Mr Poole in his table puts the composition of Gray's *Ode on the death of a Favourite Cat* under the year 1742. This is five years too early. Gray sent it to Walpole in his letter from Cambridge of March 1, 1747. In the 'MSS. variations' in the several texts of this *Ode* recorded in the notes mention is made of a 'Walpole MS.,' but no explanation is given as to the identity or whereabouts of this MS. In an appendix Mr Poole gives an interesting account, by way of antidote to Mr Gosse's 'bold and picturesque description,' of the episode which led to Gray's precipitate migration from Peterhouse to Pembroke in 1756. He points out that Mr Tovey was mistaken in his statement that the incident at Peterhouse happened during the Mastership of Keene, Bishop of Chester, who had resigned more than a year before. In connection with Keene it should be mentioned that there is a mistake or misprint ('Bishop' for 'she Bishop') in Gray's epitaph on Mrs Keene on p. 164.

The text of Collins' poems is based on that of Mr Stone, published in 1907, but Mr Poole has collated many of the texts on his own account. Of the lines to Sir Thomas Hanmer on his edition of Shakespeare, of which there are two widely divergent versions, we are given both texts, that of the original edition of 1743 in its chronological order among the other poems, and the second, that of Dodsley's Collection, in an appendix.

The interest and value of the volume, of which there is a very pleasing thin paper issue, are much increased by the reproduction of the original title-pages of the first editions of both Gray's and Collins' separate pieces. With regard to the slips and misprints to which we have drawn attention, it is only fair to explain that the book was produced under considerable difficulties, the editor having been in the trenches in France while the work was passing through the press.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.

A History of American Literature, Supplementary to the Cambridge History of English Literature. Cambridge: University Press; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1918. Vol. I. xvii + 584 pp. 15*s.* net.

The idea of following up the *Cambridge History of English Literature* by pursuing English letters down the sister stream was a happy one. Indeed it was necessary. For, to name no others, Benjamin Franklin and R. W. Emerson belong almost as much to English life as to that of their own country; they had no language in which to write but our own, and their influence, especially Emerson's, has been a factor in our own development. Granted there was to be such a continuation of the *Cambridge History*, it was obvious that it should be on the same lines; and here it is on the same lines—the work divided up among specialists of rather various qualifications, a solid two hundred pages of bibliography, and so forth—every hint of future usefulness to the student in the way of guidance to material and source, and some in the shape of criticism. The defects of the English book go with its merits—a certain unevenness of treatment, amounting sometimes to disproportion, and occasional large tracts of desert through which some industrious pioneer plods his melancholy way and where (it is to be hoped) few will ever be compelled to follow him. For the sake of mankind, Dr Quinn's chapter on the Early Drama from 1756 to 1860 should not be repeated; it had to be done; once done is surely enough; and it is not disrespect to the author, but sympathy that prompts the suggestion. Something similar, though with less emphasis, might be said of several other chapters, which to the reader of this book as it stands are very acceptable, on the terms of not following them up by personal inspection of the ground.

The editors have prefixed to the volume an account of previous Histories of American Literature and of the spirit in which they were written—in the vein of national patriotism (as Matthew Arnold said of Stopford Brooke, that he wrote his *History of English Literature* to the tune of *Rule Britannia*) or of enthusiasm for one's own state or section of the country. 'What are the Tibers and Scamanders measured by the Missouri and the Amazon? or the loveliness of Illysus [not quite the old-world spelling] or Avon by the Connecticut or the Potomack?' cries Knapp busy with this task in 1829. If you do not personally know any of these rivers, you may not be impressed.

> Liquid Penobscot was flowing,
> Speeded by my sweet pipings—

has not quite the music of Shelley's lines; but for one who knows something of the scenery and the history of the streams of North America, there is no need to go for romance or other human interest to the castles of the Rhine or the cities of Italy. The task of Virgil in making Italy interesting to Roman students of literature was an honourable one; not less was the similar task undertaken by many a writer on forest and river and prairie of North America; though the genius of Virgil is not

at the call of Emperors, as Martial believed, or even of Republics. Yet the naturalization of English literature in America—the long slow process by which it found soil for new roots and made itself native—is large part of the theme of this volume.

Griswold, the successor of Knapp in 1847, struck another note, which proclaimed the naturalization of self-criticism. 'There never was and never can be,' he said, 'an exclusively national literature. All nations are indebted to each other and to preceding ages for the means of advancement....The question between us and other nations is not who shall most completely discard the past, but who shall make best use of it. It cannot be studied too deeply, for unless men know what has been accomplished; they will exhaust themselves in unfolding enigmas that have been solved, or in pursuing *ignes fatui* that have already disappointed a thousand expectations.'

Our modern editors lean to the principles of Griswold rather than those of Knapp. There is the detachment about the book which there should be,—the freedom and universal outlook that should mark the work of educated people for educated people. And, as has been obliquely but not unkindly hinted above, the survey is very thorough indeed. Much that Professor Barrett Wendell left on one side in his charming and stimulating *Literary History of America* (1900), is here brought to daylight, listed, chronicled, sometimes criticized. Professor Barrett Wendell was right from the standpoint from which he wrote; what he omitted does not very greatly matter by now; but if the survey of the new book was to be full and complete, it could not be ignored, even if it did not add much to the gaiety of the volume. The suggestion of the editors that for Professor Wendell the literary history of America is essentially a history of the birth, the renaissance, and the decline of New England, is a two-edged affair. Perhaps it hints the limitations of Professor Wendell, perhaps those of American literature. Finally our editors are surely right in re-claiming Bradford's *History of the Plymouth Plantation* and Hamilton's *Federalist* for American literature—works more significant in the history of the human mind than much dead stuff more avowedly intended for 'literature'; unless Statius is literature and Paul of Tarsus not.

Probably no critic of the volume would be competent to express an opinion on the whole of it. But a personal preference for the chapters that deal with early explorers, historians and divines, and admiration for those that treat of Edwards, Franklin, the eighteenth century newspapers, and Emerson, may be recorded for what they are worth. The swarms of forgotten poets, dramatists, and essayists—let us forget them as long and as thoroughly as is permissible. Major George Haven Putnam, despite some interesting personal reminiscences, falls short of what one would have liked on Irving, and why Professor Leonard was allowed more space for Bryant than is given either to Irving or Emerson, perhaps only brother editors can guess. Peculiarly interesting and valuable are the suggestions (pp. 212 f.) on the relation of English poets to American travellers—especially as they bear on Wordsworth, who, it is here estab-

lished, was a systematic student of travel books, as *Ruth* and the third book of the *Excursion* and other passages prove. The origins of his descriptions are here given.

It is not often necessary to mention slips in reviewing a book. Still the Blue Laws of Connecticut are not perhaps so historical as one might guess from an early page; and *pueris maxima reverentia debetur* would seem to owe as much to memory as to Juvenal, and to cry aloud of the loss to literature when Latin Verse is no longer part of the curriculum. The 'Senate Hall' at Oxford (p. 250) implies a lapse of memory of the Sheldonian. To the comment that the *Spectator* was not in Harvard Library (p. 112) a reply has been couched in the question, What College Library in England contains the works of H. G. Wells? On p. 26 the original sense of the word 'casuist' seems not to have been grasped.

However, every book has misprints, and some have worse. This volume is of great interest to any student of American history, literature and life; and a time, which sees the two great Commonwealths nearer together than at any hour since Wolfe took Quebec, should surely call for an informed sympathy with everything American, and secure a welcome for a valuable book. The two volumes to follow ought to be even more interesting.

T. R. Glover.

Cambridge.

[*Predicational Categories and Predicational Change in English*[1].] *Essay I. The Predicational Categories in English. Essay II. A Category of Predicational Change in English.* By K. F. Sundén. Uppsala: University Press. 1916. Large 8vo. xx + 562 pp.

The second of these essays treats of the English use of active verb-forms in what may be called modified passive senses, as in sentences like 'The book sells well,' 'This verse does not scan,' 'The cakes eat short.' The first essay may be regarded as introductory; it discusses, with frequent references to the views of Wundt, Benno Erdmann, and other writers, the relation between the psychological, the logical, and the grammatical aspects of predication, and provides a scheme of classification of types of predication, which serves as a framework for the disquisitions in the second essay.

The kind of 'predicational change' dealt with is a very interesting part of English idiom, and has hitherto been almost ignored by grammarians. Dr Sundén has therefore made an excellent choice of a subject; but 462 large pages (exclusive of the 100 pages of Essay I) must be admitted to be an excessive allowance of space for the discussion of it. The material on which the investigation is based is almost entirely taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, from which the author has reprinted all the quotations (so far as the work had been

[1] This general title of the volume is taken from the page-headings; the title-page, oddly enough, gives only the titles of the two separate essays.

published when he wrote) illustrative of the passive use of active verb-forms. (The propriety of this proceeding is open to question, but Dr Sundén's innocence of intention is manifest.) Where the *Oxford Dictionary* was unavailable, recourse has been had to the *Century Dictionary*, but the additions derived from this source are of trifling amount. As these borrowed quotations, with their framework of definitions and the like, occupy over a hundred pages, and the ensuing chapters contain an exhaustive discussion of the origin and precise import of every one of the uses of verbs in this large collection, the extraordinary length of the essay is sufficiently accounted for. The book shows the ability characteristic of recent Swedish work in English philology, and, along with much that is disputable, contains a multitude of original and valuable observations. It is to be feared, however, that it will not find many readers. For one thing, the size of the volume will frighten away all but very enthusiastic students of grammatical subtleties. Then, although Dr Sundén gives evidence of being a clear thinker, he is not (in English) a lucid writer. Many of his sentences require to be read two or three times before they reveal their meaning. When carefully considered, they mostly prove to be correctly constructed and unambiguous; but the turn of expression is not such as an Englishman would naturally use, or can understand without some reflection.

It must be admitted that Dr Sundén's practical command of English is very remarkable in a foreigner, and it is seldom possible to convict him of any definite fault of idiom. He makes a bad blunder, however, in supposing that 'This book owns Charles' is a possible equivalent for 'This book belongs to Charles'; and he uses the verb 'to percept,' of which the *Oxford Dictionary* has a solitary example from the seventeenth century. The abbreviation 'sciz.' for *scilicet*, which occurs frequently in this book, is unknown to English usage. Dr Sundén introduces some new technical terms which do not seem worthy of adoption. 'Semology' is shorter, and so far more convenient, than 'semasiology'; but its barbarous formation is repugnant to English prejudices. The same objection applies to 'morphem,' although M. Victor Henry's *phonème*, on which it is apparently modelled, is quite unexceptionable. The author explains that by 'morphems' he means 'linguistic forms'; but 'form,' as every one who has tried to write on grammar must have found, is an inconveniently ambiguous term, and, unless the proposed substitute is more precise in its application there is no excuse for its introduction. It is not clear from Dr Sundén's use of it whether this is so or not. Possibly 'semology' and 'morphem' have been adopted by the author from some other Swedish writer; in any case they are not English, and a foreigner who chooses to write in English ought to take the language as he finds it. Dr Sundén also uses some ordinary words in quasi-technical senses that are sometimes puzzling. I am not quite sure what precisely he means by 'salient' and 'salience,' which occur on almost every page. Another favourite word is 'oscillate.' When he says that a verb 'oscillates *between*' two senses he is writing good English, though the constant repetition of the expression has an

odd effect; but the construction 'to oscillate *towards*,' which he still more frequently uses, is quite un-English, and conveys no clear meaning.

Although this notice contains little but fault-finding, I think the book has very considerable merit from the scientific point of view, and it seems likely to be very helpful to the author's countrymen in their practical study of English. Perhaps it would have been better if Dr Sundén had written his book in Swedish and had an abridged translation made by an Englishman.

HENRY BRADLEY.

OXFORD.

The Rhythm of Prose. By W. M. PATTERSON. 2nd Edition. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1917. xxv + 193 pp. 5*s.* 6*d.* net.

We are a poor lot of people, and no better than our fathers. Indeed we are not as good, and even 'the contemporary savage' excels us in aesthetic appreciation. Lulled into passivity by much poetry, we have allowed our once alert time-sense to grow dull, and almost to disappear. However, some of the modern musicians, wielding the most wonderful weapons of syncopation and cross-rhythm, are burnishing it up for us once more. And if we are capable of sore strife and effort, we may at length stand side by side with the accomplished Kwakiutl, and in the company of 'aggressive timers.' There, if we are fortunate, we shall find Dr W. M. Patterson, aggressive with the best, alert, keen, with a bent for science, and a sense of style, a love of concise expression and plenty of skill in argument.

Meantime, let us all read his book, for that task is assuredly worth our while. It appears that the rhythm of prose is a subtle matter on a simple foundation, and is, indeed, just a special case of the rhythm of everything. No matter what form of serial experience we may have, whether it is of heart-beats, of puffs of a locomotive, of arrangements of words, or of anything else in fact or dream, such experience may possess direction, pulsation, balance, and may exhibit a grouping of units into various orders of combination. Ordinary people sometimes *may* be conscious of all these characteristics; aggressive timers always *must* be aware of them.

The chances are that we belong to the former of these two classes of people. Suppose, nevertheless, we are attracted to an attentive study of the structure of poetry. We find 'a succession of syllables so arranged as to be uttered in divisions of time which are symmetrical in their relation to one another.' But more than that; the conventional word-stresses correspond precisely with the pulse-beats, or points of tension, of this time-order. And it is the stress-pattern, rather than the time-order, which we most readily notice and enjoy.

Some day a sense of swing comes to us when we are reading prose.

Thereupon we immediately think of our experience with verse, and look primarily for a balance of accents in the order of words. We delightedly dig out 'long stretches of iambics...from Dickens and Ruskin,' or, going back to Old English verse, offer our allegiance to a 'two-beat theory.'

Now Dr Patterson has written his book to let us know that this is all essentially wrong-headed. In prose-rhythm what counts as of supreme importance is time and not stress. And what with all manner of varieties of syncopation, substitution, elasticity of units, simple and occult balance, the sense of time turns out to be most delicately complicated, and equal to all emergencies. Dr Patterson sometimes gets splendidly excited about his thesis. Everything is rhythmic. 'A night of dreamless sleep shrinks into half a beat, a moment of pain plays a protracted gamut of duration; but the soul once definitely committed to the rhythm of subjective time spins on like a gyroscope, regardless of upsetting.'

The best of the book however is that very little of it is mere theory. There is a firm basis of well-wrought experiment. The details are set forth carefully in an appendix, so that anyone who cares may try for himself; and if his time-sense is not too far gone, he will have a fascinating and delightful occupation, even though, in the end, he may not be able to go as far as Dr Patterson would desire.

Only one chapter in the book is a mistake. Nobody could possibly give in twenty-nine short pages a satisfactory historical survey of the vast mass of literature which has gathered about the subject of rhythm. But, this apart, *The Rhythm of Prose* is a good performance.

F. C. Bartlett.

Cambridge.

Translation from French. By R. L. Græme Ritchie, and James M. Moore. Cambridge: University Press. 1918. xiv + 258 pp. 6*s.* 6*d.* net.

The authors of this book have laid every student and teacher of French under a deep obligation by writing a worthy sequel to their *Manual of French Composition.* Both works are much superior to anything of their kind that we know of. It is not often that scholars compiling such manuals are endowed with the qualities possessed by Mr Ritchie and Mr Moore. To take the most obvious point, they have a real command of both French and English. It would be possible, no doubt, to find a few blemishes in their 'model lessons' and elsewhere; but these are so rare, and the general standard reached is so astonishingly high, that we are glad to leave an invidious task to other critics. Then the choice of authors affords convincing proof of these two scholars' high literary attainments. Their 'model lessons' are based on extracts from the Goncourts, Flaubert, Huysmans, Lamartine, Leconte de Lisle and Heredia. Their examples throughout and their passages for translation (Descriptive, Portraits, Historical, Characters, Dramatic, Literary, Philosophical and Reflective) are drawn from the best prose and verse

writers, classical and modern. They have not failed to grasp the fact, so often lost sight of by their predecessors, that contemporary authors are, for this purpose, no less, if not more, important than the masters of the past. So they have been at pains to obtain permission for the use of much copyright matter, and the thanks of all who use this book are due to the French publishers concerned.

Enough has been said to show that Mr Ritchie's and Mr Moore's mastery of both languages is not merely a question of dictionary knowledge or of grammar. It is based on a profound and sympathetic study of English and French literature; and as a result they have acquired that supreme and rare faculty—a sense of style.

Most young people at school and at the University—and (we fear) many of their teachers, too—are saddled with the fixed ideas that composition is a difficult thing to acquire, and translation from a foreign language—if not easy, at least fairly easy. They are certainly right in the former assumption; that they are utterly wrong in the latter has been demonstrated once for all by the work under review. Did we desire to convince some inveterate, 'die-hard' classic, that there is something to be said for modern studies after all, not merely at school, but at the University, too, we should instantly present him with this book and with its forerunner. The admirable lucidity and logic displayed throughout, the definitions, the careful analysis of grammatical difficulties, the fine shades and distinctions—all flavoured with a delightful sense of humour, marked by absence of pomposity, and, finally, crowned by the aesthetic value of the chosen passages—would show such people—assuming their survival at this date—that these studies, if properly pursued, are as capable of fostering true 'humanism' as any other discipline.

We have just spoken of the authors' sense of humour, and are glad to note that they have not allowed themselves to be tempted by the pretty obvious method of giving a number of ludicrous instances of bad translation. Some, of course, they had to give, and these are diverting enough: but the point is not overdone. In this connection they say, quite truly, that 'it would be difficult to point to many standard renderings which reach the same level of elegant accuracy as Butcher and Lang's *Odyssey* or Mr Mackail's *Æneid*.' Still, there are a few, and it would have been a gracious act on their part to point to some of these rare exceptions—such as Mr C. E. Roche's masterly version of *Sur la Pierre Blanche*, published in a series which includes a number of indifferent examples of this difficult art.

One word in conclusion. No men have proved themselves more fitted than Mr Ritchie and Mr Moore to confer on the English-speaking world the long and supremely needed boon of an authoritative French and English dictionary. It would be the work, if not of a life-time, at least of many years of arduous toil. Such a task should not be left to private enterprise, but made a matter of national concern or subsidised by some learned body—such as the British Academy.

LONDON. H. OELSNER.

MINOR NOTICES

The purpose of Dr Chilton Latham Powell's book, *English Domestic Relations*, 1487–1653 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1917; London: H. Milford. 5*s.* 6*d.* net.), is explained upon the title-page. It is 'a study of matrimony and family life in theory and practice as revealed by the literature, law, and history of the period'; and the author, an instructor in the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore, pursues his object with the conscientiousness and thoroughness characteristic of the American university thesis of to-day. The limits of his study are, on the one hand, the publication of Caxton's *Boke of Good Manners*, the first printed book on the family, in 1487, and, on the other, the act of parliament which legalised civil marriage in 1653. He divides his material almost equally between the purely historical aspect of his subject and its treatment in literature. Such a work is necessarily a record of fact in the first instance, and the early literature of marriage and the family, apart from dramas which deal incidentally with domestic crimes, is not of a kind which allows much scope for the critic. Dr Powell, however, has produced a clear and useful account of his chosen theme, with a carefully logical system of arrangement; and his description of the 'Domestic Conduct' book is a valuable piece of work, calling attention to a neglected type of minor literary production. There are excellent appendices and bibliographies, and the frontispiece is a photographic fac-simile of the title-page of William Harrington's *Commendacions of matrymony*, which derives an additional interest from the fact that the book was 'imprynted at the instaunce of mayster Polydore Vergyl archedeaken of Welles.'

A. H. T.

No great importance can be claimed for Professor H. D. Gray's paper, *The Original Version of 'Love's Labour's Lost,' with a Conjecture as to 'Love's Labour's Won.'* (*Publications of the Leland Stanford Junior University*, 1918, 55 pp.) In an introduction of twenty pages and a series of textual notes, the author seeks to separate the original draft and what he believes to be the extensive revised portions of the play. The main argument is that the masque of the Worthies as we have it is not the one originally inserted, a proposition based chiefly on the disparity between the casting for the masque and its performance. By a series of conjectures the author reconstructs the two masques in outline, and on this basis then builds up the two versions of the whole play. But there is too much argument of the following sort (to choose examples first to hand): 'I. i. 1–10. The opening lines were, I think, added in the revision. They are somewhat more involved and fuller in tone than what follows': 'I. i. 24–33. I suspect that these lines also

were added. One may detect a difference in tone and an easier command of the meter.' Of evidence which, in propositions like this, has most value, textual and bibliographical, there is practically none. The appended conjecture claims the disputed title for *Twelfth Night.*

H. B. C.

Monsieur A. Koszul's translations in verse and prose, *Anthologie de la Littérature Anglaise, II, XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles* (Paris, Librairie Delagrave), cover the period between the Ossianic romances and the present day. They are for the most part adequate, and sometimes even excellent, renderings of their originals, the sense of which is reproduced with accuracy and a general liveliness. The power of reproducing the effect of style belongs to few translators; and such pieces as M. Legouis' *Les Narcisses* (p. 77), a translation of Wordsworth's *I wandered lonely as a cloud,* prove how difficult it is to convey anything but the mere sense of a poem in another language and metre. This is even more clearly shown in the translations from Keats and Tennyson. Similarly, in prose 'Souvent j'avais entendu de Lucy Gray, et quand je traversais la lande déserte, je risquais de voir à la chute du jour l'enfant solitaire,' is an irreproachable rendering by a famous man of letters of the first stanza of *Lucy Gray,* but it can hardly be said that it emphasises the charm as distinct from the mere simplicity of the original poem. At the same time, the translations have, as a rule, a very definite literary merit of their own: they are clear and very seldom awkward, and such pieces as M. Derocquigny's version of a paragraph of Lamb's *Poor Relations* (pp. 175–6) and M. Lalou's translations from George Meredith (pp. 353–9) enter with vigour into the spirit and quick imagination of their English models. We notice that Swinburne's first Christian name is spelt on p. 337 and in the index as 'Algermon,' and a character in *The School for Scandal* appears (pp. 61–70) as 'Mistriss Candour'; but otherwise names are accurately given. Each series of extracts is preceded by a useful biographical and critical note, in which the leading characteristics of each writer are justly and happily summed up.

A. H. T.

Mr Alexander Montgomerie Bell's *Johnson Calendar, or Samuel Johnson for every day in the year* (Oxford: University Press, 1916. 2*s.* net.) is a charmingly printed collection of Johnsonian anecdotes. Why these are put into calendar-form is however a puzzle. Each is so good that we cannot imagine a reader restricting himself to his proper portion for a given day and not going on to read what belongs to to-morrow. The book is prefaced by an account of Johnson's Political and Social Opinions, by a table of the chief events in his life, and by a dedication to Mr Asquith, who is thus honoured on the ground of his 'Johnsonian truthfulness' in being, out of a number of celebrities whom Mr Bell has detected in quoting Johnson, the only one who quoted him correctly.

G. C. M. S.

Mr W. T. Young's edition entitled, *Poems of Keats, Endymion; the Volume of* 1820*; and other Poems* (Cambridge: University Press, 1917. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.), the purpose of which is 'to give in full the *Endymion* volume of 1818 and the *Lamia* volume of 1820 together with other poems which are acknowledged to be the poet's masterpieces,' might serve as a model of what a school edition of a poet ought to be. The poems themselves form the bulk of the book prefaced by a brief but extremely ably written Introduction, well abreast of the latest research, in which the main facts of Keats' life are given, special attention being devoted to the development of his character and to the unfolding of his genius. But the most admirable (and a novel) feature of the volume is the deferring to the end of it not only of the notes, which are very short yet always to the point, but of the editor's literary appreciation of his author. The student is thus encouraged to exercise his own critical faculty upon the poems before having it further stimulated by Young's illuminating commentary. The whole book, small though it is, reveals at every point the editor's own accurate scholarship, discriminating taste and rare gifts of suggestive interpretation, and fills us with regret that a life of so much promise for English letters should have been cut short on the field of battle. G. L. B.

Professor Killis Campbell admits in his introduction to *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (Ginn & Co., Boston, New York, etc., 1917. 6*s.* 6*d.* net.) that 'the volume of Poe's verse is small and that the body of his verse of superior worth and significance is extremely small, amounting in all to scarcely more than a dozen poems and to not above fifteen hundred lines.' This being the case it is perhaps questionable whether this 'volume of verse' is really worthy of the elaborate introduction, footnotes, critical apparatus, commentary and appendices with which it is here provided. One feels at any rate that Professor Campbell has 'done' Poe's Poems and done them so effectively that they will never need to submit to such an ordeal again. The Introduction—much of the packed information contained in it is repeated disconnectedly in the notes—deals in great detail and very lucidly with Poe's life, the canon of the poems, the text of the poems, the poet's passion for revising his text, his indebtedness to other poets, and the many conflicting opinions of both eminent and obscure critics concerning Poe's poetical work. Professor Campbell has brought together four early (and quite worthless) poems not included by Poe in his collective edition of 1845, and he also prints the poems of doubtful authenticity. Poe's famous essay on 'The Philosophy of Composition' is given in the Appendix, which also contains a collation of the editions, four in number, published by the poet himself and a reprint of their prefaces and prefatory notices. Professor Campbell has certainly accomplished the task he set himself very thoroughly and accurately. G. L. B.

Corrigendum

Vol. XIII, p. 279, l. 30, *for* 'never' *read* 'ever.'

THE THREE TEXTS OF 'PIERS PLOWMAN,' AND THEIR GRAMMATICAL FORMS.

I. THE THREE TEXTS.

ANY complete survey of the grammar of *Piers Plowman* is impossible till we know better than we do at present how far we can rely upon the different MSS, and how far we must treat the A-, B-, and C-texts as the work of one man or of several. Meantime any definite facts that can be demonstrated as to any one of these questions will help towards the determination of all. All branches of the enquiry must proceed, tentatively, side by side.

As to certain facts there should be no dispute. *Piers Plowman* is extant in three main versions[1]. The shortest (the A-text) was written not long after 1362. It is incomplete, and in most MSS breaks off suddenly at the end of *Passus XI*, leaving unanswered the problems which the dreamer, in bitter agitation, had raised. In three MSS, indeed, a short *Passus XII* has been added. But this passus makes no attempt to answer the questions and doubts of the preceding passus: it was apparently not finished, and one MS contains a conclusion which has been tacked on by one John But.

The second or B-text follows the A-text, with constant additions and alterations, till it reaches the end of A's *Passus XI*[2]. It then takes up the problems which had been there raised and abandoned, discusses them at great length, solves them, continues and concludes the search for *Dowel*, *Dobet* and *Dobest*. Its allusions to contemporary affairs fix the date of the B-text after 1376–7.

The C-text is a new recension of the B-text, made, as is shown by its allusions, at a date when the rule of Richard II was causing dissatisfaction. It is not generally realized that there is no C-text for the last two passus (*Do-Best*), such trifling variations as exist being apparently due to the scribes.

[1] This has lately been disputed by G. Görnemann (*Zur Verfasserschaft...von 'Piers the Plowman,'* 1916): Miss Görnemann's arguments have won the approval of Prof. Fehr and Prof. Björkman. Her monograph has much in detail that is valuable, but its general conclusions as to MS-classification are vitiated by the fact that the writer, through no fault of her own, has been precluded from consulting the MSS.

[2] The temporary ending of the A-text (*Passus XII*) is cancelled, but motives and hints from it are utilized in several different places among the B-additions.

Skeat never doubted that the three texts were the work of one man, and, amid all his great contributions to our knowledge of *Piers Plowman*, he never paused seriously to discuss the doubts which earlier scholars, such as Wright and Marsh, had expressed, as to whether the reviser of the C-text was identical with the writer of the B-text. A good service has therefore been rendered by Prof. Manly and his followers in raising again this question of authorship.

Prof. Manly believes that we have in *Piers Plowman* the work of five authors: that the A-text is the work of two men, A 1 writing as far as *Passus VIII*, l. 130, and A 2 continuing to *Passus XII*, l. 55: then comes the brief addition of John But. The B- and C-revisions Manly believes to be the work of distinct authors.

That John But added a few lines we all agree, though exactly how many it is not easy to say. Few scholars have followed Manly in his rather arbitrary division of the A-text into A 1 and A 2; but very many agree that B is a different writer, and I think most now regard C, at any rate, as a distinct person; though in the words of Dr Bradley 'some able scholars still believe C to be the original author himself[1].'

I am attempting, in the Publications of the Philological Society, to weigh all the arguments for and against unity of authorship. This will be issued when paper becomes more plentiful. Meantime I offer a very brief summary of what seem to me the outstanding facts.

'Will' in A 1, A 2, B and C.

The chief piece of evidence, albeit strangely neglected, is the fact that alike in A 1, in A 2, in the B-additions and in the C-additions the name of the visionary is given as 'Will[2],' and John But, a contemporary, in his addition, refers to the writer as 'Will.' Alike in A 2, the B-additions and the C-additions, the tallness of 'Will' is referred to[3].

The early editors, Whitaker and Wright, were inclined to regard 'Will' as an imaginary figure of the dreamer, and this view has latterly been urged not only by Prof. Manly and his followers[4], but also by many who, like G. C. Macaulay and Görnemann, have not followed Manly's views. Now there are three passages in the B-text[5], and one in the A-text[6], where dreamer and writer seem so clearly identified as to make this theory very difficult. And further, *Piers Plowman* belongs

[1] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, v, 1910, p. 203.
[2] A. viii, 43; ix, 118; xii, 51, etc.; B. xv, 148; C. ii, 5; xi, 71.
[3] A. ix, 61–3; B. xv, 148; C. vi, 24.
[4] E.g., Mr Samuel Moore, who has contributed two able and important *Studies in 'Piers the Plowman'* to *Modern Philology*, xi, 391, etc.; xii, 19, etc.
[5] B. xii, 16–19; xix, 1, 478. [6] A. viii, 42–4.

to a group of dream-allegories, the conventions of which it shares. In these allegories dreamer and author are always identified, and a constantly recurring convention is *the introduction of the author's name into the text of the poem in ways identical with those in which 'Will' is mentioned in 'Piers Plowman.'* A comparison of the dozen dream-poems and allegories most closely allied to *Piers Plowman* will show that, according to the conventions of the fourteenth century dream-allegory, the 'Will' who is mentioned in A 1, A 2, B and C, must have been understood to be the author. It may, of course, still be argued that A 2, B and C, or any one of them, are the work of different authors who deliberately misused the name and reputation of the first 'Will.' But that the intention of these 'Will'-allusions is to claim all the texts as the work of one man, 'Will,' is, I am convinced, demonstrable. It seems to me a mere anachronism to assume otherwise.

External evidence of Authorship.

If this be so, the 'Will'-references constitute a claim for unity of authorship against which strong evidence must be brought if it is to be dismissed as an imposture.

On the other hand, these very 'Will'-references in the text rather seriously weaken the argument for unity of authorship which has so often been drawn from the very numerous notes, headings and colophons in which 'William' or 'Willelmus' is spoken of as the author. For since any fourteenth-century reader would have interpreted the 'Will' in the text as the author, the 'William' or 'Willelmus' of the notes and colophons may be merely inference from such references in the text.

And it has been felt as a real difficulty that one fifteenth-century note says '*Robert or* William Langland made Pers Ploughman[1],' and that from the middle of the sixteenth century the author's name was held to be *Robert* Langland.

Skeat attempted to explain 'Robert' as arising from a misunderstanding of the first line in A 2 (*Dowel*),

> Thus i-robed in russet · romed I aboute.

Skeat thought that the past participle 'i-robed' might have been misunderstood as 'I Robert.' But others have refused to accept this conjecture[2], and others again have argued that the incompatibility of '*Robert* Langland' with other evidence of the author's name points to

[1] MS formerly Ashburnham 130.
[2] E.g., Macaulay in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, v, 1910, p. 195.

multiple authorship. Examination of the MSS, however, shows that the reading

And y Robert in rosset · gan rome abowhte

does actually exist. It is not therefore a question of the possibility of 'i-robet' being corrupted to 'I Robert'; it *was* so corrupted, and this corruption sufficiently explains the origin of the alternative name 'Robert.'

The statement that the writer's name was Robert may then be dismissed. The statement that it was William agrees with the references to 'Will' in the text, but has little corroborative force, since it may originate in those references.

Much more important is the fifteenth-century note[1] to the effect that William 'Langlond' who made 'Perys Ploughman' was a son of Stacy [Eustace] Rokayle, and that this Rokayle was a gentleman who held land under the Despensers at Shipton-under-Wychwood. Documentary evidence shows that the Rokayles *did* live near Shipton and *were* adherents of the Despensers. Peter de la Rokayle, the father of Stacy, and therefore (if we believe the note) the grandfather of William Langland, was pardoned in 1327 for adhering to Hugh Despenser[2]. Why should details so specific and (so far as we can check them) so correct, have been invented? It is a mere anachronism to raise objections because William Langland does not take his father's name. Till a very much later date, younger sons might choose what surname they wished[3]. Neither is there any discrepancy between the father having held a farm at Shipton in Oxfordshire, and the sixteenth-century tradition that Langland was born at Cleobury Mortimer, fifty miles from Shipton. For Langland may have been born about the time of the Despenser troubles, when the lands of adherents of that family were being harried, and when there were the strongest reasons for the Rokayle family being from home.

We have accordingly no reason to doubt this information as to the surname and family connections of the 'Will' whom the A 1, A 2, B- and C-texts alike claim as the author.

[1] In MS Trin. Coll. Dub., D. 4. 1: *Memorandum quod Stacy de Rokayle, pater Willielmi de Langlond, qui Stacius fuit generosus, et morabatur in Schiptone under Whicwode, tenens domini le Spenser in comitatu Oxon., qui prædictus Willielmus fecit librum qui vocatur Perys Ploughman.*

[2] *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1327–30, p. 100. See Moore in *Mod. Phil.*, XII, 46. Moore has made a most useful collection of the documentary evidence respecting the Rokayles.

[3] See Camden, *Remaines concerning Britaine*, 1605, pp. 123–4–9: and compare the C-text, IV, 369.

Relation of the B-text to the A-text.

There is the strongest internal evidence that at any rate the A- and the B-texts are the work of one man. We have seen that in the A-text the search for *Dowel, Dobet* and *Dobest* begins, but is abandoned suddenly, after the author has raised many difficult problems, to which he can find no satisfactory solution. The discussion was not resumed till some fifteen years later, when the B-text was written. But before starting the B-continuation (*Passus XI–XX*) the dreamer explains how Lust of the Eyes, accompanied by Lust of the Flesh and Pride, prevented him for many years from wishing to know any more concerning *Dowel* or *Dobet*[1] till he began to reach old age[2]. This is intelligible, if B be A, resuming that search for *Dowel* and *Dobet*, which he had left unfinished some fifteen years before. But if B be not A? If B continued the work which A had left unfinished at his death, what *does* he mean by attributing the cessation of the search for *Dowel* to Lust of the Flesh, Lust of the Eyes and Pride? And if A be supposed to be still alive, the difficulty is equally great. Surely A might have objected to a continuator not merely appropriating his unfinished work, but further stating that it was unfinished because 'Lust of the Flesh clasped me round the neck.' On the other hand, this is quite intelligible, if B be A. It has been the practice of visionaries throughout the ages to use stern and often exaggerated language about their own sins of omission and neglect.

But it is not only neglect to which B pleads guilty. In the next passus of the B-text the dreamer is reproached by Imaginative, whose function it is to call the past to memory[3]. Imaginative (Memory) tells the dreamer how he has often moved him to think of the wild wantonness of his youth, to amend it in his middle age. The chief wantonness specified is the wild speech with which the A-text had broken off, from which Imaginative quotes verbally, and which he refutes.

Then, the difficulties having been settled, the search for *Dowel, Dobet* and *Dobest* is resumed, according to a system which had already been twice sketched out in the unfinished and abandoned A-text. It is by no means the case, as has been argued, that this B-continuation is formless or devoid of system: very much the contrary.

[1] B. XI, 45–50.
[2] B. XI, 59.
[3] *ars commemorativa*: see Mensendieck, *J.E.G.Ph.*, IX, 1910, p. 405, and Jones, *J.E.G. Ph.*, XIII, 1914, p. 587: 'imagination was often equivalent to memory.'

In construction and 'organization' the B-text can be demonstrated to be not inferior to the A-text. It adheres strictly to a plan which had been indicated fifteen years before.

The 'Missing Leaf.'

Certain crudities in the A-text have been assumed by Prof. Manly and Dr Knott to be due to a lost leaf. B tried to remedy these crudities, but *not* on the assumption of such a lost leaf. So, it is argued, B cannot have been the original author, who must have seen what had happened. Now an error must be *obvious*, to be such that the original author cannot fail to detect it after fifteen years. But the loss of this leaf is so little obvious, that no one had suspected it, till Prof. Manly assumed it. Those who have since discussed it are divided, so far as I am aware, thus: Dr Bradley, followed by Dr Furnivall and M. Jusserand, believed the confusion to be due, *not* to a lost, but to a shifted leaf. Another different kind of shift has been postulated by Mr Theophilus Hall[1] and Prof. Carleton Brown[2]. On the other hand Mr Coulton[3], Dr Mensendieck[4], Miss Görnemann[5], Prof. Fehr[6] and myself[7] do not see the necessity for assuming either a lost or a shifted leaf.

All this disagreement does not prove Prof. Manly wrong. The history of scholarship records many theories which have been almost universally modified or rejected, and have yet in the end been proved right. But can it reasonably be argued that Prof. Manly is obviously and palpably right in offering a solution which is not accepted by ten out of eleven scholars? And the argument that B is not A lies, not in B having overlooked an error, but in the belief that the error was so palpable and obvious that the original author *must* have seen exactly what had happened, and restored the original text. Yet none can agree what this original text was.

Dr Knott has recently reopened the discussion[8]. With much of what he says I am in agreement: he spends much space in refuting assertions which assuredly I never made, and which, so far as I know, no one else has ever made. But neither assertion nor refutation has any real bearing on the question whether *Piers Plowman* is the work of one man or no.

[1] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 1908, p. 1.
[2] New York *Nation*, March 25, 1909, p. 298.
[3] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VII, 1912, p. 102.
[4] *J.E.G.Ph.*, IX, 1910, p. 404.
[5] *Verfasserschaft von 'Piers the Plowman.'*
[6] *Literaturblatt f. germ. rom. Philol.* 1916, p. 174.
[7] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, V, 1910, p. 1, etc.
[8] *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 531, etc.; XV, 23 etc.

Other Arguments.

Alleged differences in metre, in diction, and in allegorical method, indicated by Prof. Manly, have been the subject of distinct investigations by three different scholars[1]. In each case the verdict has been the same: that there is no evidence for different authorship. Not only so, but all three find the evidence tending rather in favour of unity of authorship, so far as any conclusion at all can be drawn from the limited problem which each is studying. The very grounds then, upon which we have been asked to reject the claim which the different texts make to be by the same author, tend, upon investigation, rather to confirm that claim.

I propose to devote the rest of this paper to two aspects of the problem: the alleged differences in (*a*) scholarship and scholastic interests and (*b*) dialect. This can only be done very briefly, but it will indicate the lines upon which Mr Grattan and I hope soon to make a fuller statement.

II. The Learning of A, B and C.

It has been argued that A 1, A 2, B and C cannot be the same man because of the difference in their interests, mental qualities[2] and scholarship—that, for example, A 1 and A 2 differ in their 'scholastic methods and interests[3],' whilst C 'is a better scholar than' A 2 or B[4].

The Latin quotations, scattered so freely through all the texts, afford a good means of checking this argument. These quotations, mostly standing outside the verse, are a striking feature of A 1, which becomes even more marked later. Altogether[5] we have 29 quotations in A 1, 36 in the (comparatively much shorter) A 2, 330 added in the B-text, and 94 added in the C-text—a large proportion considering that the C-additions are not exceedingly bulky.

Now alike in A 1, in A 2, in the B-additions and the C-additions, the *Psalter* is the book most frequently quoted (103 times in all: 8 in A 1, 6 in A 2, 71 in the B-additions, 18 in the C-additions). After the

[1] *The Alliteration of 'Piers Plowman,'* by Mary Deakin, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 1909, pp. 478–83. (Only a summary is published, and this will need some revision when a new text of A is forthcoming.) *The vocabulary of the 'A-Text' of 'Piers the Plowman,'* by Margaret Dobson, *Anglia*, XXXIII, 1910, pp. 391–6. *Piers Plowman, a comparison with... French Allegories*, by D. Owen, University of London Press, 1912 (a most valuable study).

[2] Manly in *Mod. Philol.*, III, 365. *Camb. Hist.*, II, 21.

[3] Manly in *Camb. Hist.*, II, 18.

[4] *Camb. Hist.*, II, 35.

[5] Counting only instances where the Latin text is quoted verbally.

Psalter the book most quoted, alike in A 1, in A 2, in the B-additions and the C-additions is the Gospel of *St Matthew* (79 times in all: 7 in A 1, 4 in A 2, 55 in the B-additions, 13 in the C-additions). Third comes, alike in A 1, A 2, the B-additions and the C-additions, the Gospel of *St Luke* (46 times in all: 5 times in A 1, 3 in A 2, 26 in the B-additions, 12 in the C-additions).

Alike in the A-, B- and C-texts the citations from the *Psalms*, *St Matthew* and *St Luke* are almost equal in number to those from all other sources put together.

Now, to find any parallel to this, we must go to certain devotional treatises, such as the *Prick of Conscience* or the *Imitation of Christ*. Even there, the parallel is not exact: for though the books most quoted are the *Psalter* and the Gospels, these books do not receive so exclusive an attention as they do in all texts of *Piers Plowman*.

Yet *Piers Plowman* is not a devotional treatise, but a satire, in the strict sense of the word: its subject is *quidquid agunt homines*: it takes us at the outset into the 'fair field full of folk'—the wide world. It is, then, somewhat startling to find A 1, A 2, B and C alike showing a love for just the books which appeal to a saintly recluse like Thomas à Kempis, isolated from worldly cares. And, if we 'commit them with their peers,' we find that A 1, A 2, B and C agree in differing from their English contemporaries. The Bible is not to them a storehouse of narrative, as it is to Gower, or the poet of *Cleanness* and *Patience*: they neglect those treasuries of worldly wisdom from which Chaucer mainly drew his Biblical quotations, *Ecclesiasticus* and *Proverbs*: they care nothing for those profane authors whom the mediæval scholar loved to quote, Boethius, Seneca, Cicero, Ovid.

Mr Prothero, in his *Psalms in Human Life*[1], has selected Dante, Langland and Thomas à Kempis as the three mediæval writers to whom the Psalms mean most. But even in Dante the *Psalter* is not, as it is in all texts of *Piers Plowman*, the book most quoted. In the *Convito* it is *Proverbs* (quoted 13 times): in the *Divine Comedy* and the *De Monarchia* it is *St Matthew* (15 and 13 times respectively): in the *Vita Nuova* and the *De vulgari eloquentia* the Psalms are not quoted at all.

It cannot be argued that this exceptional preference for the *Psalter* is due to A 2, B and C each imitating A 1.

There are avowed imitations of *Piers Plowman*, such as *Richard the Redeless*, *The Plowman's Crede*, *The Crowned King*, and *Death and Life*.

[1] P. 101, edit. 1904. Unless my counting is quite at fault, Mr Prothero estimates too highly the proportion of references to the *Psalter* in the *Imitatio*.

Together they are nearly as bulky as the A-text, or the C-additions. Yet, although ideas and mannerisms of *Piers Plowman* are often followed quite closely, they contain amongst them only one Latin quotation from the *Psalter*, against the 14 in the A-text or the 18 in the C-additions. For an imitator can easily imitate the phraseology and tricks of style of his original: but the imitator cannot emulate a habit of apt quotations from certain given works unless he, too, has his brain stored with passages from those works. This is why the quotations of *Piers Plowman* form so valuable a test of authorship.

The simplest explanation surely is that A 1, A 2, the B-text and the C-text are what they profess to be: the work of one man. He was a man to whom the *Psalter* made a special appeal, and he knew his *Psalter* well, because he was a chantry clerk, and speaks of himself in the B-text as one whose task it is to 'say his *Psalter* and pray for those who give him bread[1],' and says expressly in the C-text:

> The lomes [tools] þat I laboure with · and lyflode deserue
> Ys *pater noster* and my prymer · *placebo* and *dirige*
> And my sauter som tyme · and my seuene psalmes[2].

After the three favourite books, the *Psalter*, *St Matthew* and *St Luke*, we find a discrepancy. *St John* is not quoted at all in A 1, is quoted twice in A 2, 19 times in the B-additions, and 11 times in the C-additions (proportionately a much larger percentage than the 19 times in B). But there is nothing in this growing affection for *St John* which could lead us to argue any difference of authorship, unless it were supported by other discrepancies. And in other respects the remaining quotations are extraordinarily alike.

The Epistles are largely quoted, and in about equal proportions in A, B, and C (9 times in A, 40 in the B-additions, 9 in the C-additions).

The 40 quotations from the Epistles in the B-additions are drawn from 22 different chapters. One may fairly suppose that these 22 chapters represent B's favourite reading out of the 121 chapters in the Epistles of the *New Testament*. It is noteworthy that the 9 quotations in A all come from the same 22 chapters from which come the quotations added by B: and so do 8 out of the 9 quotations in the C-additions. This can hardly be due to imitation. In the four avowed imitations of *Piers Plowman* the Epistles are quoted textually once only, and then the quotation does *not* come from these chapters[3].

[1] B. XII, 16-17. [2] C. VI, 45–7.

[3] Of course 'B's 22 chapters' include a large proportion of the passages most open to quotation, but for comparison it may be noted that the Epistles are quoted some 70 times in Chaucer, and only 26 of these 70 instances come from B's 22 chapters.

Now, if the mental qualities and interests and scholarship of A, B and C were really so different, it is just in points like this that we should expect the difference to be betrayed. On the contrary, what is betrayed is a striking similarity.

Let us now examine the assertion that C is a 'better scholar' than A 2 or B. It is true that A 2 and B do agree in making an extraordinary blunder, which C does not make.

A [A 2] confuses *mecor* (*moechor*) with *neco*: he accordingly quotes the Latin of the seventh commandment, but translates it as if it were the sixth:

> For he [God] seiþ it hym selfe · in his ten hestis
> *Non mecaberis*: ne sle nouȝt · is the kynde englissh[1].

B recasts the whole passage, but deliberately makes the same mistake:

> [God] seith 'Slee nouȝt þat semblable is · to myne owen liknesse,
> But if I sende þe sum tokne' · and seith *non mecaberis*
> Is, slee nouȝt, but suffre · and al for þe beste[2].

Note that B does not merely copy A's words, in which case he might also have copied his mistake mechanically. He has thought about the passage and rewritten it, repeating the error. Now surely there cannot have been many people in England who were under the extraordinary delusion that *non moechaberis* meant 'slay not.' This is no 'vulgar error,' but a highly individual one.

If, therefore, it is to be used at all in an argument as to the authorship of A 2, B and C, surely it tends to prove that A 2 and B are the same man. We are asked to believe however that, because C avoids the mistake, it proves C more learned than (and therefore different from) A 2 and B. True, C does avoid this mistake: but how? It is his practice to omit much which is found in the B-text, and he misses out the whole passage of 39 lines in which this quotation is imbedded. We have accordingly no evidence whether C shares B's erroneous views on the meaning of *moechaberis*, or no.

But he shares other mistakes of A and B.

The A-text misquotes 'vengeance is mine' (*mihi vindicta et ego retribuam*) as *mihi vindictam et ego retribuam*[3]. The B-additions make the same erroneous quotation in three distinct places[4]. One of these is adopted in the C-text[5]: and elsewhere, in the C-additions, this somewhat overworked phrase is again quoted, also in the erroneous form[6]. Too

[1] A. xi, 246–7.
[2] B. x, 368–70.
[3] A. xi, 247.
[4] B. vi, 228; x. 204; xix, 443.
[5] C. xxii, 448.
[6] C. xviii, 235.

much must not be made of this, however, for this misquotation was a common mediæval error: *mihi vindictam* will be found, e.g. in Albertano of Brescia[1]. But so far from C correcting B's errors in scholarship, C even follows B in making *post* govern the nominative case, or in taking *nebula* as acc. plur.: *post maxima nebula*[2].

I think some of the parallels quoted above would be sufficient to establish a strong argument for A, B and C being the same man, even if they did not claim to be so. However that may be, they assuredly afford no ground for rejecting the traditional view.

III. The Dialect of A, B and C.

Nothing, probably, has done so much to support the view that A, B and C are by different authors as the fact that the three texts, as printed by Skeat, are obviously in different dialects, which could never have been the speech of one and the same man. True, Skeat pointed out, over and over again, in his prefaces, that these dialectal discrepancies were not discrepancies between the A-text and the B- or C-texts, but between the particular manuscript selected as the basis of the A-text and the manuscripts selected as the basis of B or of C. A study of Skeat's critical notes would have confirmed this. But man, perhaps rightly, does not read prefaces or study critical notes.

And however much the student may be aware, in theory, that the dialect is the dialect of the scribe and not of the author, nevertheless the dialect creates an atmosphere, which affects the reader unconsciously. I carried my own scepticism so far, that for a time I had an open mind as to whether any part of *Passus XII* of A was by the same author as the preceding passus—a scepticism, as I am now convinced, quite unnecessary. I am certain that one of the reasons for this ultra-scepticism was that *Passus XII*, which is added in a few MSS only, and which is not extant in the Vernon MS, is supplied in Skeat's edition from the Rawlinson MS, the orthography and dialect of which are different. Yet I was perfectly aware, *in theory*, that these differences were due to the scribes.

In much the same way Mr T. Hall[3] has obviously been misled by this difference of dialect, in his contention that the C-text is not from the same hand as the B-text. He instances many forms, such as *heo* or *hue* for 'she,' in which Skeat's C-text differs from his B-text. But

[1] Albertani Brixiensis *Liber Consolationis*, ed. Thor Sundby, 1873, p. 112.
[2] B. xviii, 407; C. xxi, 454.
[3] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, iv, 1908, p. 12.

these differences have nothing whatever to do with the distinction between the B- and the C-texts. There is proof, as I intend to show, that *heo* was used alike in the A-, B- and C-texts, though in many MSS the scribes have consistently substituted *she* for *heo*. Mr Hall doubtless was aware, in theory, of the danger of mistaking the dialect of the scribe for the dialect of the writer, and certainly Prof. Manly was.

But Prof. Manly also has stated that

> a careful study of the MSS will show that between A, B and C there exist dialectical differences incompatible with the supposition of a single author. This can be easily tested in the case of the pronouns and the verb *are*[1].

Since Prof. Manly makes no claim to have collated the MSS, he must mean by 'a careful study of the MSS' a careful study of such records as were at the time accessible in print. But Skeat's collations were never intended to form the basis of an investigation of dialect, and are quite insufficient for that purpose. This is shown by the one instance[2] in which Prof. Manly attempted to defend his dogma: he argued from the supposed readings of the MSS of the A- and B-texts in A. III, 30. But reference to the actual MSS showed that in 13 cases out of 26 the reading was the exact reverse of what Prof. Manly had thought—being *heo* where he had believed it to be *sche*, and *sche* where he had believed it to be *heo*[3].

Prof. Manly further argues from the alliteration: 'If we find,' he writes, 'that no instance of "are" occurs in A 1, and that instances occur in A 2, which, because they are essential to the alliteration, clearly proceed from the author and not from the scribe, we are justified in concluding, even if the texts of A 2 contain also instances of "ben," that, in all probability, A 2 used "are" and A 1 did not[4].' No evidence was produced at the time, but quite recently Dr Knott has quoted some instances in support of Prof. Manly's view. Dr Knott puts the case thus:

> A 1 is shown by the alliteration to have used only the present plural form 'ben, beþ':
>
> Beggeris and bidderis ben not in þe bulle.
>
> A 2 is shown by the alliteration to have also used the form *arn*:
>
> Angelis and alle þing arn at his wille.

Similarly Dr Knott shows that in A 1 there are several lines where the alliteration demands *heo*, but none where it demands *she*: but there *is* an instance in B where *she* is demanded by the alliteration. On the strength of this, and because I have myself emphasized the importance

[1] *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, II, 34.
[2] *Mod. Phil.*, VII, 124–5.
[3] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, V, 23–5.
[4] *Mod. Phil.*, VII, 124.

of noting cases where the alliteration helps to fix the form used, Dr Knott claims:

> I have shown that the dialect of A 1 is different from that of A 2 and from B, using for the determination of original dialect forms only criteria which Mr Chambers himself has explicitly approved.

Now there are in A 1 two certain instances[1] in which the plural indicative present occurs in alliteration, and in both instances *ben* is used:

> How *b*usy þei *b*en · a*b*oute þe mase. (A. I, 6.)
> And *b*idden hire be *b*lyþe · for we *b*en þin owene. (A. III, 28.)

In A 2 we have a clear instance of *ben*:

> ·*B*estis þat now *b*en · shuln *b*anne þe tyme. (A. X, 165.)

We have also in A 2 a clear case of *arn*:

> *A*ungelis and *a*lle þinges · *a*rn at his wille. (A. X, 31[2].)

The following conclusions are drawn by Dr Knott and Prof. Manly:

A 2 used both *ben* and *arn*.

A 1 used *ben*.

Ergo it is proved that A 1 *did not use 'arn.'*

Ergo A 1 is shown to be a different man from A 2.

And, adds Dr Knott, these are criteria which Mr Chambers has explicitly approved.

So let me say, most explicitly, that I do not approve of any such method of using the criteria. To argue that A 1 never used *arn*, simply because we can prove him to have twice used *ben*, is absurd: for the forms were used interchangeably far and wide. But further, every one of the fifteen MSS of A 1 represents A 1 as using *arn* or *are* as well as *ben*. Dr Knott has done excellent work at collating the A-MSS: but what is the use of collating MSS unless we are prepared to consider the evidence when we have collected it? The occurrence of *arn*, *ben* in alliteration is only a fragment, though a valuable fragment, of the evidence. For though the present indicative plural of the verb *to be* occurs more than 40 times in A 1, and nearly 40 times in A 2, it occurs only

[1] Only one instance is quoted by Dr Knott:

> *B*eggeris and *b*idderis · *b*en not in þe *b*ulle. (A. VIII, 68);

and this is not quite conclusive because, alike in A 1 and A 2, the alliteration of the second half line may be borne by the second accented syllable in that line; 'bulle' therefore could support the alliteration quite passably, even though *arn* were read instead of *ben*. This illustrates our main difficulty, that the authors, alike of A 1, A 2, B and C, are often satisfied with such irregular and meagre alliteration that it is difficult to say with absolute certainty that the alliteration ever necessitates any given word.

[2] There is a second, less conclusive instance:

> And *a*lle men þat *a*rn nedy · and pore men and such. (A. XI, 238.)

The alliteration is defective, and may run on 'men.'

twice in A 1 and twice in A 2 quite certainly in *alliteration. This is naturally so,* because it is the more emphatic words which should, and which generally do, bear the alliteration, and *arn* and *ben* are seldom emphatic.

If we accordingly refuse to consider any cases except those confirmed by the alliteration, and thus reduce our test instances to some two each in A 1 and in A 2, we have criteria of value so far as positive results go, but we put ourselves at the mercy of chance if we proceed to argue from the *absence* of either form.

I can only be astonished at the *sancta simplicitas* which philologists often display, whenever questions occur involving chance. If we toss a coin twice, the chance that it will come up the same way both times is equal to the chance that it will come up different ways. Two instances of *ben,* or two instances of *arn,* would not show that the author of A 1 or of A 2 used *ben* or *arn* exclusively. Indeed, given a man who used *ben* and *arn* in exactly equal proportions, it is just as likely, if we have to judge from two instances only, that we shall find him using the same form in these two instances, as using different ones.

But, as a matter of fact, the evidence of the MSS is, as we shall see, that the author of A 1 and of A 2 did *not* use *ben* and *arn* in equal proportions, but used *ben* much the more frequently—two or three times to every case in which *arn* is used. This being so, then, out of the four cases (two in A 1 and two in A 2) where the alliteration conclusively fixes the form used, we should *expect* only one to show *arn* and the other three to show *ben.* This is exactly what does happen. To proceed to argue, without further investigation, that the portion of the A-text (A 2) in which this *arn* occurs is by a different author from the portion in which no *arn* occurs, is absurd.

The only way by which we can proceed is to attempt, by a careful comparison of all the MSS, to find what were the forms used in the archetype from which all the MSS are derived. This will not give us quite conclusive results, since such archetype was in all probability not the author's autograph, and may have already undergone some corruption. We can check our results by observing cases where the alliteration fixes the form used.

(a) *'Ben' and 'arn' in A 2.*

Let us begin by examining *ben* and *arn* in A 2, where the alliteration, as we have seen, shows that the author used *both* forms. We find *ben* confirmed by all the MSS. Here are the instances:

INSTANCES OF 'BEN' (PRES. INDIC. PLU.) IN A 2.

		T	H2	R	U	K	As	H3	I	D	V
IX.	35.	be	be	beþ	*arn*	ben	ben	—	be	be	ben
	70.	ben	be	beþ	ben	ben	be	—	—	be	beoþ
	117.	beþ	bien	—	—	byn	ben	ben	be	ben	beoþ
X.	15.	beþ	bien	ben	ben	ben	be	ben	bene	beth	beoþ
	22.	ben	bien	beþ	ben	—	ben	ben	bene	beþ	ben
	23.	ben	bien	ben	ben	ben	ben	*arn*	ben	ben	ben
	42.	ben	bien	ben	ben	ben	ben	—	bene	ben	ben
	61.	ben	bien	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	bene	ben	—
	67.	ben	be	—	ben	be	be	ben	—	beþ	ben
	103.	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	bene	be	ben
	124.	ben	—	ben	ben	byn	ben	ben	bene	ben	ben
	127.	ben	—	ben	ben	byn	ben	ben	bene	ben	ben
	130.	be	—	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	bene	be	ben
	131.	ben	—	ben	ben	ben	be	ben	*arn*	ben	beþ
	136.	ben	—	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	bene	be	ben
	165.‡	ben	bien	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	bene	beþ	ben
	177.	be	bien	be	ben	ben	be	ben	ben	be	beoþ
	204.	ben	ben	beþ	ben	ben	—	be	ben	ben	ben
	204.	ben	ben	ben	ben	*arn*	—	ben	ben	ben	—
	205.	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	—	ben	bene	—	ben
XI.	6.	ben	ben	ben	—	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben
	21.	ben	ben	—	—	—	ben	—	—	be	beoþ
	22.	ben	bien	—	—	ben	ben	ben	bene	ben	ben
	39.	ben	—	—	—	ben	*arn*	ben	ben	be	beoþ
	88.	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	bene	ben	ben
	144.	ben	ben	ben	ben	byn	ben	ben	ben	ben	beoþ
	186.	ben	bien	ben	—	ben	—	ben	—	—	—
	240.	be	be	ben	ben		.	ben	bene	ben	—
	288.	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	be	be	bene	ben	—

ben, *be* occurs also in X, 68, 70, 163, 190; XI, 289: but I have omitted these instances from the table, as I take *ben* to be subjunctive; *beþ* in IX, 104 is an error of the Vernon text for *don*.

The MSS are T (Trin. Coll. Camb., R. 3. 14), H2 (Harl. 6041), R (Rawlinson Poet. 137), U (Univ. Coll. Oxford), K (Kenelm Digby 145), As (Ashmole 1468), H3 (Harl. 3954), I (Ingilby), D (Douce 323), V (Vernon). I have not been able to obtain the collations of W (Westminster) for these passus. W is corrupt and worthless on this point. See below, p. 146.

A dash signifies either that the MS is imperfect, or corrupt, in that some form other than the pres. indic. plu. is used.

‡ Signifies that the form in question is confirmed by the alliteration.

Now the unanimity shown by the MSS here is extraordinary, the more so as these MSS generally show such considerable divergencies in their readings. This unanimity proves that, inaccurate as these scribes in many respects were, their inaccuracy did not take the form of any tendency to substitute *arn* for *ben*. As our author reminds us, *septies in die cadit justus*: but out of 29 instances, U, K, As, H3 and I lapse but once from *ben* to *arn*, whilst T, H2, R, D, V, betray no tendency whatever to substitute *arn* for *ben*.

We are bound, therefore, to attach importance to the evidence of these same MSS when, in the remaining ten instances, they by overwhelming majorities give the form *arn*. So general an agreement cannot be due to the scribes, but must be inherited from their archetype.

INSTANCES OF 'ARN' (PRES. INDIC. PLU.) IN A 2.

		T	H2	R	U	K	As	H3	I	D	V
IX.	70.	arn	arn	are	*ben*	arne	arn	—	arne	are	*beoþ*
X.	31.‡	arn	arn	arn	arn	arn	arne	arn	arn	arn	*ben*
X.	186.	arn	arn	arn	arn	arn	arn	*ben*	arn	*buþ*	*ben*
XI.	37.	arn	—	are	—	arn	arn	arn	—	*buþ*	*beoþ*
	156.	arn	arn	are	arn	arn	arn (sic)	arn	arn	arn	—
	213.	arn	arn	arn	arn	arn	arm	arn	arn	*buþ*	—
	238.	arn	arn	arn	arn	*ben*	arn	arn	arn	*buþ*	—
	283.	arn	arn	arn	arn	arn	arne	arn	arn	*buþ*	—
	297.	arn	arn	arn	arn	arn	arne	*ben*	*bene*	*buþ*	—
	298.	arn	arn	are	—	arn	arn	arn	arn	*buþ*	—

Now here we have not the same startling unanimity as in the cases of *ben*, quoted above. V, up to the point where it breaks off imperfect, has consistently *ben* or *beoþ*, not *arn*. But the fact that in one of these cases the alliteration demands *arn*, proves that the reading of V proceeds from a scribe tampering with his original, when it gives us such a line as

*A*ngeles and *a*lle þing · *b*en at his wille. (A. x, 31.)

In the case of D, which preserves *arn* in three instances, but elsewhere gives *buþ*, we have a definite proof that *buþ* is due to the scribe. For in XI, 232 some of the group of MSS to which D belongs have a misreading *arn* for *an*, *arn uncristen* being written in T and H2 for *an uncristen*. (The point is that baptism is valid, even though administered by one who has not himself received it, 'an unchristian': but the scribes bungled over the passage.) D actually reads not *arn uncristen* but *buþ uncristene*, showing that the scribe was automatically altering *arn* to *buþ*[1].

Putting aside these two MSS, V and D, which can thus be *proved* to be tampering with the text, all the other MSS show a remarkable unanimity in these ten passages, having only five instances of *ben* against seventy of *arn* (*are*).

With regard to A 2, then, we have this conclusion. Not only is it clear that the writer used both *ben* and *arn*, but the evidence of the MSS is that he used *ben* in twenty-nine instances, *arn* in ten. The

[1] The scribe must have been a Southerner; he was willing to tolerate the form *ben* when he found it, but not the form *arn*, so that it will be seen that in D, *buþ* is frequently found where *arn* is given in the other MSS, but *ben* (or *be*) where *ben* occurs in the others.

MSS, except D and V, have shown themselves trustworthy, preserving *ben* and *arn* unconfused, with almost absolute unanimity. This happened presumably because the scribes were accustomed to both forms, and were therefore under no temptation to alter them.

So far, I do not suppose readers would dispute this argument. They will only wonder that one should take so much trouble to prove what seems so obvious, and indeed has never been disputed.

But if these MSS have proved themselves trustworthy, we are bound to take their evidence with regard to A 1 *as well as A* 2. *And here we find that the phenomena are exactly the same as in A* 2—*a majority of 'ben' forms, with 'arn' interspersed among them at intervals.*

(b)[1] *'Ben' and 'arn' in A* 1.

		T	H2	R	U	K	As	H3	I	D	V
P.	94.	ben	ben	beþ	ben	—	—	—	ben	beth	beon
	95.	ben	ben	beþ	ben	—	—	—	ben	be	—
I.	6.‡	ben	ben	be	ben	ben	—	be	ben	ben	ben
	16.	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	—	ben	ben	ben	beoþ
	165.	ben	ben	beþ	ben	byn	bene	be	ben	ben	beoþ
	170.	ben	ben	beþ	ben	ben	be	be	ben	ben	beoþ
II.	27.	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	—	ben	ben	ben	ben
III.	28.‡	ben	be	beþ	ben	bynnen	be	ben	be	be	beoþ
	67.	ben	ben	beþ	ben	bene	ben	ben	bene	ben	beoþ
	226.	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	—	ben	bene	ben	ben
	228.	ben	ben	beþ	ben	ben	—	—	ben	ben	beoþ
V.	33.	ben	be	beþ	ben	ben	—	—	be	be	ben
VI.	77.	ben	bien	beþ	ben	—	ben	ben	bene	beþ	beþ
	78.	ben	bien	beþ	ben	ben	ben	ben	bene	beþ	beþ
	80.	ben	bien	beþ	ben	ben	ben	ben	bene	beþ	beoþ
	108.	ben	bien	beþ	ben	ben	*arn*	ben	bene	ben	ben
	110.	beþ	bien	beþ	ben	ben	—	ben	boyin	beþ	beoþ
VII.	70.	*arn*	—	beþ	ben	be	—	ben	ben	ben	ben
	91.	ben	—	beþ	ben	ben	*arn*	—	*arun*	ben	beoþ
	123.	ben	—	beþ	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	beoþ
	194.	—	—	beþ	ben	ben	ben	be	bene	be	beoþ
	196.	ben	—	beþ	ben	ben	ben	ben	bene	be	beoþ
	212.	ben	—	beþ	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben
	242.	ben	—	ben	ben	ben	ben	*arn*	ben	beþ	beoþ
VIII.	45.	ben	bien	ben	ben	ben	—	ben	ben	ben	beoþ
	58.	ben	bien	beþ	ben		—	ben	be	be	beo
	68.	ben	be	beþ	ben	byn	—	ben	—	be	beoþ
	76.	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	—	ben	been	ben	beon
	79.	ben	ben	beþ	ben	ben	—	*arn*	ben	ben	ben
	83.	ben	bien	*are*	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	ben	beoþ
	168.	ben	bien	ben	ben	ben	—	—	bene	ben	ben
	172.	ben	bien	be	ben	ben	—	—	ben	ben	ben
	185.	ben	bien	ben	—	bene	ben	—	bene	beþ	ben
I.	21.	arn	are	are	arn	ar	—	arn	arun	arn	*beþ*
	68.	arn	arn	ar	—	arn	—	—	arun	*buþ*	—

[1] Subjunctives (I, 150, 153; III, 144; IV, 105, etc.) are of course omitted. H3 is a B-text up to *Passus V*, but I quote it throughout, as the agreement of the B-text is worth noting.

		T	H2	R	U	K	As	H3	I	D	V
I.	83.	arn	arn	aren	—	arn	—	—	arun	—	—
	124.	arn	arn	*be*	arn	arn	—	arn	arun	—	—
	129.	arn	arn	are	*ben*	arne	—	arn	arun	*be*	are
	164.	arn	ar	are	arn	arn	arn	—	arun	*beþ*	*ben*
	165.	arn	arn	are	arn	arn	arn	arn	arun	*beþ*	*beo*
	174.	arn	arn	are	arn	arne	arn	*ben*	arun	*beþ*	*beþ*
	183.	arn	are	are	arn	arn	—	arn	*ben*	—	—
III.	71.	arn	arn	ar	arn	arn	arn	arn	arun	*ben*	*be*
	224.	arn	arn	arn	arn	ar	—	*ben*	arun	*beþ*	*beoþ*
VI.	107.	arn	arn	arn	arn	*ben*	arn	arn	arn	arn	*beoþ*
VII.	50.	arn	arn	arn	arn	ar	—	*ben*	*ben*	arn	*ben*
	260.	arn	arn	are	*ben*	arn	arne	arn	arn	arn	*beoþ*
	262.	arn	arn	are	arn	arn	*ben*	arn	arn	*beþ*	*beoþ*

There are other MSS (E, H, W, L)[1] available for A 1, which were not available for A 2. E (Trin. Coll. Dub., D. 4. 12) shows constant traces of a Northern scribe, who has altered *ben* to *er*, *ar* (e.g. Pro. 95; I, 170; III, 28, 67, 226; V, 33; VI, 78, 80, 110). That this is a scribal corruption is shown by the alliteration:

And *b*ad hir be *b*lythe · for we *er* all your awne. (A. III, 28.)

W (Westminster) is shown to be unreliable by its likewise altering *ben* to *arn* in the same passage, against the alliteration. W and E must accordingly be dismissed, as untrustworthy in this connection. H (Harleian 875) is unreliable because it is copied from the same archetype as V; an archetype which has taken great liberties with its original, making the dialect more southern, and in the case of words which it does not like, constantly substituting synonyms, though the alliteration shows such substitution to be wrong[2].

The newly discovered Aberystwyth MS is fragmentary and contaminated, and only certain portions of it can rank as an A-text. L (Lincoln's Inn), on the other hand, is a consistent A-text to the point where it breaks off imperfect. Since A 2 is missing from L, we cannot demonstrate the reliability of L in A 2, as we have done that of the other MSS. The portion of L which remains, agrees exactly in its record of *ben* and *arn* with the other MSS which we have already tested and found reliable.

The conclusion is surely indisputable. Excluding MSS whose evidence can be proved to be unreliable, viz. V, H, D, W, E, excluding even a MS like L, because we have not been able definitely to prove it reliable, we find that the MSS which we have been able to prove reliable are unanimous.

There are fifteen instances of *arn* in A 1 as against more than twice that number of *ben*. There are ten instances of *arn* in A 2 as against more than twice that number of *ben*.

Every MS, whether 'reliable,' 'doubtful' or 'unreliable,' agrees in representing A 1 as using both *arn* (*are*) and *ben*. Yet the only argument hitherto brought forward which (if it can be maintained) is really valid to support the otherwise arbitrary attribution of A 1 and A 2 to

[1] E, H and L break off imperfect. W is perfect, but I have not yet had an opportunity of collating it for A 2. See above, p. 143.

[2] E.g. *teche* for *kenne* (I, 79, 90, 127; II, 4; VI, 30; VIII, 120), *nekke* for *hals* (III, 174), *wikkede* for *liþer* (V, 217), and many other instances.

different authors, is this argument that A 1 uses *ben* only, whilst A 2 uses both *arn* and *ben*.

We have found this argument not only to be without support, but to be definitely opposed to the evidence of all 15 *MSS of A* 1, *and most particularly of the eight MSS which we have reason to think most reliable in this detail.*

(c) *'Ben' and 'arn' in B and C.*

In the B-additions *ben* and *arn* both occur in alliteration, *ben* a score of times:

Rather þan to baptise barnes · þat ben catekumelynges. (B. XI, 77[1].)

arn very rarely:

Astr[ono]myanes also · aren at her wittes ende. (B. XV, 363[2].)

In the C-additions alliteration often demands the forms *ben* (or *beþ*):

And buxumnesse and bost · ben euere more at wratthe. (C. XVII, 65[3].)

The cases where *arn* seems demanded are not conclusive, such as:

Adam was as tree · and we aren as his apples. (C. XIX, 68[4].)

This is not conclusive, because, even if *ben*, and not *arn*, were read, *apples* could carry the alliteration, though somewhat lamely. Nevertheless, the MS-evidence for the occasional use of *arn* in the C-text is so strong that I do not think anyone would dispute it, in spite of the weakness of the evidence from alliteration.

The evidence, then, shows that A 1, A 2, B and C all used the form *ben* and the form *arn*, but used *ben* much the more frequently.

(d) *'She' and 'heo' in A, B and C.*

In the A-text *heo* occurs frequently in alliteration:

And *h*ailside hire on þe *h*ei3e name · er *h*eo þennis 3ede. (A. I, 71.)
*H*olychirche I am, quaþ *h*eo · þou *au*3test me to knowe. (A. I, 73.)
I au3te ben *h*i3ere þanne *h*eo · for I com of a betere. (A. II, 21.)
*H*endely þanne *h*eo · be*h*i3te hem þe same. (A. III, 30.)
Axe þe *h*ei3e wey, quaþ *h*eo · from *h*ennis to suffre. (A. XI, 103.)

she occurs in alliteration once in the A-text [A 2]:

I *s*ay it be þo, quaþ *s*he · þat *s*hewen be here werkis. (A. XI, 13.)

[1] Cf. B. XI, 134, 191; XII, 195; XIII, 410, 440; XIV, 115 (222); XV, 40, 95, 308, 318, 336, 420; XVII, 104; XVIII, 133, 251, 276, 375; XIX, 340, 467; (XX, 260).
[2] Cf. perhaps B. XV, 478.
[3] Cf. C. IX, 266; X, 160, 194, 241; XII, 156; XIV, 29.
[4] Cf. too (even less conclusive) C. XIX, 62, 221.

In the B-text there are, as Dr Knott agrees, several instances of *heo* in alliteration[1], and again there is one of *she*:

But *s*othenesse wolde nou3t *s*o · for *s*he is a bastarde. (B. II, 24[2].)

If therefore we may treat the A-text as a unit, the alliteration alone suffices to prove that both *heo* and *she* were used both in A and B. And we ought to be allowed to treat A as a unit, because A 1 and A 2 both claim to be written by one man 'Will': they are asserted by a contemporary, John But, to be written by 'Will': and whatever may be the case with the B- and C-texts, the differences alleged between A 1 and A 2 are not of the kind upon which any argument for different authorship can be based. But Prof. Manly and Dr Knott insist upon the assumption that A 1 and A 2 are by different authors. As the *she* occurs in A 2, we are left without an instance of *she* in alliteration in A 1, and this is claimed as proof that A 1 is by an author different from B. But this is begging the question. The author of B used *she* in alliteration so rarely that only one instance occurs in the B-additions: it cannot reasonably be urged that A is a different man because we do not get instances of *she* both in A 2 and also in A 1, which both together are little more than half the length of the B-additions.

Yet the alliteration tests are of great importance, if taken in connection with, and used as checks upon, the MS-readings. Nine of our fifteen A-MSS (RUKWDIEH3Ab) give the *she*-form unanimously: but the fact that most of them occasionally use *he*, where the sense demands *she*, arouses a suspicion. This suspicion is confirmed by the fact that alliteration demands *heo* in several places where these nine MSS give *she*[3]. Their evidence is therefore invalidated. One MS (As) gives *3he*, but here again the alliteration is against it. Three MSS (VHL) give *heo* consistently. Two of them break off imperfect before we reach the place where we can test them. The only one we can test is V (Vernon), which is proved to be corrupting the text in XI, 13, giving *heo*, though the alliteration conclusively demands *she*—another proof of that dialectal inaccuracy of the Vernon text which has long been recognized. Two MSS only (TH2) give both *heo* and *she*: *heo* where alliteration demands it and *she* where alliteration demands it. These two MSS are then trustworthy, so far as *heo* and *she* are concerned. It is worth noting that they form a group which both Prof. Skeat (latterly),

[1] B. v, 633 is a not very certain example. In B. XVIII, 151, 169, though Laud 581 reads *she*, alliteration demands *heo*, which also has MS support.

[2] *s* and *sh* alliterate; cf. B. XI, 429.

[3] I have collations of W only to *Passus V*; but up to that point W has substituted *she* (where the alliteration demands *heo*) four times.

Dr Knott, Mr Grattan and myself have believed to give the best A-text. We arrived at this conclusion independently, and on grounds quite other than those of dialect.

The fact that thirteen of our fifteen MSS aim at the exclusive use of one form or other (whether *she, heo* or *ȝhe*) shows that these forms cannot have been used side by side to the same extent as *arn* and *ben*, with which, as we have seen, only a minority of the scribes seek to tamper.

To sum up, the evidence of the only MSS we can prove reliable (TH2) is that alike in A 1 and A 2 both *heo* and *she* were used. For A 2 this is confirmed by the alliteration; for A 1 the alliteration confirms *heo* only.

Now the London form is *she*[1]; sometimes *ȝhe* occurs in London documents, but never *heo*; and the A-text is much more intimately connected with London than with any other district. For although mere allusions to London as the capital, and Westminster as the headquarters of the king and the law, prove no more intimate knowledge of London than do the references to the Malvern Hills of Worcestershire, it is a different matter when we come to detailed allusions: references to Cock lane, a 'raker of Chepe,' Garlickhithe, and the Flemish women who haunted the town[2]. Such seem to imply that the author was writing primarily for a London public.

The use of *heo*, then, is noteworthy: the author also used the *she*-form, as an alternative, and obviously a man could not be conversant with London life without being familiar with this form of the pronoun. What is clear is that, whilst Chaucer and Gower use the *she*-form only, the writer of our first great London poem uses *heo*, a provincialism current in the South and West.

In the B-text we have seen that alliteration shows both *heo* and *she* to have been used. As in the A-text, the scribes show a tendency to substitute *she* for *heo*, but the best MSS preserve sufficient traces of the *heo* form[3].

Now the B-text is a London poem, to an even more marked degree than the A-text. A year is reckoned by the Lord Mayor's term of

[1] Lekebusch, *Die Londoner Urkundensprache*, 1430–1500 (*Morsbachs Studien*, XXIII), 1906, p. 105; and cf. Morsbach's *Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache*, 121, 123.

[2] Garlickhithe and the Flemish women are, however, found only in MSS VHAs of the A-text. It is arguable either (1) that they were omitted by accident from the other MSS or (2) that they are B-text insertions, which have got into some A-MSS by contamination.

[3] Laud 581; Rawl. Poet. 38; Trin. Coll. Camb., B. 15. 17; Brit. Mus. Add. 35287.

office[1]; the dearth of 1370 is described as a time when no bread came from Stratford [at Bow] to London[2], just as cheese comes from Essex[3]; allusion is made to London characters suspected of sorcery, 'the souter of Southwerke or of Shordyche dame Emme[4]': to throw a man into the water is to 'cast him into the Thames[5]': a needless act is 'as if one should carry water to the Thames[6]': and allusions to Tyburn as the place of hanging[7] and Paul's of preaching[8] seem to show the Londoner writing for Londoners.

It is remarkable then, that here again we have the provincial *heo*.

In the C-text we have the same phenomenon as in B, the *heo*-form preserved in the best MSS, in spite of a persistent tendency of the scribes of many MSS to substitute *she, sche*. In C. VII, 146–7,

> For *h*ue hadde *h*aly bred er ich · myn *h*erte began to chaunge
> *A*fterward *a*fter mete · *h*ue and ich chidde

the alliteration favours the *heo*-form.

Yet the C-text also is written from the London standpoint. The express statement that the dreamer lives in London is first found in the C-text, and thrice repeated:

> Ich haue liued in London · meny longe ȝeres. (C. XVII, 286.)
> Thus ich a-waked, God wot · whanne ich wonede on Cornehulle. (C. VI, 1.)
> And ich lyue in Londone · and on Londone bothe. (C. VI, 44.)

And the C-poet, like the B-poet, uses 'Thames' as synonymous with water.

The conclusion then is, that the writer in each case uses the provincialism *heo*, which we should not expect from a London writer of this date.

(e) *'Church' and 'kirk' in A, B and C.*

Another provincialism found alike in A, B and C is the use of *kirk* as an alternative to *church*. Here again the scribes show a marked tendency to remove this feature, but the alliteration demands it. It is not that the poet carelessly allowed *ch* to alliterate with *k*, for why should he allow *church* to alliterate thus at least 33 times, and not allow the same liberty to *charity, child*, or *chief*? Considering the laxity of alliteration in *Piers Plowman* it is astonishing how consistently the

[1] B. XIII, 271. [2] B. XIII, 267. [3] B. V, 93. [4] B. XIII, 340.
[5] B. XII, 161. [6] B. XV, 332. [7] B. XII, 190. [8] B. X, 73; XIII, 65.

k- or *ch*- sounds are kept distinct[1]. In the A-text *kirk* occurs at least five times:

Þe king and his kniȝtes · to þe kirke wenten. (A. v, 1[2].)

whilst *church* also occurs:

And ek as chast as a child · þat in chirche wepiþ. (A. i, 154[3].)

In the B-additions *kirk* occurs at least 14 times:

And I shal keure yowre kirke · yowre cloystre do maken. (B. iii, 60[4].)

whilst *church* also occurs frequently:

For in charnel at chirche · cherles ben yuel to knowe. (B. vi, 50[5].)

In the C-additions *kirk* occurs at least 14 times:

Countrepleide it nouȝt, quath Conscience · for holy kirkes sake. (C. i, 138[6].)

whilst *church* also occurs frequently:

Bote holy churche and charite · choppe adoun swich shryuers. (C. i, 64[7].)

The conclusion seems to be that A, B and C alike use a dialect of a rather eclectic type. There is nothing surprising in their all using both *ben* and *arn*: the scribes show no general objection to following this. But the scribes do object to the forms *heo* and *kirk*: we know that these were not the forms commonly in use among London writers at the end of the fourteenth century. These are provincialisms, and it would be rather remarkable if three successive writers, all writing (as it would seem) primarily for Londoners, should all use these same provincialisms. Anyway it is assuredly not the case that 'a careful study of the MSS' has shown 'that between A, B and C there exist dialectical differences incompatible with the supposition of a single author.'

Incidentally, we have secured tests which are useful in selecting the MSS upon which critical texts of A, B and C should be based. The excellence of the Trinity as opposed to the Vernon text of A is confirmed from a new point of view.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

[1] There is an apparent exception in the Vernon MS:

þat on cloþing is · from chele ow to saue. (A. i, 23.)

But the text is incorrect: the archetype must have read

þat on is vesture · fro chele þe to saue.

The scribes altered the verse in various ways in order to procure alliteration. V and H alone by altering 'vesture' to 'clothing' make *c* and *ch* alliterate. In B. x, 302, xi, 122, a *ch*-word occurs in the same line with two *c*-words: but the poet is so often satisfied with merely two alliterating words that we cannot be certain that in these cases he meant the *ch*-word to alliterate. [2] Cf. A. v, 86, 147; vii, 30, 84. [3] Cf. A. vii, 20.

[4] Also B. v, 269; x, 230, 410, 412, 473; xii, 84; xiii, 9; xv, 132, 508, 519; xix, 408, 464; xx, 119.

[5] Also B. xi, 112; xv, 528; xvi, 197; xvii, 290; xix, 469.

[6] Also C. iv, 359, 401; vi, 104, 180; ix, 53, 159; xii, 245; xv, 39; xvii, 256; xviii, 50, 77, 275; and cf. x, 9; xvi, 11.

[7] Also C. i, 87; iii, 140; xvii, 36, 296; xviii, 5, 125, 231, 288.

'THE TEXT OF "CLEANNESS."'

In the issue of the *Modern Language Review* for October 1918 Mr H. Bateson submitted 'a few emendations and renderings' which had occurred to him as possible solutions of difficulties in Morris's text of the M.E. poem of *Cleanness*. He points out that several of the difficulties had been disposed of by the *New English Dictionary*, but 'for many of them the Dictionary gives no help.'

I beg leave to submit the accompanying observations on Mr Bateson's notes.

3. *for*[*þ*]*ering* (MS. *forering*). It is noteworthy that *forþer* actually occurs in l. 304, though this appears to have escaped Mr Bateson—*forþer hit I þenk*.

30. The reading of the MS. is *auwhere*, and no change is necessary.

48. *neuer in talle ne in tuch*. Mr Bateson thinks that '*tuch* may be an earlier and more genuine form of the word which in Scotch appears as *toush* and *tosh*: a corruption, according to one view, of O.F. *courte houche*, a dialect variant of *courte houce*.' This explanation sent me searching for the Scots word, the meaning of which is not vouchsafed. I find it in Jamieson, and understand Mr Bateson's feelings of delicacy: *toush* is glossed as 'a woman's bed-gown'!

Of course 'tale and touch' is simply 'word and deed' (cp. Skeat's *Notes on English Etymology*, p. 290).

54. I much doubt *to-com*; the syntax of the line is no doubt this:

& in comly quoyntis to com to his feste,

e'en for coming to his feast in comely attire. The simple infinitive followed in the next line by '*&*' and '*to*' recalls *Pearl*, ll. 1072–3:

What schulde þe mone þer compas clym,
& to euen wyth þat worþly lyȝt

(where similarly the line has been emended to read *to-euen*).

106. *& de-nounced me noȝt*. Mr Bateson, taking *de-nounced* in its ordinary sense, interprets *noȝt* as adv. = wrongly, badly; 'though *naȝt* would be better spelling.'

de-nounced = proclaimed, and *noȝt* = not at all.

This use of *denounce* is familiar enough to readers of Wycliffite and other theological writers; it well translates the Vulgate *denuntiare*. The

poet says that those 'who have denied and have nowise proclaimed me, etc.'

148. *erigant* for *herigaut*; this error is duly recorded in *N.E.D.*, Stratmann-Bradley, etc.

201. *vn-soundely*. Mr Bateson misses the meaning of the word, which = dangerously, mortally. The sense is quite satisfactory,

> Nor ever so suddenly visited, to take vengeance fatally.

The proposed emendation would mar a fine line.

For the use of *vn-soundely*, cp.

> *& he vnsoundyly out soȝt segge3 ouer-þwert.* *Gaw.* 1438.
> *Vnsounde he hym feches.* *Patience*, 58.

208. *areward*. Mr Bateson states that *N.E.D.* conjectures this as = afterwards. Of course *areward* = a reward, i.e. a return or recompense made for some favour, and is so rendered by *N.E.D.*; cp. *reward*, II, 4. Years ago this obvious interpretation has been pointed out.

214. *dere*; rightly in the sense of 'severe,' as glossed by *N.E.D.*

215. *met3*. I submit that this is the poet's word, and that it is not a scribal error for *meth* (or *meþe*), as is suggested. It may well = *mes*, in accordance with many similar spellings, a noun from *mesen* = (*a*)*mesen*, O.F. *amesir*, to mitigate; cp.

> *Wylt þou mese þy mode.* l. 764.
> *Þat in his mylde amesyng he mercy may fynde.* *Patience*, l. 400.

The alleged parallel in l. 1153, *ty3t*, is not, to my mind, a case in point; it is simply M.E. *ti3ten*, to prepare, arrange; and may stand, without any change, though possibly confused with O.E. *tīðian*, to grant. Anyhow, the former word is fairly common in the *Alliterative Poems*, and, as regards the *N.E.D.*, while it proposes to change the word to *tith* under *toom*, it keeps and explains *ty3t* in this passage under *tight*.

222. *Sweued*, so the MS. The first letter is blurred, but it can still be read. The change to *sweyed* does not commend itself. The word means 'whirled in a vortex,' cp. Norw. *sveiva*, to swing. A variant form is found in *Patience*, l. 253; the whale '*swayues to þe se-boþem*.'

224–5. I do not see how *er...ne* = than, as Mr Bateson proposes. It would be difficult to construe the lines with this sense of the words. The negative can be explained otherwise, as an idiom due to a simple confusion of two constructions; so, too, in ll. 1205–6.

Mr Bateson refers to *þat...ne* = than, in a subordinate clause after a preceding negative; and, referring to *Patience*, l. 231, notes that I had not glossed this *ne* in my edition of the poem. The fact is that I care-

fully construed the passage in a special note, rendering the idiom by 'than.' The use of *þat* = than, is fairly common, and the negative presented, to my mind, no particular difficulty. Mr Bateson adds, 'we may adduce a passage from Caxton's *Chronicles*,' etc. The passage quoted is that given in *N.E.D.* under *ne*, 2 *a*, to illustrate this very use of the negative.

230. Mr Bateson is puzzled as to the meaning of *wrathed*, and suggests a possible (though unrecorded) *wrathe*, in the sense of *repent*. This is most doubtful. Probably the poet wrote:

& ȝet wr[o]th not þe wyȝ,

i.e. and yet the creature (i.e. Satan) turned not. The scribe has written *wrathed* for *wroth*.

257–61. *forme-foster*. The misinterpretation of this word has been answerable for sundry forced explanations of the passage. It means 'first progeny,' not 'first father' (i.e. Adam).

> For they were the first progeny that the earth produced,
> The sons of the noble ancestor that was called Adam,
> To whom God had given all that might profit him,
> All bliss without harm, that body might have;
> And those were likest to him that lived next after;

N.E.D. rightly glosses *forme-foster* (*v. foster*).

Mr Bateson's rendering is altogether impossible: 'For it was the first father (Adam) that begat on the earth the sons of the noble ancestor called Adam, to whom God had given all the pure pleasures (which) that man (Adam), and those likest unto him (Adam) who lived after, could have.'

313. *& alle þe endentur dryuen*. Mr Bateson's '(With clay), well spread over, daub the crevices' misses the point. The line means, 'and when all the joints are well fixed, paint the outside.' *driuen* suggests the use of the hammer—nails 'driven home.'

341. Mr Bateson's statement that 'as *g* is the alliterating letter here and in l. 611, etc., we should read *god-man* or *God-man*' shows an imperfect acquaintance with the canons of alliterative verse. There are many similar lines where hyphens are not possible. It is quite the usual practice for the adjective (rather than the noun) to alliterate.

379. MS. *bonk*, possibly for *bonkes*. It is noteworthy that in *Patience*, l. 343, similarly *bonk* is used with a plural verb.

411. *aȝt-sum*. It is of interest that *N.E.D.*, in quoting this passage, under *eightsome*, gives (from *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1843) 'eightsome-reel' (a kind of dance in which eight persons take part): 'The eightsome reel of the heptarchy became the pas-seul of the kingdom of England.'

It is noteworthy that the MS. has a vivid illustration of the ark and those a-board, but by a curious error only seven persons are depicted, viz. Noah and his wife, three sons and two of their wives. I think it is possible to trace the space left for the eighth figure.

431–4. I interpret these difficult lines as follows:

> That was rough for the remnant that the rack drives,
> So that all the species, thus lodged, were mixed up pell-mell within.

I differ from Mr Bateson in taking *remnaunt* for the survivors, and not for the ark; also in taking *that watȝ roȝly* with the dative; and further in rendering *ioyned* literally. The humour of the passage has been missed, I think, by those who have attempted to explain the lines.

For the sense of the passage, cp.

> *So þe wedour & þe wynd on þe water metyn*
> *Þat alle hurtled on an hepe þat þe helm ȝemyd.*
>
> *Sege of Jerusalem*, 59, 60.

456. *corbyal vn-trwe.* I very much doubt the form *corbyal*; the poet uses the correct *corbel*, *Gaw.* 1355. Perhaps the right solution of the problem is to read, 'corby al vn-trwe.'

550. I omit *ne*, proposed by Morris; but my interpretation of the lines is altogether different from what is proposed by Mr Bateson; the rhythm of the passage, as well as the meaning, is obscured, in my judgment, by his punctuation. The poet does not say 'If he, that endures (to be) unclean, be soiled by some sin, etc.,' but the lesson is as follows:

> For no man under the sun is goodly enough in works,
> If he be soiled by sin that fits him uncleanly;
> One speck of a spot may speed to deprive one
> Of the sight of the Sovereign that sitteth on high.

Cp. ll. 1809–10:

> *Ande clannes is his comfort, & coyntyse he louyes,*
> *& þose þat seme arn & swete schyn se his face.*

This use of 'sit' is of course very common in Chaucer; cp. *yvel it sit*, it is unbecoming; *it sat me sore*, it was painful for me.

553. *For þat schewe me schale. Me* is probably the ethic dative, and not the direct object; 'for that shall be visible, in respect of me, etc.'

599. *He may not dryȝe to draw alyt* (MS. *allyt*). Mr Bateson, commenting on this line, thinks 'there is little difference in meaning between *drawe* and *dryȝe*,' and translates 'He may not suffer (Himself) to endure (deeds of shame) at all (a little).' The line should be interpreted 'He cannot bear to hesitate at all, etc.'; cp. *And þere he draȝeȝ*

hym on-dryȝe, Gaw. 1031. The MS. reading *allyt* is intentional. It differentiates the adverbial *a lite*, i.e. *on lite*, from *a lite* = a few, and it is noteworthy that the adverbial form is often given as one word.

629. *cob-hous.* There is no reason to interpret *cob* as cattle-shed. The MS. reads *cov-hous*, i.e. *cou-hous*, cow-house.

630. *tyrne.* It is agreed that the MS. should be read here, as in so many other places in M.E., as *tyrue*; a reference to Professor Skeat's observations on this problem is desirable. He carefully discussed the matter, referring to this and other passages; cp. *Chaucer*, Vol. VI, p. 258; *Havelok*, l. 603, etc.

765. Mr Bateson quotes from Morris as reading:

'I graunt,' quod þe grete God, 'graunt mercy þat oþer';

but this was corrected by Morris (in the second edition) to the obvious rendering:

'I graunt,' quod þe grete God, 'graunt mercy,' þat oþer;

though he evidently forgot to make the correction in the Glossary.

795. *Watȝ non autly in ouþer, for aungels hit wern.* Mr Bateson translates 'There was none in either of them describable (capable of estimation),' taking *autly* = like anything known. But the right reading of the MS. is *aucly*, i.e. awkward, awry—'there was nothing amiss in either of them, for they were angels.' *N.E.D.* gives *awkly* as adjective with two quotations, one from the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, circa 950, and the other from Archbishop Parker's rendering of the Psalms, 1556.

820. *sour.* *N.E.D.* gives this correctly under *sour*, as noun, quoting this passage.

846. *ȝestande sorȝe.* This clearly must stand in the sense of yeasty filth. The form *sorȝe* is anomalous in this sense, but it is remarkable that the same form occurs in *Patience*, l. 275. I am now inclined to think that it would be a mistake to tamper with the word and read *sore* or *sour*; O.N. *saurr*, dirt. It is rather due to adaptation from O.N. *saurgan*, defilement, or perhaps the O.N. adj. *saurigr*, filthy, dirty: cp. *sory* in *N.E.D.*

848. *Of þe brych þat vp-braydeȝ þose broþelych wordeȝ.* This is perhaps one of the most puzzling lines in *Cleanness*. Mr Bateson's proposal that the word *brych* 'might be referred to an obsolete French *briche* = a shameful situation' in no way helps the matter forward, nor does he offer any explanation of the meaning of the line. I submit that the editorial hyphen in *vp-braydeȝ* should be omitted, and the words interpreted literally in the sense of 'hurl up, throw up,' with *brych* in

the sense of 'vomit.' The recorded senses of O.E. *bryce*, a breaking or violation, do not illustrate this meaning; but cp. O.E. *brǣc*, a breaking, flowing, rheum. Our poet in *Patience*, l. 340, says of the whale that 'he brakeȝ vp' Jonah. The idiom used here with *vp* helps us to understand *vp braydez* in the present passage, which seems to mean 'the spew that those wild words cast up,' reminding one of Spenser's lines,—

> Therewith she spewd out of her filthy maw
> A floud of poyson horrible and black.
>
> *F. Q.* I, i, st. 20.

935. *as tyt.* Mr Bateson states that by a hyphen Morris has mutilated the meaning; but *as tyt* (as two words) is the reading of his revised text, though he failed to correct the entry in the Glossary. *As tyt* I take to mean 'as mere tittle-tattle'; and it is well to differentiate *tit* in the sense of a trifle or a morsel, comparing Icel. *tittr*, a small bird, from its sense of tittle-tattle. Probably there is a confluence of two words, the one of English origin and the other Scandinavian. The origin of *tit*, in the sense of prattle, comes from the base *titi*, expressive of the sound of talking, the frequentative being seen in *tittle* and a variant in *tattle*. Cp. M.E. *titereres* = tattlers. *Tit*, small, seems of Scandinavian origin. It is common on the part of lexicographers to confuse, as Mr Bateson has done, these two words. It is possible that they are radically connected.

956. *swe.* Mr Bateson proposes *swe*[*d*] or *swe*[*led*]. *swe* = *sweȝ*, cp. *swey*, *Patience*, 429; the past tense of *swoȝen*, to sough (as the wind); i.e. it soughed.

1038. *spumande.* It is only right to notice that although Dr Morris did in the margin suggest (with a query) *spinnande*, in the text he printed *spuniande*, and in the Glossary to *Specimens of Early English*, 1889, *spumande* was suggested; it is this form which is given, with the quotation from this passage, in *N.E.D.*

1075. *Watȝ neuer so blysful a bour as watȝ a bos þenne.* Mr Bateson states that Morris regarded *abos* as an error for *abof*, and proceeds to explain that we need have no diffidence in accepting the form *bos*, Eng. Dial. *boose*, a cow-stall. Since at least 1892 this passage has been regarded by M.E. students as the classical citation for the interesting old English word still current, boose or boosy. A discussion of this passage is included in a paper by Professor Skeat of that year, which is reprinted in his *Notes on English Etymology*, and in the *English Dialect Dictionary* this line from *Cleanness* is quoted to illustrate the M.E. use of the word. Professor Skeat (and I note Mr Bateson also) states that

the first instance of this word recorded in *N.E.D.* is in *Prompt. Parv.* It is of interest to point out that this word may perhaps actually be found a second time in this very poem, but in a concealed form; the scribe in l. 322, has, I think, written *boskeȝ* (= bushes) where he should have written *boskinez*, i.e. the divisions of a cow-house which separate the animals from each other; see *E.D.D.* under *boskin*. The word does not find a place in *N.E.D.*, but it may well have existed in M.E. as a sort of diminutive of *boose*, though M.E. words in *-kin* are rare; Langland uses *fauntekin* (a little child). In the modern dialects the word *boskin* belongs to the northern districts.

boskes may be a scribal error for *boskēs*, i.e. boske*n*s = boskins.

1124. *ȝet þe perle payres not whyle ho in pyese lasttes.* Mr Bateson notes that Pliny 'states that no fall can break the gem. It is unlikely therefore that *in pyese* means "entire."' Apart from all questions of philology, it is difficult to understand the inference. *In pyese* is a variant of the M.E. *o pece*, used as a mere emphasis of 'still, yet.' It is this phrase which is the peculiar characteristic of the M.E. romance of *Generydes*, where there are 24 examples (see *N.E.D.* under *still*). No example is recorded of *in pece*, but I have little doubt that this explanation elucidates the present passage. *In pyese* probably = the O.F. *en paix* (*N.E.D.* places *o pece* under *peace* and *piece*). The line means that the pearl does not deteriorate as long as it lasts. I quote one line from *Generydes* to illustrate this idiomatic use of *on, of, o pece*: *Now was the batell dureng still opece*, l. 2766.

1234. There can be no doubt, from the parallel instances of *tiruyt* in M.E. (see *N.E.D.* under *tirve*), that *N.E.D.* is correct in referring *tuyred* to this word, in the sense of 'overturned.' The scribe has evidently written *tuyred* instead of *tyrued*. The obsolete Scotch *toir* that Mr Bateson quotes from the *New Intern. Dict.* could not be the *tuyred* of our text, though, strange to say, the emended form *tyrued* (= *tyrved*) may better be associated with *toir*, which hardly means 'to beat down,' but 'to strip naked,' *tirr* being the reduced form of *tirve* in this sense. But *tyrued* must be rightly referred to the other M.E. verb *tirve*, to overturn. O.E. **tierfan*, cp. O.E. *tearflian*. Cp. *N.E.D.* under *tirr, tirve*; see also my remarks on l. 630.

1358. *A-vayment*, for MS. *a vayment*, is probably correct, as given by Dr Morris in his Glossary. *On* may possibly be an error for *an*, though in the *Alliterative Poems on* is sometimes used for the indefinite article. *Vouche* is a difficult and rare word in M.E.; the poet may be using it here in the sense of 'vouchsafe,' to design or condescend to give.

1385. *þe place, þat plyed þe pursaunt wyth-inne.* Mr Bateson suggests that *pursaynt* would be a better spelling than *pursaunt*; but *pursaunt=pursant*, with nasalized *a=pursent=purcent=purceynt.* The spelling is, I think, intentional, and may be compared with *poursent*, *Pearl*, 1034 (cp. *N.E.D.* under *purcinct*). The proposed rendering of the line, 'The place which the precinct (i.e. bounding line) enclosed,' is, in my opinion, erroneous. I take it to be 'the place that extended itself within the precinct'; cp.

> *Vch pane of þat place had þre ȝates,*
> *So twelue in poursent I con asspye.*
>
> *Pearl*, 1034–5.

1393. *to vsched*: so Morris gives the MS. reading, and suggests that it may be an error for *tovsched* = touched. Mr Bateson suggests *to vsched = to isched*, in the sense of 'come to an ish.' But even if there were not other objections to this proposal, the alliteration of the line on the letter *t* would be against it, as this prefix does not alliterate.

As a matter of fact, Morris mis-read the MS., the *to* is not separated from the other part of the word, and what he read as *vs* is *w*; the scribe wrote *towched* (i.e. touched), the regular spelling of the word in the MS.

1410. *foler.* This form of the MS. should, I think, remain unaltered. The proposed change to *felor* or *felour*, though *felour* and *feylour*, as *N.E.D.* points out, both occur in the *Wars of Alexander*, makes two changes in the word, and with *N.E.D.*, I think the form in the text should be left. It can readily be explained. I would like to add that *foler* and *felour* should be differentiated in meaning. *N.E.D.* gives them under the common meaning of 'foliage,' but whereas the latter means 'foliage' in the ordinary sense, the former is used as the later *folery*, Scottish *fullyery*, in the sense of ornamentation resembling foliage.

1414. *tulket = tukket*: cp. *fordolked = fordokked*; *Pearl*, l. 11.

1463. *pyȝt þer apert.* It is difficult to see why Mr Bateson should prefer to gloss this word as 'skilfully' (O.F. *aperti*), when the simple and common use in M.E. of *apert* from O.F. *apert*, open to view, suits the sense so well. If the sense 'skilful' were to be understood in this passage, *apert = espert* (= *expert*) would be a better form to explain the M.E. than *aperti*; cp. *N.E.D. apert.*

1469. *sardiners.* The form with *r* may be due to a scribal erroneous repetition of the *r* in the previous word, *safyres.* The poet probably wrote *sardines* as *N.E.D.* suggests under the word *sardine.*

1470. *alabaunderynes.* This is the reading, as given by Dr Morris. As I read the MS. the word is *alabaundarynes*, which would be an interesting form, if genuine, seeing that the alabandine, or almandine, takes its name from Alabanda, a city of Caria. But the form is probably due to the variants found in Maundeville, and more especially in the French MSS. *N.E.D.* quotes the word in the present passage, as *alabaunderrynes*, without explanation, and so does Mr Bateson.

The form *amaraunȝ*, though anomalous, can hardly be a scribal error. It represents *amaraunts*, i.e. *amaraunds* = *amaraudes*, or *emeraudes*, with intrusive *n*, a form found in M.E. A parallel form is M.E. *bliaunt*, a tunic, side by side with *bliaut*.

As regards *amaffised*, I cannot agree with Mr Bateson that this seems due to a scribe copying from dictation; for if the word is a corrupt form of the modern English 'amethyst,' it is not a case of *ff* for *th*, seeing that the M.E. form is *amatist*, O.F. *amatiste*. I am convinced that the word is a scribal error for *amattised* = amethystine.

1472. *Penitotes.* The form of *peritot* as given in the MS., and by Dr Morris, and accepted by *N.E.D.* is, I venture to think, the form intended by the poet, though there is no trace of it in O.F. Mr Bateson proposes to change to *peritotes*, and wrongly so, I think, though Dr Morris in his note makes the same proposal. *Pen(n)y-* for *perry-* is a characteristic English modification; cp. *penny-royal*, for Anglo-Fr. *puliol-real*, *pennywinkle* for *periwinkle*, and the like. I should similarly hesitate before changing the MS. reading *pynkardines* into *pyrkarndines*.

1483. I much doubt the proposed expansion of the line,—

Of mony kyndes [*colored*], *of fele-kyn hues;*

probably the poet wrote, *Of mony* [*cler*] *kyndes*, etc. He certainly would not have repeated the idea of colour twice in the same line. He first deals with the many species, and then with their varied hues.

1514. *in þat ryche rok.* Though I agree that the word in this passage, as glossed by Dr Morris, means 'crowd,' and has the same sense as 'ruck' applied to an undistinguished crowd, I do not agree with Mr Bateson that it is identical with this word, nor is it correct to state that the word in this sense is not recorded until the sixteenth century. As a matter of fact, it occurs in the alliterative *Destruction of Troy*, ll. 7149, 50, in a very striking passage, where it is stated that the Greeks, while they buried the greatest of estate after a battle in their best manner,

All the Remnond and Roke radly þai broght,
And brent vp the bodies vnto bare askis—

that is, the rest and the unconsidered crowd they burnt. By a strange error *N.E.D.* gives the quotation under the sense of 'a heap or stack of fuel.'

No doubt *þat ryche rok* in our text is applied to the rich crowd of liveried servants. *Rok* and *ruck* are evidently Scandinavian words, though variants; for our word cp. O.N. *hroki*, the heap above the brim of a full vessel; *hroka*, to fill a vessel above the brim; for the latter, Norw. *ruka*. It is not likely that in the two texts *o* is a mere symbol for *u*. It is only fair to add that the editors of the *Destruction of Troy* glossed *roke* as 'common soldiers, waifs.'

1517–20. The problems in these lines make it necessary to take them together, as they form one connected thought. I propose to read as follows, indicating in brackets the words which I think have been omitted by the scribe :

Þen þe dotel on dece drank þat he myȝt,
& þenne [þat derrest] arn dressed, dukeȝ & prynces,
Concubines & knyȝtes, bi cause of þat merthe,
As vchon hade hym in helde he haled of þe cuppe.

The interpretation of the passage depends on recognizing that the ceremony of wassail-drinking is being described. In l. 1508 the king had called Wassail. The wassail cup has been handed to him by his cup-bearer, full to the brim. His guests may be supposed, in old English fashion, to have shouted to him Drink-hail! whereupon he drained the cup (*drank þat he myȝt*), that is, drank with all the might that he might. Thereupon the wassail-cup, in honour of this special festivity (*bi cause of þat merthe*) was filled for each of the special guests in turn, the princes, dukes, etc. who had special places of honour at the high table ([*þat derrest*] *arn dressed*). They, each in due course, drained the wassail-cup (*haled of þe cuppe*) as the wassail was poured in for each of them (*as vchon hade hym in helde*). This draining of the cup was in accordance with the right procedure, and gives, I think, the right force of the words *haled of* = drank off. *N.E.D.* quotes under *drink-hail*: 'More Saxonico salutavit, et ait: Wassayl...Rex dedit responsum: Drink-hayle, et monachus læto vultu *ciphum hausit*,' *Eulog. Hist.* III, v, cxxv, 110 (1350–70).

1543. *ryth*. The form may be correct, and should not be changed. Cp. Germ. *rind*, Goth. **rinþis*. Sweet, *Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon*, gives *hrīþ-fald*, cattle-pen.

1584. Mr Bateson's proposal to improve the spelling of *heȝed* by reading *hyȝed* is evidently due to a misunderstanding of the word. *Heȝed* = shouted, called aloud, not 'hied' (i.e. hastened).

1634. *þe tede lettres.* Mr Bateson asks, 'why not refer the word to O.E. *tēon*, to display?' The answer to this question is that the word translates the Vulgate *ligata.*

1686. *ouer-syȝed* is suggested by Mr Bateson as a better spelling than MS. *ouer-seyed*; similarly he would spell *siȝed* for *seyed* in l. 353. The word is of course the O.E. weak verb *sǣgan*, M.E. *seȝen.*

1697. *pauue.* The MS. reading is quite correct; there is no need to change into *paume*, as suggested. The word is obviously 'paw' in the sense of 'claw.' *Paume* would be singularly inappropriate in this passage, seeing that it is the word used by the poet in the critical point of this episode for the palm that traced the handwriting on the wall.

1747. Mr Bateson states that the MS. has:

þe comynes alof called...,

and maintains that 'we must read *a lof called*, i.e. shouted acclamation.'

The MS. reads *alof calde*, i.e. all of Chaldea.

1776. The MS. reading *scaþed* is probably a scribal error for *scayed*, the *þ* and *y* being easily confused. The right reading is, I submit, *scayled*, not *scaled*, as Mr Bateson suggests. The quotation from *Morte Arthur*, '*skayles þe walles*,' supports this emendation.

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A HITHERTO UNCOLLATED VERSION OF SURREY'S TRANSLATION OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE 'ÆNEID.'

I.

INTRODUCTION.

For some time it has been known that the text of Surrey's blank verse translations presented peculiar problems, though the detailed examination of the subject has attracted German scholars only. The existence of three versions of the text of the fourth book was common knowledge, but of these three, one, and that as will be seen, the oldest, remained inaccessible to these scholars in a private library. A complete collation was therefore impossible, and the conclusions arrived at necessarily imperfect. The question of the text has a more than bibliographical interest, since it has also a bearing upon the early history of blank verse and, indeed, upon the larger process of the re-establishment in modern English of the 10-syllabled iambic line. For Surrey's Virgilian translations have the historical importance of marking the first appearance in our language of what has become, more than any other, our national metre. The connecting links between this epic experiment and the flourishing blank verse of the Elizabethan theatre, may be difficult, perhaps impossible, to trace. The results of an attempt to trace them might be, indeed, to diminish this historical importance, at least as regards influence on succeeding literature. Even so, the fact remains that in Surrey's experiment we have the only epic, almost the only narrative, blank verse produced before Milton's *Paradise Lost*[1]. Moreover, it is not only 'epic' in the sense that it is used to render portions of a classical poem of this nature. Like Milton's it can be styled 'Heroick verse without rime' in more than the technical sense.

[1] Some of Turbervile's *Tragical Tales* are in blank verse, and there were a few other experimenters, but the attempt to acclimatise the narrative form never succeeded. It was, in fact, forgotten. Milton acknowledged no predecessor, and the readers of *Paradise Lost* were, the printer tells us, 'stumbled as to why the poem rimed not' in spite of the fact that blank verse had been established as the staple form of the drama for nearly a century. This shows the complete separation between the epic and dramatic tradition.

It is full of imperfections, of halting rhythm and syntax, exaggerated in the corrupt forms in which the text has been preserved to us, but it moves with a very austere dignity unlike anything to be met with in the rich, many-sided work of the later English Renaissance. Alone, of all sixteenth and early seventeenth century translations of the *Æneid*, Surrey's may claim to have represented some aspects of Virgil's classic quality in English speech. For this reason, also, the translation has its own interest for the student of those courtly makers from whom the history of modern English poetry is usually dated.

Surrey's translation of *Æneid II* is extant in one form only—that of Tottel's *Certain Bokes of Virgils Æneis* published in 1557, containing the text of II and IV. Book IV is extant in two other versions—an undated and hitherto uncollated quarto edition printed by John Day, and the MS. Hargrave 205 in the British Museum. For convenience these texts will be referred to in this study as T. (Tottel), D. (Day) and H. (Hargrave).

Up to the present T. is the only text which has been reprinted (by William Bolland for the Roxburghe Club 1815). Re-punctuated, with modernised spelling and several corrections, it forms the basis of Nott's edition of the works of Wyatt and Surrey, 1815, and of the Aldine edition in general use at the present day. Statements and theories about Surrey's style in histories of literature, and still more, about his metre in histories of prosody, are based upon T., sometimes even upon the modernised Aldine text. It will sometimes happen that lines picked out to illustrate this or that point made by the critic (as in Schipper's *Englische Metrik* and Schröer's 'Anfänge des Blankverses in England,' *Anglia* IV) will occur in that form in T. only. Such a reading could not be accepted as Surrey's, unless it were determined that T. in general had Surrey's authority even in the face of the unanimity of D. and H. Even so, these latter texts do not forfeit their claim to consideration, for there is *proof* (which unfortunately does not exist for T.) that their common readings give us what Surrey at one time wrote. It would only be as a revised text that T. could maintain itself against them. It may be stated here that a certain amount of evidence exists for author's revision in T.—evidence which will be more fully discussed later. The comparison of what seem, therefore, to be earlier and later versions, should raise questions of literary development, which, the high poetic quality of much of the work being considered, are of interest for the student, even for the mere lover, of poetry.

Very little is known about the conditions of publication or preserva-

tion of the three versions. Even the date[1], in two cases out of the three, has to be conjectured from internal and external evidence. The first is undoubtedly D. Until now the title-page and the object of the dedication (Thomas, Duke of Norfolk) are all that have been known about it. It forms part of the collection of unique books in the library of Mr Christie Millar, Britwell Court, Burnham Beeches, by whose courtesy the writer was enabled to compare it with T. It has also been roto-graphed by Mr Esdaile of the British Museum, but the roto-graphs are at present, unfortunately, in Germany. Owing to the War, the library has been closed for some time, and the book has become once more inaccessible, until pre-War conditions again prevail. It is a quarto volume in the ordinary black-letter of the mid-sixteenth century, which does not, even at first sight, give the impression of very finished, careful work. The title-page declares it to be:

> *The Fourth Boke of Virgill, intreating of the love betwene Æneas and Dido, translated into English and drawne into a strange metre by Henrye, late Earle of Surreye, worthy to be embrased.*
>
> Imprinted at London by John Day for William Owen dwellyng in Paternoster Rowe at the sygne of the cock.

There is no date, but the dedication that follows allows the book to be dated with a fair amount of certainty. For other reasons this dedication is exceedingly important; it is here given, therefore, practically *in extenso*:

To the most puissant prince, Thomas, Duke of Norfolke, Wylliam Owen, hys most humble oratour wysheth perpetual helthe and felicitie.

When it chaunced a copye of thys part of Virgill, traunslated by your graces father (right honorable lord) by the meanes of a frend of myne to come to my handes; I had not only held ye same as no small treasure because I had heard of it lyke as others the monuments of that noble wyt of hys.....but also my desyre was great at one tyme or other, yf by a meanes convenient I myght publyshe the same: and that the rather because I coulde understande of no man that had a copye thereof, but he was more wylling the same should be kepte as a private treasure in the handes of a few, then publyshed to the common profyt and delectacion of many. But so much as my copye, although it were taken of one wrytten with the authors owne hande, was not yet so certaine that it might be thoughte of ytself suffycient to be publyshed, partly for that the writer had not tyme sufficient to the due

[1] That is, the date of extant forms—printed and in MS. The *order* of composition, the division into earlier and later versions, as suggested above, can only be attempted after a minute scrutiny of the internal evidence. Concerning the date of *composition* there is no evidence at all. Surrey's life was a short one. The two books must have been written between 1534 (the year of the publication of Liburnio's translation of *Æn. IV* into *versi sciolti*, which initiated the series of such translations) and 1547. The general tendency is to regard the *Certain Bokes* as later than the lyrical work, because more serious and sustained, but the close dependence on Gavin Douglas's earlier version, the syntactical and metrical uncertainty, might be taken as evidence of immaturity.

examinacion thereof, after it was written, and also because the redyng of the authors copye itself, by reason of the spedy writing thereof, was somewhat doutful: for these causes gettyng two other copyes also, wrytten out by other men, I caused myne to be conferred with them bothe, and of theym yt to be received as most worthye to be allowed, whiche was both to the Latyn most agreable and also best standing with the dignity of that kynde of metre.

And this my doying I trust no honest man shall be able to reprove, but rather it shall be an occasion to such as favour the monumentes of so noble a wyt, yf they have a better copye to publyshe the same. As for the unthankful I passe not how much they repine at my dede, so that I may understande your grace to take in goode part my goode wyll herein; whyche if you do (as I nothyng dout of your graces goodnesse) yt shall no little encourage me hereafter to bryng other hys workes to light as they shall come to my handes. Thus beseching our Lord God to continue your grace in welth and increse of virtue, I wyshe you hartily wel to fare.

After a brief argument of the story in ordinary prose of the period, of rather more lucid construction than the specially laboured preface, there follows the text of the fourth book only, which text differs from Tottel's not only in a large number of important readings, besides an even larger number of misprints, corruptions and minor variations, but in having several untranslated Latin lines left in the text.

The date of this publication has been assigned to various years by several critics and historians of literature who have never seen the book. These dates vary from the years immediately succeeding Surrey's death (1547) to the period *after* Tottel (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). The title-page makes it clear that the publication was posthumous. The dedication makes it also clear that Owen was the first in the field, that nothing of Surrey's had as yet been published. The post-Tottel date is, therefore, clearly impossible. The favourite dates with the more modern scholars who have given any thought to the subject at all, are 1553 and 1554. Both these years fall in the obscure period of Day's life during which he was formerly supposed to have gone abroad after the accession of Mary in 1553. In part this supposition is now known to be erroneous[1]. His career as a printer falls into two well marked halves. In his early period up to 1553–4 his work was very ordinary journeyman printing, not remarkable for workmanship and finish. After the accession of Elizabeth he became one of the most outstanding of the English printers. Not only did he carry on work on a much larger scale, but the quality of the work produced from his presses underwent a marked improvement, due to the employment of foreign refugees. Were there no other evidence of date, it would be clear that the *Fourth Boke of the Æneid* belongs to the earlier period.

Finally, the dedication to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, narrows the

[1] Cf. E. Gordon Duff, *Century of Printing*, p. 58. An entry in a contemporary diary states that in 1554 Day was brought out of Norfolk to the Tower for printing 'noythy bookes.' It seems quite clear that after 1554 he did not begin printing again until 1557.

field still further. The importance of this in fixing the date has already been pointed out by Dr Imelmann[1], who, while in doubt as to which Duke is involved, shows that, if the book is addressed to Surrey's father, it must date from the end of 1553 or the beginning of 1554, since the old Duke was not released from the Tower until 1553 (after Mary's accession) and died in August 1554. But if it is the grandson of the former Duke Thomas who is addressed, then the book dates from the end of 1554, as (so argues Dr Imelmann) it was known to Phaer who began his translation in 1555[2]. A glance at the opening sentences of the dedication shows which of these hypotheses is correct. It is Surrey's *son* to whom Owen wishes 'perpetual helthe and felicitie'. August 1554 is therefore the upward limit. Whether the book were used by Phaer or not, the fact that nothing, so far as is known, issued from Day's press in 1555 and 1556, practically fixes a downward limit. The end of 1554 seems therefore the all-but certain date. If in that year Day (like so many other printers) get himself into trouble for printing alleged heretical books, he and his employers would have additional reason for propitiating the head of the Catholic house of Howard.

Tottel's edition is clearly dated 1557. This printer's chief importance to students of English literature lies in his connexion with the Surrey circle and their immediate successors. In the same year he issued his famous *Miscellany*. Not much is known about him. Since 1552 he had held the monopoly for the printing of law-books. In 1579 and again in 1584 he was master of the Stationers' Company. His small quarto, which contains Surrey's translation of *Æn. II* as well as *IV*, is a workmanlike little volume, adorned with a wood-cut portrait of the author, but unfortunately, devoid of a word of preface or dedication which could afford any clue as to the nature of his MS. authority.

The title-page is as follows:

Certain Bokes of Virgiles
Æneis turned into English meter
by the right honorable lorde
Henry, Earle of
Surrey.

Apud Ricardum Tottel
Cum privilegio ad impri
mendum solum.
1557.

[1] 'Anfänge des Blankverses' by Rudolf Imelmann, *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XLI, 1905.
[2] See last section of this Introduction.

At the end of the book the date is more precisely given in the usual formula:

Imprinted at London in flete
strete within Temple Barre at the
sygne of the hand and starre
by Richard Tottel.
The xxi day of June
An. 1557.

There remains the MS.—Hargrave 205. This is a large folio in a modern cover which announces it to be a 'Poetical Commonplace Book by Henry, Earl of Surrey.' This claim is quite unfounded. The book contains:

(1) P. Virgilii Maronis Æneidos Liber quartus. Britannico Sermoni Donatus per Comitem S.

(2) The Tragedy of Gismund of Salearne.

First, the play; then, three 'sonetts to the Quene's maides'; last of all, the argument and the dramatis personae.

(3) 'A dictionary of Poetical Epithets' (Hargrave Catalogue).

The hand in which Surrey's fourth Book is written is small and not now easily legible. In its regularity and neatness it is clearly that of the professional copyist or scrivener. There are a few alterations, most of which are obviously corrections of involuntary slips, e.g.: '& wrythed his hedd (*deleted*) looke towarde the royall walls.' At the beginning of the book there are some marginal annotations, e.g. opposite a speech of Dido's, 'The talke of a Lover,' etc.

The *same hand* has written out the 'Tragedy of Gismund of Salearne,' not printed until 1591, but produced in 1568 'before her Majestie by the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court.' The MS., therefore, is not contemporary with Surrey, since the play is certainly early Elizabethan work and there is no appearance of the lapse of any time between the copying out of the two poems. Only the last half of the book, after the completion of 'Gismund of Salearne,' partakes of the nature of a commonplace book. The transition to this portion is made by one or two pages on which the same copyist has written out, in ink which has now become very faint, a fragment of another poem, and a number of scattered poetical phrases, e.g., the various methods of addressing one's mistress—'my dere harte,' 'my swete quene,' etc. Apparently, the same hand has written out some at least of the headings for the dictionary which occupies the remainder of the book, but the ink

has become so faint, and the pages are so much written over, that it is difficult to be dogmatic. Expert opinion in the MSS. room of the British Museum, however, supports this view. The 'dictionary of poetical epithets' consists of groups of words, associated in meaning, but different parts of speech, arranged under key-words as headings. The latter occur in alphabetical order. The groups are scattered up and down the pages, and include a very wide assortment of words, not all of which are of the type generally described as 'poetic.' These, for example, are some of the words grouped under:

Appetite

greedie, brutall, immoderate, insatiable, intollerable, inordinate, ambitious....., gluttons, to glutt.....

Throughout this portion of the MS. a wide left-hand margin is crowded with a mass of quotations, maxims, extracts from reading, etc. These entries, as well as most of the words arranged under the headings, are in a smaller, spikier, more irregular and, therefore, probably non-professional, hand. Though the ink used by this hand seems darker, possibly fresher, the entries, especially in the margin, are difficult, almost impossible, to read, because of their extreme compression. This hand *may* be later than the other.

It is clear, therefore, that two hands are responsible for this MS., neither of them contemporary with Surrey. Of these two, the second is the hand of the owner of the MS., for whom the rest was done to order, or of one like him, a courtly, or at least, gentle, dilettante in poetry, a less original and less talented follower of Surrey himself; the first is the hand of a professional amanuensis, copying out what was set before him. Such modifications as he made would be merely those likely to occur in all transcriptions. Examples will be mentioned later on.

What authority may be ascribed to the original which this scrivener had before him, can only be decided after a careful comparison with the other versions. This much may be prefaced as to the relations to be generally inferred between authors, printers and copyists.

Printing and copying belonged to different traditions—the one bourgeois and commercial, the other aristocratic and exclusive. Preservation and circulation in MS. belonged to the older, the mediaeval, tradition, and therefore would be the more jealously maintained by aristocratic writers. In Surrey's life-time printing was still a new thing, not distrusted or despised when it kept to its own sphere—the utilitarian and didactic—but, because it was a trade, not the medium

by which a gentleman coûld, in his own person, give his poems to the world. What part these conditions played in the public appearances of Elizabethan poems, the extent to which they necessitated real or fictitious 'piracy' on the part of printers and publishers, is abundantly illustrated in Mr A. W. Pollard's book *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates.* Of the jealousy and hostility of the two traditions—of the quill and of the press—there is no lack of evidence. Owen, in the already quoted preface to D. testifies to this spirit of exclusiveness :

> I coulde understande of no man that had a copye thereof, but he was more wylling the same should be kepte as a private treasure in the handes of a few, then publyshed to the common profyt and delectacion of many.

Tottel, in presenting the 'Certain Bokes,' maintains an exasperating silence with regard to his MS. authority and his motives, but in the preface to his Miscellany, he expresses himself in a fashion similar to Owen's :

> It resteth now, gentle reader, that thou think it not evill done to publishe to the honour of the English tong and for the profit of those studious of English eloquence, those works which the ungentle hoarders up of such treasure have heretofore envied thee.

The importance of this recognition of the social gulf between MS. and printed book is that it enables us with less misgiving to assign independent authority to H., even though it was copied out when both D. and T. were in circulation. If its readings were to show a mixture of the forms of D. and T., it could not be hastily assumed to be a copy of the one book with occasional borrowings from the other, or to represent a version in which obscure or difficult passages in an antecedent MS. had been elucidated by reference to the printed books. If the text of H. were proved to be the result of editing, in the sense of the comparison and choosing of different versions, these versions would almost certainly be in MS. Though later than D. or T., it would not, in all probability, be affected by them. It would follow the tradition which was Surrey's own.

Up to the present there exists no full English treatment of the textual questions arising out of these three versions with their multitudinous differences. Such work as has been done since the days of Nott's edition and the Roxburghe Club reprint is to be found in German monographs, notably *Über Surreys Virgilübersetzung,* a university thesis by Otto Fest (*Palaestra,* 1903), and the far more valuable *Anfänge des Blankverses* by Dr Rudolf Imelmann, to which reference has already been made in the notes. Only a part (the last) of Fest's treatise deals with the text. This portion contains a reprint (mainly after T. but

with some corrections) of Book IV with the variations of H. in footnotes. These variations are also classified and some deductions drawn from them, of which the principal is that the differences in H. point to the 'Verfasser' working up the text in order to remove irregularities in metre, etc. Fest had not, of course, seen D. and had no idea of the light which this book sheds on most of the important variations in H. The validity of Fest's deductions is questioned by Imelmann upon evidence drawn from an exhaustive examination of the variae lectiones of T. and H. in their relation to Surrey's exemplar, Gavin Douglas, his alleged Italian models[1], and the subsequent (1555–58) translation by Thomas Phaer, who, Dr Imelmann contends, used a version of Surrey similar to H. and antecedent to T. Such a version he ingeniously argues could only be D. (which to him, as to Fest, was inaccessible), and thus by a happy guess, he arrives at a close relationship between D. and H. as against T., the two former having a common source in an older version and representing the genuine work of the author (proved by reference to Gavin Douglas).

The question of the alleged use of Surrey's translation by Phaer has a possible bearing upon the history of Tottel's MSS., and must therefore be again referred to in adjusting T.'s claim to be the standard text. But it may be said here that though Dr Imelmann's theory helps him to the right conclusion (i.e. the close relationship between D. and H.), in itself it is valueless. He bases his conclusion on a long list of verbal correspondences between Surrey and Phaer, including a number in which H. resembles Phaer's rendering more closely than does T. *But the verbal correspondences between Surrey and Phaer in Book II are equally close*, and if such correspondences are held to prove connexion between the two translations, then Phaer must have had a *MS. version of II.* That being so, he would probably have had a MS. version of IV also, and Dr Imelmann's argument for the date of D. as being necessarily prior to 1555 and for its similarity to H., falls to the ground.

But in the opinion of the present writer such verbal correspondences (which would in any case appear more striking to a foreigner than to an Englishman) must necessarily occur in a translation of the same work into the same language. They are restricted to ordinary words and phrases and show nothing of the same dependence as can be proved for

[1] The *I sei primi libri* of the Æneid issued in 1541 by Francesco di Molza, Aldobrandi, the brothers Piccolomini, etc. Of these the second Book by Molza had previously (1539) been issued separately under the name of the Cardinal Ippolito di Medici. It has been cited as a source for Surrey ever since Warton's *History*. That Surrey's blank verse is an attempt to imitate in English the effect of the Italian *versi sciolti* may be taken as certain, but that he used Molza and Piccolomini in the same way as he used Gavin Douglas, the present writer does not hold to be proved.

Surrey and Gavin Douglas. Equal weight should, also, be given to the differences. It seems hardly possible that Phaer should have made the mistakes he did (e.g. his failure to understand that 'Neoptolemus' and 'Pyrrhus' were both names of Achilles' one son), had he had Surrey's far superior rendering before him. And there is a certain amount of evidence, which will be given in due course, that II did not circulate in MS.—at all events to the same extent as IV. It is unlikely that, had Phaer possessed versions of two of the books, he would have spoken of himself so explicitly as a pioneer—'by mee first this gate is set open.'

Though the links in Dr Imelmann's chain, therefore, do not hold as securely as he thought, yet he is undoubtedly right in his insistence on the claim of D. and H. to consideration as the authentic work of Surrey, and there is no avoiding his contention that the burden of proof lies with those who would continue to use T. as the standard text. How far that burden can be sustained will be apparent from the remainder of this study.

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HENRY BROOKE'S 'GUSTAVUS VASA.'

In the history of the English drama in the eighteenth century, Henry Brooke's *Gustavus Vasa* stands out as the subject of a violent controversy. We propose therefore to consider the circumstances which gave rise to the play, its later history and its intrinsic merits. The author was an Irishman who could claim the acquaintance of Pope and Swift. In 1738[1], when his play was submitted to the management of Drury Lane Theatre, he was living in London and had already won a certain reputation by his poem entitled *Universal Beauty* and by his translation of the first two books of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*. Everything seemed to be going well with the rising author; his play was accepted at Drury Lane Theatre and, after being thoroughly rehearsed for five weeks, was on the eve of performance. At this juncture it was prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain.

What were the causes of this prohibition? To explain them it will be necessary to cast a glance backwards at the history of the stage and more particularly at the relations between literature and politics in the period immediately preceding. It must be remembered that these were the days of Walpole whose position was at times extremely difficult. He had to contend not only with the Tories and their anti-Hanoverian bias but also with a very active group of discontented Whigs led by Pulteney and Chesterfield. Moreover, Walpole's method of using bribery as a means of securing followers aroused widespread dissatisfaction. Men of letters gave expression to this feeling of unrest. A notable instance is *The Beggar's Opera* by John Gay, which achieved a great success in 1728. In this production a criminal called Robin of Bagshot was undoubtedly intended to represent Walpole, whilst the bigamy of Macheath was likewise meant as a personal reference to the Prime Minister. The Opposition found an even bolder advocate in Henry Fielding. In his *Pasquin* (1736) and *The Historical Register for the Year 1736* (performed in 1737), he held Walpole up to ridicule and exposed the prevailing corruption at elections. To put a check on these political activities, Walpole succeeded in passing a Licensing Act in 1737. This act limited the number of theatres in London to two and required that

[1] Cf. *Gustavus Vasa*, publ. by George Cawthorn, London, 1796, Preface, p. iii.

all plays should be submitted to the Lord Chamberlain before their performance. The Opposition, with Pulteney and Chesterfield at their head, attacked the new law in violent terms and represented Walpole as a ruthless tyrant who trampled without scruple on the rights and privileges of Englishmen. It was at this stage that Henry Brooke's *Gustavus Vasa* was written and under these circumstances that its performance was forbidden.

Brooke was, therefore, the first to be affected by the new act, but such a prohibition was not altogether without precedent. When Gay's *Beggar's Opera* proved so successful in 1728, he contemplated a continuation, but Walpole urged George II to put a stop to the performance. Thereupon the Lord Chamberlain intervened and *Polly* was banned. The influential adversaries of Walpole were determined that Gay should not suffer loss and the sale of the work when printed was so large that the author is said to have received between £1100 and £1200[1]. A similar spectacle was seen in the case of Brooke. His *Gustavus Vasa* was published in 1739 and the dramatist obtained over £800, a much larger sum than he could have hoped to derive from the performance at Drury Lane Theatre[2]. Nor did Brooke lack support from those interested in literature. The columns of *The Gentleman's Magazine* were opened to him and in the April number for 1739 the prologue to *Gustavus Vasa* was printed. The same number contained the following lines by a sympathiser:

> While the rank vices of a tainted age,
> Thro' courts and senates, caught the mimick stage;
> While lust, broad-fronted, own'd unblushing shame,
> And private malice kindled party flame;
> I sigh'd, unbrib'd by power, unstung by hate,
> An equal subject of this free-born state;
> In silent grief I trac'd those happy days,
> With Henry's wreaths when Shakespear twin'd his bays;
> For one great end, when Britons dar'd unite,
> Her heroes combat, and her poets write.
> I wish'd—the wish succeeds; my ravish'd eyes
> Behold the good, the brave Gustavus rise,
> A Briton now confess'd; but ah! in vain;
> Here ruder foes avenge the conquer'd Dane:
> Here falls the best support of freedom's cause,
> Ye gods! and can he fall by Britain's laws!

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. xxi, p. 89. Courthope in his *History of English Poetry*, London, 1905, Vol. v, p. 444, estimates the sum at about £3000.

[2] Benjamin Victor in a contemporary letter foretold that Brooke would get at least £1000 (see Victor's *Original Letters, Dramatic Pieces and Poems*, London, 1776, Vol. i, pp. 33—34). In reality the sum appears to have been rather more than £800 (see *Scanderbeg* by Thomas Whincop and the appended *Compleat List of all the English Dramatic Poets*, London, 1747, p. 182, and also *The Companion to the Playhouse*, London, 1764, Vol. ii, under the heading *Gustavus Vasa*). On the other hand the preface to Cawthorn's edition of *Gustavus Vasa* in 1796 agrees with Victor in putting the proceeds at £1000.

Shall tyrant-policy and slavish-fear,
To freedom's sweetest tale shut Britain's ear?
Shall her brave sons the patriot-chief disclaim?
Her infants should be taught to lisp his name.
When such the theme, let heaven and earth rejoice!
Perish the wretch, who dares refuse his voice!
Perish the slave who dares the tale apply,
And mark, in Britain, Danish tyranny!!

In the May number there appeared another poem on the prohibition of *Gustavus Vasa*. These verses, by Paul Whitehead, a minor poet of the time, run thus:

While Athens glory'd in her free-born race,
And science flourish'd round her fav'rite place,
The muse unfetter'd trod the Grecian stage;
Free were her pinions, unrestrain'd her rage:
Bold and secure she aim'd the pointed dart,
And pour'd the precept poignant to the heart,
Till dire dominion stretch'd her lawless sway,
And Athens' sons were destin'd to obey:
Then first the stage a licens'd bondage knew,
And tyrants quash'd the scene they fear'd to view:
Fair Freedom's voice no more was heard to charm,
Or Liberty the Attic audience warm.
Then fled the muse, indignant, from the shore,
Nor deign'd to dwell where Freedom was no more:
Vain then, alas! she sought Britannia's isle,
Charm'd with her voice, and cheer'd us with a smile.
If Gallic laws her gen'rous flight restrain,
And bind her captive with th' ignoble chain;
Bold and unlicens'd, in Eliza's days,
Free flow'd her numbers, flourish'd fair her bays;
O'er Britain's stage majestic, unconfin'd,
She tun'd her patriot lessons to mankind;
For mighty heroes ransack'd every age,
Then beam'd them glorious in her Shakespeare's page.
Shakespeare's no more! lost was the poet's name,
Till thou, my friend, my genius, sprung to fame;
Lur'd by his laurel's never-fading bloom,
You boldly snatch'd the trophy from his tomb,
Taught the declining muse again to soar,
And to Britannia give one poet more.
Pleas'd in thy lays we see Gustavus live;
But, O Gustavus! if thou can'st, forgive
Britons, more savage than the tyrant Dane,
Beneath whose yoke you drew the galling chain,
Degen'rate Britons, by thy worth dismay'd,
Profane thy glories, and proscribe thy shade[2].

Amongst the Tories who espoused Brooke's cause was the redoubtable Samuel Johnson himself. His contribution to the controversy bore the title *A Complete Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage, from the malicious and scandalous Aspersions of Mr Brooke, Authour of Gustavus*

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. IX, p. 156.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 266. See also *The Works of the English Poets*, ed. Alex. Chalmers, Vol. XVI, London, 1810, p. 229.

Vasa. Ostensibly this was a criticism of Brooke as being an unreasonable individual; in reality it was an ironical attack on the authors and administrators of the Licensing Act. We may be sure that Johnson entirely sympathised with Brooke, for in his *Life of Thomson*, referring to the prohibition of that poet's *Edward and Eleonora* subsequent to the banning of *Gustavus Vasa*, he says: 'It is hard to discover why either play should have been obstructed[1].'

Brooke himself professed to feel the utmost indignation at the action of the Lord Chamberlain. In the prefatory dedication of *Gustavus Vasa* he spoke very warmly of the injustice done to him. He claimed to have been actuated solely by patriotic motives and declared that his play was not pernicious to the welfare of the state. There is no doubt, however, that the picture of the corruption of Sweden was meant to stand for the condition of England under Walpole's administration, whilst Trollio, the minister of the tyrant Cristiern, was intended to represent Walpole himself. Benjamin Victor in a contemporary letter maintained that here at any rate 'the cap fits[2].' Indeed, on reading Brooke's *Prologue*, we find it difficult to believe that he was as guileless as he pretended to be. It runs thus:

> Britons! this night presents a state distress'd,
> Tho' brave, yet vanquish'd; and tho' great, oppress'd;

[1] In later years Johnson parodied a line in *The Earl of Essex*, one of Brooke's plays. At the end of Act I, Queen Elizabeth says:

> I shall henceforth seek
> For other lights to truth; for righteous monarchs,
> Justly to judge, with their own eyes should see:
> To rule o'er freemen should themselves be free.

The elder Sheridan, who was playing the chief part in this drama at Drury Lane Theatre, repeated the above passage to Johnson who ridiculed it, declaring that one might just as well say:

> Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat.

(Cf. Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill, London, 1887, Vol. IV, pp. 312—313.) It is of some interest to note that in 1742, Johnson himself was planning a play based on Swedish history. It was to be called *Charles of Sweden*, but nothing came of it (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 153, note 4). Johnson's attention was drawn to Sweden in other ways. In 1757, when he was receiving little encouragement from other sources, he told Dr Burney that support for his *Dictionary* was promised him from Sweden (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 323). We know also that about 1772 he was acquainted with a Swede called Kristrom who recommended Dalin's history of Sweden to Boswell as a basis for the book he was contemplating (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 156). The following year when Boswell and Johnson were in the isle of Skye, they talked of visiting Sweden. 'I expressed a pleasure in the prospect of seeing the king. Johnson. "I doubt, Sir, if he would speak to us." Colonel M'Leod said, "I am sure Mr Boswell would speak to him"' (*ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 215). Even in 1777, when Johnson was approaching the age of seventy, he had not abandoned this project, which might perhaps have been carried out but for the hesitation of Boswell (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 454). In this connexion reference may be made to Johnson's story about Hacho, King of Lapland, in *The Idler*, No. 96 (Feb. 16, 1760). He mentions a magic lake called Vether which is apparently the same as Thomas Nashe tells of in *The Terrors of the Night* (1594), though the latter places it in Iceland.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 33.

Vice, rav'ning vulture, on her vitals prey'd,
Her peers, her prelates, fell corruption sway'd;
Their rights for pow'r, th' ambitious weakly sold,
The wealthy, poorly, for superfluous gold;
Hence wasting ills, hence sev'ring factions rose
And gave large entrance to invading foes;
Truth, Justice, Honour fled th' infected shore,
For Freedom, sacred Freedom was no more.
Then, greatly rising in his country's right,
Her hero, her deliverer sprung to light;
A race of hardy, northern sons he led,
Guiltless of courts, untainted and unread,
Whose inborn spirit spurn'd th' ignoble fee,
Whose hands scorn'd bondage, for their hearts were free.
Ask ye what law their conq'ring cause confess'd?
Great Nature's law, the law within the breast,
Form'd by no art, and to no sect confin'd,
But stamp'd by Heav'n upon th' unletter'd mind.
Such, such, of old, the first born natives were,
Who breath'd the virtues of Britannia's air,
Their realm, when mighty Cæsar vainly sought;
For mightier Freedom against Cæsar fought;
And rudely drove the fam'd invader home,
To tyrannize o'er polish'd—venal Rome.
Our bard, exalted in a freeborn flame,
To ev'ry nation wou'd transfer this claim.
He to no state, no climate bounds his page,
He bids the moral beam thro' every age;
Then be your judgment gen'rous as his plan,
Ye sons of Freedom!—save the friend of man.

In all probability, therefore, the action of the Lord Chamberlain was quite justified. In any case the cry of tyranny was absurd, for the new powers conferred by the Licensing Act were used on the whole with great discretion. Brooke and the prominent actors Cibber and Quin who were to have performed in *Gustavus Vasa* were doubtless disappointed at the prohibition in London, but on the other hand we should not overlook the fact that permission was given for a performance in Dublin. This actually took place in 1742[1]. The play was very favourably received, for its denunciation of tyranny was taken to refer to English rule. *Gustavus Vasa* was also eventually seen on the London stage, for in 1805 the Government consented to its being performed at Covent Garden[2].

As a book drama *Gustavus Vasa* held its own throughout the eighteenth century and was even reprinted in the nineteenth. The following list of editions will illustrate its popularity.

1. *Gustavus Vasa*, London, 1739.
2. In Bell's *British Theatre*, Vol. XVIII, London, 1778.

[1] Cawthorn's edition of *Gustavus Vasa*, 1796, Preface, p. iv.
[2] See *Living Plays*. *Gustavus Vasa* by Henry Brook (sic!), New York, 1824, p. i. The cast is given on p. ii.

3. In *A Collection of the Pieces formerly published by Henry Brooke, Esq., to which are added several plays and poems, now first printed*, London, 1778, Vol. II.

4. In *The Poetical Works of Henry Brooke, Esq.*, Dublin, 1792, Vol. IV.

5. *Gustavus Vasa*, printed for George Cawthorn, London, 1796.

6. In Bell's *British Theatre*, Vol. XXXII, London, 1797. This collection had been taken over by Cawthorn and we have here simply his edition of the previous year. *Gustavus Vasa* itself is dated 1796, but the whole volume 1797.

7. In *The British Drama: comprehending the best plays in the English language*, London, W. Miller, 1804, p. 539.

8. In Mrs Inchbald's *British Theatre*, Vol. VII, London, 1808.

9. In *The Modern British Drama*, Vol. II, London, 1811.

10. In the *Living Plays* series, published by Charles Willey, New York, 1824.

11. In *The London Stage*, Vol. III, London, 1826.

12. In *The British Drama; a collection of the most esteemed tragedies, comedies, operas and farces*, London, Jones and Co., 1828, Vol. I, p. 378.

13. In Dicks' *Standard Plays*, No. 227, London, 1883 (?).

The text of Nos. 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13 is extremely corrupt. They exclude all passages referring to Trollio, so that in this version he does not appear at all. The play is therefore absolutely mutilated and the text in this abridged form quite worthless. It may perhaps be the acting version used at Covent Garden in 1805. If so, it is very interesting to see how, even after the lapse of sixty-six years, the Government still insisted on the removal of the obnoxious passages referring to Walpole.

Gustavus Vasa had also the honour of being imitated by a later playwright. The latter was Thomas Morton, who in 1795 produced his *Zorinski*, a play based on the adventures of Stanislaus. A controversy ensued in which Morton was accused of having borrowed passages almost word for word from Brooke's play. The plot was likewise said to be based on that of *Gustavus Vasa*. The critics declared that Rodomosko was Cristiern, Rosolia, Cristina, and Zorinski, Gustavus. Thus Zorinski hid in the salt-mines as Gustavus took refuge in the copper-mines of Dalecarlia[1]. It may have been as a result of these criticisms that Morton changed the title of his play to *Casimir, King of Poland* in June, 1795. In any case the success of Morton's play was considerable.

[1] See *Mr. Morton's Zorinski and Brooke's Gustavus Vasa compared...by Truth*, London, 1795.

Wordsworth at one time contemplated an epic on the exploits of the great Swedish King and thought of singing:

> how Gustavus sought
> Help at his need in Dalecarlia's mines[1].

The story of Gustavus Vasa was one which had preoccupied English writers even before Brooke's time. The first to deal with the life of the Swedish king in dramatic form seems to have been Thomas Dekker. On June 29, 1660, a play by him entitled *Gustavus, King of Swethland,* was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company but apparently not printed[2]. Almost fifty years later came Catharine Trotter, afterwards Cockburn, who in 1706 produced *The Revolution of Sweden,* a tragedy in five acts which was performed at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket. Brooke may have known this play, but it deals with different events from those of *Gustavus Vasa.* The rising has taken place and the revolt against the Danes has met with some success, so that Gustavus has pitched his camp before Stockholm.

The plot of *Gustavus Vasa* is concerned with the rebellion itself. When the play opens, Gustavus is a fugitive who has for some time been working in the copper-mines of Dalecarlia. He reveals himself, first to Anderson, the 'Chief Lord' of Dalecarlia, and to Arnoldus, a 'Chaplain in the Copper-Mines of Dalecarlia,' and then to Arvida, who is 'of the Royal Blood of Sweden' and the cousin of Gustavus. At this moment King Cristiern comes to Dalecarlia accompanied by Trollio, Archbishop of Upsal. Arvida, sent by Gustavus to discover the strength of Cristiern's forces, is made prisoner by the Danes. The cunning Trollio, knowing that Arvida loves Cristina, the daughter of Cristiern, plays on his feelings. He declares that Gustavus himself is enamoured of Cristina and has treacherously sent Arvida so that he may be rid of a rival. Arvida is then won over to the Danish side and persuaded to assassinate Gustavus. In the meantime the peasants of Dalecarlia have assembled, Gustavus has disclosed his identity and has been enthusiastically acclaimed their leader. Arvida's attempt on the life of Gustavus fails and the latter displays such magnanimity that Arvida is filled with remorse. The fair Cristina, knowing of the plot, has sent a messenger to warn

[1] *Prelude* I, 212–13.

[2] See J. O. Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Old English Plays*, London, 1860, p. 113. A play entitled *The King of Swedland* is included in the list of plays destroyed by Warburton's servant (cf. *Lansdowne MSS.* No. 807). I. Reed in his edition of Shakespeare's works (1803, Vol. II, pp. 371–72) mentions this lost play. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1815, Vol. II, p. 220, Frederick Thornhill classes *The King of Swedland* as by an unknown author but suggests that it may be identical with Dekker's play. The article on Dekker in the *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.* regards this suggestion as a certainty. It seems possible, but there is no definite proof forthcoming.

Gustavus, so that when the Danish forces advance, the Swedes are fully prepared. Before the battle a meeting takes place between Cristiern and Gustavus. The Danish king holds Augusta and Gustava, the mother and sister of his enemy. He threatens to put them to death; Arvida, desiring to atone for his treachery, offers to take their place and Gustavus is about to consent, when Augusta with the stern courage of a Roman matron, rejects the proposal. The two parties separate; Gustava and Augusta are brutally murdered and the battle ensues. The defeat of Cristiern and the exploits of Gustavus are related to Cristina by a messenger. He says:

> At your command
> I went; and, from a neighb'ring summit, view'd
> Where either host stood adverse, sternly wedg'd;
> Reflecting on each other's gloomy front,
> Fell hate and fix'd defiance: when, at once,
> The foe mov'd on, attendant to the steps
> Of their Gustavus. He, with mournful face,
> Came slow and silent; till two hapless Danes
> Prick'd forth, and on his helm discharg'd their fury:
> Then rous'd the lion! To my wond'ring sight
> His stature grew twofold; before his eye
> All force seem'd wither'd, and his horrid plume
> Shook wild dismay around! as heav'n's dread bolt
> He shot, he pierc'd our legions; in his strength
> His shouting squadrons gloried, rushing on
> Where'er he led their battle. Full five times,
> Hemm'd by our mightier host, the foe seem'd lost,
> And swallow'd from my sight; five times again,
> Like flame they issued to the light: and thrice
> These eyes beheld him, they beheld Gustavus
> Unhors'd, and by a host girt singly in;
> And thrice he broke thro' all!

Cristiern flees, first killing Trollio, 'the rev'rend monitor of vice'; Arvida dies of his wounds; Gustavus sues for the hand of Cristina who longs to remain with him, but, fired by the example of his devotion to duty, resolves to follow her father in the hope that she may

> soothe his troubled soul
> To penitence, to virtue; and perhaps
> Restore the better empire o'er his mind.

The play ends with the declaration of Gustavus that he will cast aside all thought of private affection and consider only the interests of Sweden:

> Still quick to find, to feel, my people's woes,
> And wake, that millions may enjoy repose.

The character-drawing of the play is not especially striking. Cristiern is an ambitious, vain and cruel monarch, but the real villain is his cunning adviser Trollio. Arvida is passionate and easily swayed but is

at bottom a generous nature. Cristina is warm-hearted and just and is even prepared to sacrifice her own interests in order to save Gustavus from a dastardly outrage. At the close her filial devotion is exemplary. But Brooke's interest is centred in Gustavus whom he sets up as the ideal king. In the first place he is the upholder of liberty and it is of interest to see what Brooke has to say on this score in his preface. 'I took my subject,' he tells us, 'from the history of Sweden, one of those Gothic and glorious nations, from whom our form of government is derived, from whom Britain has inherited those unextinguishable sparks of liberty and patriotism, that were her light thro' the ages of ignorance and superstition, her flaming sword turn'd ev'ry way against invasion, and that vital heat which has so often preserved her, so often restored her from intestine malignities. Those are the sparks, the gems, that alone give true ornament and brightness to the crown of a British monarch; that give him freely to reign over the free....' 'The monarch or head of such a constitution,' he goes on, 'is as the father of a large and well-regulated family, his subjects are not servants, but sons; their care, their affections, their attachments are reciprocal, and their interest is one, is not to be divided.'

Brooke's Gustavus is such a monarch who from first to last sinks all personal considerations and acts as the father of his people. His generosity and magnanimity are only equalled by his courage and wisdom.

For an eighteenth century tragedy, Brooke's play is not without merit. Certain defects are obvious. It is clear that his treatment of the subject is unhistorical and also that he has no knowledge of Sweden, so that all local colouring is impossible. In consequence his play is somewhat pale. But he has succeeded in bringing out the Dalecarlians' innate love of liberty, even if his words suggest that they are a race of hardy mountaineers, dwelling in a region of precipitous hills studded with copper-mines. Moreover, Brooke had read his Shakespeare with advantage. The name of Laertes is reminiscent of *Hamlet*; the character of Augusta bears a general resemblance to that of Volumnia, and little Gustava, who represents childish innocence condemned to premature death, is modelled on Arthur. However, Brooke's chief merit lies in his style in which one traces something of the Miltonic grand manner. By way of illustration the following passage may be quoted:

> That great day,
> When Cristiern, in his third attempt on Sweden,
> Had summ'd his pow'rs, and weigh'd the scale of fight:
> On the bold brink, the very push of conquest,

> Gustavus rush'd, and bore the battle down;
> In his full sway of prowess, (like Leviathan
> That scoops his foaming progress on the main,
> And drives the shoals along,) forward I sprung,
> All emulous, and lab'ring to attend him;
> Fear fled before, behind him rout grew loud,
> And distant wonder gaz'd.

One cannot but smile when Paul Whitehead compares Brooke to Shakespeare or when another contemporary admirer declares that

> the strong raptures that a genius pours,
> We feel from Milton's muse, and feel from yours[1].

But we certainly can subscribe to Courthope's verdict that '*Gustavus Vasa* may be regarded as the expiring flash in the fire of the English Poetical Theatre[2].'

HERBERT WRIGHT.

BANGOR.

[1] See C. H. Wilson, *Brookiana*, London, 1804, Vol. II, p. 1.

[2] *History of English Poetry*, London, 1905, Vol. V, pp. 446—447. For other references to Brooke in addition to those already mentioned, see *The Companion to the Playhouse*, London, 1764, Vol. I, under the heading 'Henry Brooke' and Dr Doran's *Annals of the English Stage*, edited by R. W. Lowe, London, 1888, Vol. II, pp. 65 and 245.

UNE SOURCE DE VICTOR HUGO : 'QUATRE-VINGT-TREIZE.'

En plaidant la cause de Sébastien Mercier, un de ses chers 'Oubliés et Dédaignés,' Ch. Monselet rappelle que du vivant de l'auteur son théâtre était une mine d'or qu'exploitait sans vergogne plus d'un dramaturge et il ajoute : 'M. Victor Hugo lui a emprunté un de ses mots les plus spirituels, *Je vis par curiosité*, devenu maintenant un des hémistiches applaudis de *Marion Delorme*[1].' Cependant cette phrase célèbre ne représente qu'une toute petite partie de sa dette envers Mercier.

On comprend sans peine qu'après avoir réussi si admirablement à ressusciter dans un roman le Paris du moyen âge, V. Hugo ait tenu à introduire dans *Quatre-vingt-treize* le Paris des temps révolutionnaires. Or il est évident qu'un pareil dessein exigeait un travail préparatoire de documentation. V. Hugo aurait donc commencé par se mettre en quête d'œuvres contemporaines fournissant des descriptions de la capitale. Il en existait une d'une valeur exceptionnelle. En 1797 Louis Sébastien Mercier avait donné à son *Tableau de Paris* (1781) une sorte de pendant intitulé *Le Nouveau Paris*. L'édition originale, qui comprenait six volumes, fut suivie de deux réimpressions en 1799 et 1880, puis en 1862 parut : *Paris pendant la Révolution* (1789—1798) *ou le Nouveau Paris, par Sébastien Mercier : nouvelle édition annotée, avec une introduction.* Paris, Poulet-Malassis, 2 tom. in-12. Ces deux volumes fourmillants de détails curieux et fort intéressants tombèrent sous la main de V. Hugo[2] et furent pour lui une trouvaille précieuse. L'introduction lui apprenait que l'ouvrage n'était 'guère connu que de quelques littérateurs et des historiens de la Révolution, qui paraissaient en faire grand cas sans le citer beaucoup[3].' Hugo a-t-il vu là une raison de plus pour le mettre à contribution ? Quoiqu'il en soit, il n'a pas manqué d'extraire de ces pages un certain nombre de petites anecdotes et force détails historiques pour les incorporer ensuite dans son roman. En particulier bien des

[1] Acte IV, sc. 8.

[2] Nous avons la certitude que c'est l'édition de 1862 qu'a connue Hugo, car comme on le verra plus loin, il a tiré profit de certaines notes de l'éditeur.

[3] Remarquons en passant que même aussi récemment que 1898, dans une conférence sur Sébastien Mercier faite au théâtre de l'Odéon Jules Lemaître loua le *Tableau de Paris* mais ne fit nulle mention du *Nouveau Paris*. Comme ce deuxième ouvrage est sans conredit de beaucoup supérieur au premier, nous concluons du silence du conférencier qu'il n ignorait l'existence. v. *La Revue Bleue*, 22 janv. 1898.

matériaux pour le chapitre de *Quatre-vingt-treize* intitulé 'les Rues de Paris dans ce temps-là' ont été puisés dans Mercier. Que le lecteur en juge par la confrontation des textes:

Quatre-vingt-treize, éd. Hetzel.	*Le Nouveau Paris*, éd. Poulet-Malassis.
On vivait en public; on mangeait sur des tables dressées devant les portes. p. 139.	v. t. II, ch. clxiv, 'Cuisines publiques.'
On n'entendait que ce mot dans toutes les bouches: *Patience. Nous sommes en révolution. Ibid.*	A toutes ces atrocités, à tous ces épouvantables ridicules on n'opposait que ces mots: *Nous sommes en révolution.* t. I, p. 213.
On allait au spectacle. *Ibid.*	Cf. Jamais les spectacles ne furent plus suivis que dans ces temps de disette. t. I, p. 213. Cette multitude de théâtres. t. I, p. 411. Les spectacles journellement remplis. t. I, p. 416, etc.
Le bruit courait que le roi de Prusse avait fait retenir des loges à l'Opéra. p. 140.	Le roi de Prusse...avait loué des loges à l'Opéra. t. I, p. 169.
Tout était effrayant et personne n'était effrayé. *Ibid.*	v. t. I, ch. xxiv, 'Sécurité.' ch. l, 'Insouciance.'
La ténébreuse loi des suspects...faisait la guillotine visible au-dessus de toutes les têtes. *Ibid.*	Cf. Lorsque le décret qui ordonne l'arrestation des *gens suspects* parut, on vit en tremblant que par la définition qu'il donne de ce qu'il faut entendre par un homme *suspect*, il n'était personne que le comité de salut public, que les comités révolutionnaires, que les vice-rois dans les départements, ne pussent déclarer tel. t. II, p. 45.
Pas un chapeau qui n'eût une cocarde. *Ibid.*	v. t. I, ch. lxviii, 'Cocarde nationale' qui commence 'Citoyens! Sa définition est à votre chapeau.'
Les femmes disaient: *Nous sommes jolies sous le bonnet rouge. Ibid.*	v. t. I, ch. xx, 'Bonnet rouge.'
On voyait chez les fripiers des chapes et des rochets à vendre au *décroche-moi-ça. Ibid.*	Cf. L'on vit dans les boutiques des fripiers des chasubles qui pendaient à côté de pantalons! t. II, p. 95.
Aux Porcherons et chez Ramponneau, des hommes affublés de surplis et d'étoles, montés sur des ânes caparaçonnés de chasubles, se faisaient verser le vin du cabaret dans des ciboires des cathédrales. *Ibid.*	Les acteurs qui y figurèrent [dans des fêtes extravagantes] étaient encore ivres de l'eau de vie qu'ils avaient bue dans les calices après avoir mangé des maquereaux sur les patennes. Montés à califourchon sur des ânes dont des chasubles couvraient le derrière, ils les guidaient avec des étoles... t. II, p. 96.
Des merceries et des bimbeloteries roulantes circulaient traînées par des femmes, éclairées par des chandelles, les suifs fondant sur les marchandises. p. 141.	Une multitude de petits détailleurs étalent à tous les coins de rues des objets de petite mercerie...quelques bouts de chandelle que le vent fait fondre, couvrent de suif leurs magasins de trois pieds de long. t. I, pp. 198—199.

Des boutiques en plein vent étaient tenues par des ex-religieuses en perruque blonde. *Ibid.*

Telle ravaudeuse, raccommodant des bas dans une échoppe, était une comtesse; telle couturière était une marquise. *Ibid.*

Madame de Boufflers habitait un grenier d'où elle voyait son hôtel. *Ibid.*

On appelait *écrouelleux* ceux qui cachaient leur menton dans leur cravate. *Ibid.*

Les chanteurs ambulants pullulaient. La foule huait Pitou, le chansonnier royaliste, vaillant d'ailleurs, car il fut emprisonné vingt-deux fois, et fut traduit devant le tribunal révolutionnaire pour s'être frappé le bas des reins en prononçant le mot *civisme* ; voyant sa tête en danger, il s'écria : *Mais c'est le contraire de ma tête qui est coupable !* ce qui fit rire les juges et le sauva. pp. 141—142.

On faisait des rondes de carmagnole ; on ne disait pas *le cavalier et la dame*, on disait 'le citoyen et la citoyenne.' p. 142.

On dansait dans les cloîtres en ruine, avec des lampions sur l'autel, à la voûte deux bâtons en croix portant quatre chandelles, et des tombes sous la danse. *Ibid.*

La rue de Richelieu se nommait rue de la Loi ; le faubourg Saint-Antoine se nommait le faubourg de Gloire. *Ibid.*

Montflabert, juré révolutionnaire et marquis, lequel se faisait appeler *Dix-Août*. *Ibid.*

Des garçons perruquiers crêpaient en public des perruques de femmes.... Quelquefois les barbiers étaient en même temps charcutiers et l'on voyait des jambons et des andouilles pendre à côté d'une poupée coiffée de cheveux d'or. p. 143.

Des ex-religieuses trafiquaient en perruques blondes. t. I, p. 326.

Une marquise se faisait ravaudeuse, une comtesse nous vantait son talent pour la couture. t. I, p. 327.

Madame de Boufflers est morte dans une mansarde d'où elle pouvait apercevoir l'hôtel et les jardins qui lui avaient jadis appartenu. *Note de l'Éditeur.* t. I, p. 328.

Les *écrouelleux* qui cachent leur menton dans leurs cravates.... t. I, p. 388.

Cf. Pour les chansonniers on peut penser jusqu'à quel point ils ont abusé de leur privilège. L'un d'eux, nommé Pitou, s'était fait un si nombreux auditoire que la garde n'osait l'interrompre dans ses fonctions chantantes. Chaque fois qu'il parlait de république, il portait la main à son derrière. Il se fit arrêter: traduit au tribunal criminel, il répondit à l'accusateur public que, dans le geste qu'on lui reprochait, il n'avait d'autre intention que de chercher sa tabatière. Après avoir été vingt-deux fois emprisonné pour ses couplets de chanson, il en fit tant, qu'il fut condamné à la déportation. t. I, pp. 199—200.

Mais dans le style des beaux bals on ressuscite le ton noble des anciens paladins, c'est *le cavalier* et *la dame* ; tandis que dans les bals du peuple on dit le citoyen et la citoyenne. t. I, p. 383.

On danse dans trois églises ruinées de ma section, et sur le pavé de toutes les tombes que l'on n'a point encore enlevées.... Le lieu de la danse est éclairé ou par un lustre composé de deux morceaux de bois en croix, ou par quelques lampions rangés à terre le long des murs. t. I, pp. 381 et 395.

v. t. II, ch. cxci, 'Nom des rues changés.'

Leroy de Montflabert, juré au tribunal révolutionnaire, avait pris le nom de *Dix-Août*. *Note de l'Éditeur.* t. II, p. 129.

Non loin...des garçons perruquiers donnent des espèces de leçons publiques et enseignent à leurs maîtresses à crêper des perruques de femmes. A côté d'une poupée coiffée en cheveux d'or, pendent des andouilles et des jambons. t. I, p. 361.

Des marchands vendaient sur la voie publique 'des vins d'émigrés.' *Ibid.*

Un marchand affichait des vins de *cinquante-deux espèces.* *Ibid.*

D'autres brocantaient des pendules en lyre et des sophas à la duchesse. *Ibid.*

Un perruquier avait pour enseigne ceci : 'Je rase le clergé, je peigne la noblesse, j'accommode le tiers-état.' *Ibid.*

On allait se faire tirer les cartes par Martin, au n° 173 de la rue d'Anjou, ci-devant Dauphine. pp. 143—144.

Le pain manquait, le charbon manquait, le savon manquait. p. 144.

On voyait passer des bandes de vaches laitières arrivant des provinces. *Ibid.*

A la Vallée, l'agneau se vendait quinze francs la livre. *Ibid.*

Une affiche de la Commune assignait à chaque bouche une livre de viande par décade. *Ibid.*

On faisait queue aux portes des marchands ; une de ces queues est restée légendaire, elle allait de la porte d'un épicier de la rue du Petit-Carreau jusqu'au milieu de la rue Montorgueil. *Ibid.*

Les femmes dans cette misère étaient vaillantes et douces. Elles passaient les nuits à attendre leur tour d'entrer chez le boulanger. *Ibid.*

L'assignat et le maximum. *Ibid.*

Des filles allaient et venaient offrant de l'eau de lavande, des jarretières et des cadenettes. *Ibid.*

Il y avait les agioteurs du Perron de la rue Vivienne, en souliers crottés, en che-

v. t. II, ch. cxlviii, 'Cave des Émigrés.'
[On les a mis en vente, ces vins délicieux, comme compris dans le domaine de la République. p. 106.]

Leurs laquais...font quelques spéculations grossières sur les prétendus vins de cinquante-deux sortes. t. I, p. 369.

Dans les salles de vente...on vend à l'enchère...les pendules en lyre...les lits à la duchesse. t. I, p. 366.

On vit alors une gravure qu'on a distinguée dans la foule de celles qui tapissaient les murs : elle représentait la boutique d'un perruquier où se trouvaient plusieurs personnes de différentes conditions ; on lisait au bas : *Je rase le Clergé, je peigne la Noblesse, j'accommode le Tiers-État.* t. I, p. 270.

Rue d'Anjou, près la rue ci-devant Dauphine n° 173 au premier, loge un tireur de cartes des plus accrédités. Il se nomme *Martin*.... t. I, p. 254.

Pour ces détails voir t. I, ch. xc, 'Grande Disette.'

Cependant on voyait arriver de la province des bandes de vaches laitières. t. I, p. 351.

Au quai de la Vallée on vendait l'agneau quinze francs la livre. t. I, p. 353.

La Commune sanguinaire fit placarder presqu'à chaque porte de maison cet arrêté trop mémorable qui réduisait chaque bouche à une livre de viande par décade. t. I, p. 350.

Au mois de mai il y en eut une [queue] qui, commençant à la porte d'un épicier du Petit-Carreau, s'allongeait jusqu'à la moitié de la rue Mont-Orgueil. t. I, pp. 354—355.

A cette désolante pénurie de subsistances se joignait la difficulté plus désolante encore d'avoir du pain. Dès deux heures du matin les femmes se rangeaient deux à deux sur une longue ligne que le peuple désigna sous le nom de *queue.* t. I, p. 353.

v. t. I, ch. lxxxv, 'Assignats.'
t. I, ch. xliv, 'Maximum.'

Des tripots de jeu soutiennent des boutiques de filles qui vendent...des jarretières...de l'eau de lavande, des cadenettes.... t. I, p. 363.

Sous le perron de la rue Vivienne sont les brigands subalternes [des agioteurs]

veux gras, en bonnet à poil à queue de renard. *Ibid.*

...et les mayolets[1] de la rue de Valois, en bottes cirées, le cure-dents à la bouche, le chapeau velu sur la tête, tutoyés par les filles. *Ibid.*

...voleurs, que les royalistes appelaient 'citoyens actifs.' pp. 144—145.

Du reste, très peu de vols. Un dénûment farouche, une probité stoïque. Les va-nu-pieds et les meurt-de-faim passaient, les yeux gravement baissés, devant les devantures des bijoutiers du Palais-Égalité. p. 145.

Le bois coûtait quatre cents francs, argent, la corde ; on voyait dans les rues des gens scier leur bois de lit ; l'hiver, les fontaines étaient gelées ; l'eau coûtait vingt sous la voie ; tout le monde se faisait porteur d'eau. *Ibid.*

Le louis d'or valait trois mille neuf cent cinquante francs[3]. *Ibid.*

.... Leur costume est assez uniforme : c'est un bonnet de poil à queue de renard ...ils ont des bottes sales, des cheveux gras. t. I, p. 359.

Entre [dans un bal] un *mayolet* en rédingote bleue, chapeau rond à poil, bottes cirées, son cure-dents à la bouche ...toutes les filles le suivent, le tutoient, folâtrent avec lui.... t. I, p. 366.

Ils [les nouveaux voleurs] ont sous leurs ordres des *citoyens actifs*, c'est ainsi qu'ils les appellent par dérision, qui se mêlent aussi du soulèvement des portefeuilles qu'ils nomment *lucs*. t. I, p. 201.

Les boutiques de bijoutiers toujours nombreuses, sont resplendissantes.... Ceux qui n'ont tout juste que pour acheter un pain, regardent ces bijoux précieux, qui ne sont séparés de leurs mains que par un verre transparent et ce fragile rempart est religieusement respecté[2]. t. I, ch. xci, 'Palais Égalité ci-devant Palais Royal.' p. 362.

Ils vendirent quatre cents francs la corde de bois, et l'on vit alors des nécessiteux scier dans les rues leurs bois de lit.... Les fontaines étaient gelées ; les porteurs d'eau des quartiers éloignés de la rivière, forcés d'aller au loin en puiser, la firent payer quinze et même vingt sols la voie ; les citoyens indignés de cet impôt se firent tous porteurs d'eau. t. I, p. 357.

...le louis d'or étant monté à 3,950 fr. assignats à la Bourse du 14 décembre 1795. *Note de l'Éditeur.* t. I, p. 360.

[1] Le mot *mayolet* a dû intriguer maint lecteur de *Quatre-vingt-treize*. Pour ma part je n'ai pu trouver le terme dans aucun dictionnaire ni dans aucun ouvrage relatif à la Révolution. Je suis heureuse d'exprimer tous mes remercîments à M. le professeur Brandin à qui je suis redevable de l'explication qui suit. Selon toute probabilité nous sommes en presence d'une faute d'impression. Mercier aurait écrit *marjolet* (mot vieilli voulant dire 'jeune homme élégant, muguet') mais l'imprimeur, ne connaissant pas l'expression, l'aurait mal lue et inconsciemment forgé le mot *mayolet*. L'examen du manuscrit du *Nouveau Paris* fournirait sans nul doute la preuve de cette hypothèse. En tout cas personne ne peut nier que V. Hugo ne se soit fait aucun scrupule de réproduire parfois des expressions sans les avoir au préalable comprises. (Voir plus loin la note au mot *rigaudinier*.) Comme *mayolet* était imprimé en italiques il s'est probablement imaginé que c'était un terme révolutionnaire et sans même songer à se l'expliquer a gardé le mot pour prêter un peu plus de couleur locale à son chapitre.

[2] Cf. 'Ce qui frappe surtout la vue ce sont les orfèvres qui à travers leurs carreaux étalent des richesses où le goût l'emporte sur la valeur. Ce fragile rempart de verre est constamment respecté par le filou et par le bandit ; il est presque inouï qu'on ait cassé un seul carreau.' t. II, p. 304.

[3] En 1793 la livre tournois était employée comme monnaie de compte ; c'est seulement à partir du 18 germinal an III (17 avril 1795) que l'unité monétaire a pris la dénomination de franc. D'après le *Tableau de dépréciation du papier-monnaie* que donne le *Moniteur* du 2 oct. 1797 en décembre 1793 un louis d'or valait un peu plus de 46 livres assignats.

Une course en fiacre coûtait six cents francs. Après une journée de fiacre, on entendait ce dialogue : Cocher, combien vous dois-je ?—Six mille livres. *Ibid.*

Une course en fiacre coûtait 600 livres: c'était 10 livres par minute. Un particulier rentrant chez-lui le soir : 'Combien ? dit-il au cocher.—6,000 livres.' Il tire son portefeuille et paye. t. I, p. 213.

Une marchande d'herbe vendait pour vingt mille francs par jour. *Ibid.*

Une vendeuse d'herbes faisait dans sa journée vingt mille livres. t. I, p. 326.

A l'entrée des ponts, on voyait des colosses sculptés et peints par David que Mercier insultait : *Énormes polichinelles de bois*, disait-il. Ces colosses figuraient le Fédéralisme et la Coalition terrassés. *Ibid.*

Les Vandales qui scélératisèrent ce grand et beau monument [la statue de Henri IV] aimèrent mieux bâtir d'énormes polichinelles de bois, vils emblèmes du fédéralisme terrassé ; et le peintre David prêta ses crayons à ces infamies doublement déshonorantes pour les arts et pour la vérité. t. II, p. 215.

Chaque rue donnait un bataillon. *Ibid.*

Des bataillons entiers sortaient d'une rue. t. I, p. 335.

Les drapeaux des districts allaient et venaient, chacun avec sa devise. Sur le drapeau du district des Capucins on lisait : *Nul ne nous fera la barbe.* Sur un autre : *Plus de noblesse, que dans le cœur. Ibid.*

La plupart de nos drapeaux portent des devises. En voici quelques-unes : sur celui du district des Capucins de Paris on lit ces mots : *Nul ne nous fera la barbe.* Une inscription moins plaisante mais plus civique est celle du drapeau d'un autre district : *Plus de noblesse que dans le cœur.* t. I, p. 267.

Sur tous les murs, des affiches grandes, petites, blanches, jaunes, vertes, rouges, imprimées, manuscrites, où on lisait ce cri : *Vive la République !* pp. 145—146.

Des millions d'affiches bleues, violettes, jaunes et rouges, affichées à chaque heure du jour devenaient autant de tribunes politiques. t. II, p. 77.

Voir aussi t. II, ch. ccxvi, 'Affiches sur les Murs.'

Les petits enfants bégayaient *Ça ira !* p. 146.

Le plus jeune [enfant] âgé de quatre ans...bégayait en riant, *ah ça ira ! ça ira !* t. I, p. 71.

On dîna au bruit des fanfares dans les entre-sols du Palais Royal, avec des orchestres de femmes battant du tambour et sonnant de la trompette. *Ibid.*

Voir t. II, ch. cxxxix, 'Orchestres de Café.'

'Le rigaudinier[1]' l'archet au poing régna. *Ibid.*

Si l'on entend quelques paroles, elles sont rares, et ne sortent que de la bouche du *rigaudonier*, despote armé de son archet, qui affecte la gronderie et la mauvaise humeur, qui régente tous les distraits.... t. I, p. 385.

On soupa 'à l'orientale' chez Méot, au milieu des cassolettes pleines de parfums. *Ibid.*

Enfin il est un salon particulier [chez Méot] où l'on boit les liqueurs les plus fraîches, et l'encens s'échappe en petits filets nuageux des cassolettes. Là on dîne à l'orientale.... t. I, p. 368.

[1] C'est bien *rigaudinier* et non *rigaudonier* que porte le manuscrit de *Quatre-vingt-treize*. V. Hugo a donc mal copié son modèle—négligence d'autant plus curieuse que l'étymologie de ce mot d'argot saute aux yeux. D'après Littré *rigaudon* ou *rigodon* signifie 1° une ancienne danse d'un mouvement vif sur un air à deux temps, 2° un air à deux temps très animé, sur lequel on dansait le rigaudon, et par extension, tout air propre à une danse vive. Le 'rigaudonier' était sans nul doute celui qui jouait des rigaudons.

...les bals de Ruggieri, de Luquet, de Wenzel, de Mauduit, de la Montausier. p. 147.

...les bals de *Ruggieri*, de *Lucquet*, de *Mauduit*, de *Wenzel*, de *Montausier*. t. I, p. 384.

Aux graves citoyennes...succédèrent les sultanes, les sauvages, les nymphes. *Ibid.*

Là [au bal de l'Hôtel Richelieu] les femmes sont nymphes, sultanes, sauvages. t. I, p. 384.

...les pieds nus des femmes ornés de diamants. *Ibid.*

Ces femmes, aux pieds nus, dont tous les doigts étaient parés avec des diamants. t. I, p. 320.

Il y eut en haut les fournisseurs et en bas 'la petite pègre.' *Ibid.*

Il faut laisser cela [les objets de peu de valeur] aux *petits paigres*, c'est-à-dire les petits voleurs. t. I, p. 201.

Chacun dut veiller sur son 'luc,' c'est-à-dire sur son porte-feuille. *Ibid.*

...portefeuilles, qu'ils nomment *lucs*. t. I, p. 201.

Un des passe-temps était d'aller voir, place du Palais de Justice, les voleuses au tabouret; on était obligé de leur lier les jupes. *Ibid.*

On a vu des femmes condamnées au *tabouret*... On a vu, dis-je, ces femmes lever leurs jupes, insulter aux passants qu'elles faisaient fuir d'épouvante par leurs propos obscènes ; et comme cet écart de la raison humaine allait devenir une habitude, il fut enjoint aux bourreaux de lier leurs jupes et d'assujettir leurs mains[1]. t. I, p. 203.

A la sortie des théâtres des gamins offraient des cabriolets en disant : *Citoyen et citoyenne, il y a place pour deux. Ibid.*

Autrefois à la porte des spectacles lorsqu'un faquin sortait entre les deux pièces, tous les décrotteurs criaient à gorge déployée : 'Votre voiture, Monsieur le Chevalier, Monsieur le Marquis, Monsieur le Comte !' Actuellement ils y ont substitué les noms de capitaine, de général, de commissaire. Ils sont devenus plus familiers; ils présentent la main aux belles dames en les appelant citoyennes ; ils offrent le cabriolet en disant 'On y tient deux commodément.' t. I, p. 199.

On criait la *Lettre de Polichinelle* et *la Pétition des Galopins*[2]. *Ibid.*

Ceux qui sortent de là [du restaurant Méot] sont étrangement scandalisés d'entendre retentir à leurs oreilles le *Postillon de Calais*, le *Messager du Soir*, le *Miroir* ; ils s'embarrassent bien de la *Lettre de Polichinelle*, de la *Constitution en Vaudevilles*, de la *Pétition des Galopins des deux Conseils*. t. I, p. 111.

Les *Dragons de la Liberté* de 92 renaissaient sous le nom de *Chevaliers du Poignard*. *Ibid.*

Cf. t. I, ch. lxxvi, 'Chevaliers du Poignard.'

On eut les 'merveilleuses' et au delà des merveilleuses les 'inconcevables.' *Ibid.*

Nos *inconcevables* et nos *merveilleuses* ne sauraient entrer dans un bal de citoyens. t. I, p. 383.

On jura par sa *paole victimée*. *Ibid.*

Tous ces écrouelleux...s'écrient, *paole victimée, cela ne peut pas durer*. t. I, p. 388.

Elles avaient leurs orateurs. p. 148.

...tous ces orateurs du coin des bornes. t. I, p. 199.

[1] En supprimant ces détails inconvenants Hugo a fait un résumé qui peut inviter au contresens.

[2] Anachronisme. Les mots 'des deux Conseils' (que V. Hugo a eu soin de supprimer) prouvent que la *Pétition des Galopins* n'est pas antérieure à 1795.

Comme on le voit tantôt Hugo emprunte à Mercier un détail ou une expression caractéristique, tantôt il résume en une seule phrase tout un chapitre du *Nouveau Paris :* il ne craint pas de faire passer pour siens des passages entiers puisés dans ces deux volumes oubliés. Nombre des emprunts sont juxtaposés sans transition, d'autres sont liés ensemble par des phrases éminemment hugotiques. Une chose est certaine. Ce tableau du Paris révolutionnaire est dû en grande partie à l'ouvrage de Mercier. Il est vrai que le chapitre forme une des longues digressions dont Hugo est coutumier, mais de discuter si ces pages d'histoire augmentent ou diminuent l'intérêt du roman ce n'est pas l'endroit. Nous nous bornons à en signaler la source principale.

Saint-René Taillandier[1] reproche à V. Hugo d'avoir eu la prétention de créer le parti mystérieux et tout-puissant appelé l'Évêché. Pour le critique cette 'invention' prend son origine dans l'existence des *enragés*, groupe politique qui florissait précisément en 1793 et dont l'objet était de surveiller les Jacobins, la Commune et la Convention. Leur chef, l'abbé Jacques Roux, serait devenu le formidable prêtre Cimourdain. Quant au nom de cette réunion, il aurait été inspiré par un mot de Robespierre, qui dans un discours prononcé au club des Jacobins le 28 juin 1793 fit allusion à 'l'Évêché, lieu célèbre par les grands principes qui y furent toujours professés et soutenus.' La supposition de Taillandier est fausse. En réalité 'la réunion dite l'Évêché' du roman s'explique par le chapitre xxi du *Nouveau Paris*, lequel est consacré entièrement au 'Comité central de l'Évêché.' Sur ce point il n'y a pas à hésiter. En parlant de la nature de ce parti extrême Mercier mentionne deux caractéristiques qui le distinguent des autres groupes politiques. 'L'Évêché se dit investi des pouvoirs illimités de toutes les sections de Paris... La plupart des membres n'étaient pas Français' (t. I, p. 104). Ne sont-ce pas là les deux données essentielles que l'auteur de *Quatre-vingt-treize* a brodées avec son habileté ordinaire? Et à coup sûr le seul hasard n'a pas produit un langage semblable chez les deux écrivains. 'L'Évêché sonnait le tocsin' dit Hugo (p. 155). C'est qu'il s'exprime mieux que Mercier qui, lui, avait écrit 'Le tocsin était dans la main de ce comité' (t. I, p. 105). Puis, en donnant les noms des principaux membres de l'Évêché, pourquoi Hugo rappelle-t-il que Henriot devait 'pointer des canons sur la Convention' (p. 105) sinon parce que Mercier avait dit, 'Il tient à la main la mèche allumée qui va embraser le canon qui fait face au Palais National'? (t. I, p. 105). Non, si falsification de l'histoire il y a, V. Hugo n'en est pas l'auteur. Mais pour nous, l'existence de l'Évêché est un fait

[1] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1er mars 1874.

historique attesté par la description qu'en donne Mercier aussi bien que par la phrase de Robespierre citée plus haut. En tout cas Hugo a agi de bonne foi en se basant sur des renseignements pris dans un ouvrage contemporain.

Le tableau suivant complète, croyons-nous, la liste des passages de *Quatre-vingt-treize* dont Hugo a trouvé soit le fond, soit la forme même dans l'œuvre de Mercier.

V. Hugo.	Séb. Mercier.
La statue fut mise en pièces. Plus tard on en fit des sous. Le bras seul échappa ; c'était le bras droit que Louis XV étendait avec un geste d'empereur romain. Ce fut sur la demande de Cimourdain que le peuple donna et qu'une députation porta ce bras à Latude, l'homme enterré trente-sept ans à la Bastille...qui lui eût dit...que lui, le prisonnier, il serait le maître de cette main de bronze qui avait signé son écrou? 'p. 153.	Cette main étendue comme celle d'un empereur romain, et qui figurait dans une place publique, la main de la statue de Louis XV, où est-elle aujourd'hui? O bizarrerie de la destinée ou decret de la justice éternelle! C'est le prisonnier Latude, détenu pendant trente-cinq ans dans les prisons d'Etat, qui se trouve possesseur de cette main de bronze, dont l'original avait signé l'ordre de sa longue captivité.... Elle [la multitude] comptait sur une émission presque infinie de pièces de six liards. t. I, pp. 124–5.
Isnard, président momentané de la Convention, avait dit un mot monstrueux: *Prenez garde, Parisiens. Il ne restera pas pierre sur pierre de votre ville et l'on cherchera un jour la place où fut Paris.* p. 155.	Isnard, président de la Convention... déclara au nom de la France, que si jamais on portait atteinte à l'inviolabilité de la Convention au milieu des citoyens de Paris, on viendrait un jour sur les rives de la Seine chercher la place où cette ville aurait existé[1]. t. I, p. 118.
Rue du Temple, un assignat de cent francs est tombé à terre, et un passant, un homme du peuple a dit : *Il ne vaut pas la peine d'être ramassé.* p. 176.	J'ai vu un billet de cent francs par terre, et un homme du Temple dit en ma présence 'Il ne vaut pas la peine d'être ramassé.' t. II, p. 109.
Un ruban tricolore séparait le château où était l'assemblée du jardin où le peuple allait et venait. p. 206.	La terrasse des Feuillants était le seul passage permis au public pour aller aux séances de l'Assemblée. Le peuple de peur de souiller son pied libre de la poussière du jardin d'un despote exécré, fixa lui-même avec un ruban tricolore la ligne de démarcation qui fut scrupuleusement observée[2]. t. I, p. 143.
Lause-Duperret, qui, traité de *scélérat* par un journaliste, l'invita à dîner en disant, *Je sais que 'scélérat' veut simplement dire l'homme qui ne pense pas comme nous*[3]. pp. 214—215.	v. Introduction, p. v.

[1] Mercier répète ce mot d'Isnard plus loin. v. t. II, p. 267.

[2] Voir aussi t. I, p. 273.

[3] L'honneur d'avoir trouvé cette jolie définition ne revient pas à Lause-Duperret. Cuvier nous apprend qu'un certain journaliste fit cette réponse à son hôte, Lacépède, un jour que celui-ci lui demanda pourquoi il avait mis son nom en tête d'un article intitulé 'Liste des scélérats qui votent contre le peuple' (Cuvier, *Éloge historique de Lacépède*). L'éditeur du *Nouveau Paris* cite Cuvier textuellement dans son Introduction et c'est ainsi que V. Hugo a eu connaissance de l'anecdote. Il a substitué le nom de Lause-Duperret à celui de Lacépède, et a attribué à l'hôte le mot de l'invité.

Mercier, l'auteur du *Tableau de Paris*, qui s'écriait : *Tous les rois ont senti sur leurs nuques le 21 janvier.* p. 216.	Tous les rois de la terre ont senti sur leurs nuques le coup de guillotine qui a séparé la tête de Louis XVI de son corps. t. II, ch. ccxv, 'Anniversaire du 21 janvier.' p. 282.
Condorcet...dénoncé par l'Horace qu'il avait dans sa poche. *Ibid.*	Détail fourni par Mercier. Voir t. II, ch. clxxxviii, 'Condorcet.' p. 203.
[Sieyès] attelé à la même charrette qu'Alexandre de Beauharnais. p. 221.	On a vu MM. Sieyès et Beauharnais attachés à une charrette. t. I, p. 70.
Dans les tribunes des femmes décolletées et parées comptaient les voix, une liste à la main, et piquaient des épingles sous chaque vote. p. 226.	Le fond de la salle était transformé en loge, où des dames, dans le plus charmant négligé, mangeaient des glaces, des oranges, buvaient des liqueurs...des femmes avec des épingles piquaient des cartes pour comparer les votes. t. II, pp. 406, 407–8.
Duchâtel, le député des Deux Sèvres, qui se fit apporter malade sur son lit, et mourant, vota la vie, ce qui fit rire Marat. *Ibid.*	On fit venir je ne sais quel député malade ou convalescent ; il vint affublé de son bonnet de nuit et de sa robe de chambre : cette espèce de fantôme fit rire l'Assemblée. t. II, p. 407. C'était Duchâtel, député des Deux Sèvres qui, malade, se fit porter au bureau. Il ne vota pas la mort. *Note de l'Éditeur.*
L'on cherchait des yeux le représentant, oublié par l'histoire aujourd'hui, qui, après cette séance de trente-sept heures, tombé de lassitude et de sommeil sur son banc, et réveillé par l'huissier quand ce fut son tour de voter, entr'ouvrit les yeux, dit : *La mort !* et se rendormit. *Ibid.*	Des députés qui tombaient de sommeil et qu'on réveillait pour prononcer. t. II, p. 408.
Des Anglais offraient vingt mille souliers aux pieds nus de nos soldats. p. 227.	Il en fut de même des vingt mille paires de souliers que des Anglais offrirent à la Convention nationale, pour chausser nos soldats qui volaient nu-pieds à la victoire. t. I, p. 209.
Lecomte, qui s'écriait : *C'est donc à qui se déprêtrisera !* p. 232.	Gobel, archevêque de Paris, vint confesser à la barre qu'il n'avait jamais été qu'un imposteur, qu'un charlatan, et qu'il méprisait le culte dont il avait été le ministre. Pour de l'argent une foule de prêtres suivirent son exemple ; c'était à qui se déprêtriserait. t. II, p. 97.

En somme Mercier a fourni à Hugo la plus grande partie de sa description de Paris et treize autres détails historiques concernant la Révolution[1]. De plus ayant appris dans Mercier l'existence de l'Évêché Hugo a eu l'idée d'investir Cimourdain des pouvoirs illimités appartenant aux membres de ce comité.

[1] Il est à remarquer que tous ces emprunts se trouvent dans les trois livres de la deuxième partie du roman. (*A Paris.*)

La juxtaposition des textes ne laisse pas que de trahir chez Hugo un certain manque de scrupule littéraire. Nous ne voulons pas parler de ses nombreux plagiats—voilà bien longtemps que les auteurs ont l'habitude de 'prendre leur bien partout où ils le trouvent'—nous lui reprocherions cependant deux procédés de composition qui, tout en étant dus à sa passion pour la langue n'en paraissent guère moins répréhensibles.

1°. *L'Altération de la Vérité.* Chez ce grand manieur de mots le désir de citer un joli propos l'emporte parfois sur le respect des faits. C'est ainsi qu'il prête à Lause-Duperret une explication spirituelle donnée à Lacépède, et met dans la bouche de Gobel un verbe expressif forgé par Mercier.

2°. *L'emploi de mots dont il ignore la signification.* Le culte du mot propre a valu à V. Hugo au moins deux expressions que l'on chercherait en vain dans les dictionnaires. Comme nous l'avons dit, l'une, *mayolet,* est vraisemblablement la réproduction d'une faute typographique; dans l'autre, *rigaudinier,* il faut voir une inexactitude de 'copiste.'

En revanche, il est impossible d'étudier cette source sans s'incliner une fois de plus devant le génie de V. Hugo. D'abord avec quelle sûreté il a su choisir! On peut dire que dans *Quatre-vingt-treize* entre presque tout ce que Mercier offre d'intéressant et de typique. Ensuite, chaque fois que V. Hugo a eu l'idée d'apporter un changement quelconque à la forme de ses emprunts le résultat est tout à son honneur. Sous sa plume les détails superflus tombent, les traits trop grossiers sont ou entièrement supprimés ou remplacés par des termes plus convenables—nous sommes en présence d'un travail de maître.

FLORENCE PAGE.

LONDRES.

SPANISH 'CH.'

THE sound of the digraph *ch* is in Spanish very similar to the sound of *ch* in the word *church*, and most of the Spanish authorities consulted by me on the matter unhesitatingly agree in affirming that in Spanish *ch* represents a single sound.

The latest edition of the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy leaves us in no doubt as to the official view. 'As regards its representative sign,' it says, '*ch* is a double letter; but as regards its sound it is single and indivisible in spelling[1].' The Grammar of the Spanish Language published by the same body in 1913 is no less categorical. 'This letter,' we read on p. 354, 'is double in spelling, but single in its sound[2],' and further on (page 376), it insists: '*ch* and *ll*, single letters as to their pronunciation, and double in sign, must never be divided[3].'

These opinions of the Royal Spanish Academy have been consistently maintained from the day when the learned Society decided to make of *ch* a letter of the Spanish alphabet, to be placed between *c* and *d*. It should be noted that the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy published between 1726 and 1739 (the so-called *Diccionario de autoridades*) did not regard *ch* as a single letter. Words beginning with *ch* are found in it immediately after the combination *cez*..., not, as in more recent editions, after *cz*... A more radical novelty than that adopted by the Academy in 1804, and consisting in treating *ch* as a separate letter of the alphabet, was suggested three centuries earlier by one who is not generally accounted as a rash innovator. Nebrija (or Lebrixa as the name was spelt in his time) says in his grammar published in 1492: 'another use to which the *c* is put is when an *h* comes after it, and then it is pronounced like the first letters in the words *chapin, chico*, a sound which is peculiar to our language...and what now is spelt with a *ch*, should be spelt with a single sign, which we ought to designate with

[1] *Diccionario de la lengua castellana por la Real Academia Española*, Décimocuarta edición, Madrid, 1914 (p. 312). 'Por su figura es doble, pero sencilla por su sonido y en la escritura indivisible.'

[2] *Gramática de la lengua castellana por la Real Academia Española*, Madrid, 1913 (p. 354). 'Esta letra, doble en la escritura y sencilla en el sonido.'

[3] *Ibid.* (p. 376). 'La *ch* y la *ll*, letras simples en su pronunciación y dobles en su figura.'

the name of its pronunciation[1].' Nebrija, considering that the sign was a simple one, proposed to have a special sign for it, as in Russian and Czech.

The Royal Spanish Academy is not the sole Spanish authority to lay it down that the digraph *ch* represents a single sound. Roque Barcia is not, perhaps, what can be strictly called a great linguistic authority but he took all pains to compile an etymological dictionary which contains something not always found in works of its kind: namely much of unconscious humour. In this book I read: 'Although double in form, being composed of a *c* and an *h*, its sound [that of *ch*] is single, even and constant, being susceptible of combination with all vowels. It cannot be confused with any other letter and does not admit of another consonant being added after it[2].' Señor Alemany y Bolufer, in his painstaking compilation (1917), defines the characteristics of the letter *ch* in the same words as the Spanish Academy[3]. Don Salvador Padilla in a critical and historical grammar of Spanish accepts the same principles in these words: '*ll*, *ch* and *rr*, double in writing, are in their pronunciation single sounds[4].' Sr. Cotarelo y Mori in his *Fonología Española* compares this consonant with the French *ch*, which is really an elementary sound, and says that the Spanish and the French letters differ only, as respects their pronunciation, in the manner in which the breath is expelled[5].

Spanish-American philologists seem to have accepted with docility the modern view of the Royal Spanish Academy concerning the phonetic value of the digraph *ch*. Andrés Bello calls *ch* an 'indivisible sound[6].' Mr Aurelio M. Espinosa in his recent Spanish Grammar is quite positive on this point: '*ch*, *ll*, *rr*,' he says, 'do not represent doubled (*sic*) but

[1] Antonio de Lebrixa, *Gramatica...sobre la lengua castellana*, Salamanca, mil y ccccxcij (p. a. II, verso). 'El otro oficio que la .c. tiene prestado es cuando despues della ponemas .h. cual pronunciacion suena en las primeras letras de estas diciones chapin. chico. la cual assi es propria de nuestra lengua: que ni judios ni moros ni griegos la conocieron por suya.' (P. a. III, verso) 'podiamos tener esta templança...que lo que agora se escrive con .ch. se escriviesse con una nueva figura: la cual se llamasse del nombre de su fuerza.'

[2] Roque Barcia, *Primer Diccionario General Etimológico de la Lengua Española*, Madrid, 1880 (vol. I, p. 1169). 'Aunque doble en su formación, pues se compone de la *C* y de la *H* es sencillo en su sonido y éste igual y constante.'

[3] José Alemany y Bolufer, *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, Barcelona, 1917, p. 502.

[4] Salvador Padilla, *Gramática histórico-crítica de la Lengua Española*, Madrid, 1911 (p. 8). 'La *ll*, la *ch* y la *rr*, en la escritura dobles, son sonidos sencillos en su pronunciación.'

[5] Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Fonología Española*, Madrid, 1909 (p. 82). '...sólo difieren en el modo de arrojar o espirar el aliento.'

[6] Andrés Bello, *Principios de la Ortología y Métrica de la Lengua Castellana*, Bogotá, 1882 (p. 9). *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*, Paris, 1914 (p. 6).

single consonantal sounds[1].' Rufino José Cuervo's wide knowledge and scientific training naturally made him cautious. He does not, that I know of, touch in any of his works on the point regarding the single or double phonetic value of *ch*, yet in his notes to Bello's Grammar he places *ñ*, *ll* and *ch* in the same category, observing that either by chance or by arbitrary choice, signs already existing were adapted to peculiar sounds of the language[2]; and in his *Apuntaciones* he classifies *ch* as a palatal, and the fact that in his table of sounds he does not include the double sound *x* might seem to indicate that he considers *ch* to be an elementary sound[3]. Hanssen calls this letter 'an explosive dorso-prepalatal[4].'

Recent Spanish authors seem to indicate a change of view as to the phonetic value of this letter, and D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal states that, properly speaking, it is a dento-palatal compound formed by the occlusion of *t* and a fricative emission like that of the *x* of old Spanish[5].

The point seemed to have been settled by Friedrich Diez, as far back as 1844, at the time of the publication of his masterly *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* in which he says that the Spanish *ch* is pronounced like the German combination *tsch*[6]. The point was determined, in so far as it was shown or admitted that *ch* was not an elementary or single sound; but there is still something to be said as to the quality of the sounds blended to make this letter, and as to the way in which the blend is made. The Concise Oxford Dictionary gives the following definition of the word *digraph*: 'Group of two letters expressing one sound as *ch ea*[7].' Webster is more cautious in the treatment of the sound *ch* and his qualifications of the current idea that this sound is made up of *t* and *sh*, almost coincide with the experimental facts which I am about to describe. These are the words used in Webster's Dictionary to define the value of the letter *ch* in English: 'Most phoneticians analyze this sound as a

[1] Aurelio M. Espinosa, *Elementary Spanish Grammar*, New York, 1915 (p. 16).

[2] Andrés Bello, *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*, Paris, 1914, note 3 at the end. 'Ya sea por efecto de una elección arbitraria como la que apropió a sonidos peculiares del romance los signos ya existentes *ñ*, *ll*, *ch*, ya por casual coincidencia que de dos ies (ii) produjo un signo nuevo semejante en la forma a la *y* llamada griega, ello es, etc.'

[3] Rufino José Cuervo, *Apuntaciones Críticas*, Paris, 1914 (p. 4).

[4] Friedrich Hanssen, *Spanische Grammatik*, Halle, 1910 (p. 39). '*ch* ist ein dorsopre-palataler Verschlusslaut, der allerdings zum Reibelaut neigt.'

[5] Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Manual Elemental de Gramática Histórica Española*, Madrid, 1905 (p. 65 *n.*). 'Propiamente es dento-palatal compuesta de la oclusion *t* y una fricación análoga a la de la *x* del antiguo castellano.'

[6] Friedrich Diez, *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1876 (I, p. 67). 'Sein Laut entspricht ungefähr dem des deutschen *tsch*, wobei man jedoch den ganzen vordern Theil der Zunge gegen den Gaumen drücken musz.'

[7] *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, Oxford, 1914. The *New Oxford Dictionary*, on which the concise edition is supposed to be based, does not add any illustration to the definition quoted above.

combination of *t* and *sh*, but these elements are not simply pronounced in succession, without change, as are for instance *k* and *s* in *box*, they blend into a composite sound, in which the sound both of the *t* and the *sh* is changed somewhat, so that many can hear neither element, and so regard the sound as simple[1].'

The sound of the digraph *ch*, which occurs very often in English and is found in all the Romance languages except French, was probably unknown to the old Greek and Latin races, but there is reason to think that it existed in Sanskrit, having the same pronunciation as it now has in English (where the pronunciation, by the way, differs somewhat from the Spanish sound). The English *ch* is stronger, perhaps because the explosive element is more definite in the Teutonic than in the Romance languages. Germans in their first attempts to speak Spanish tend to say *berro* instead of *perro* and *exacdo* instead of *exacto*.

Before going further it should be noted that the description of the Spanish *ch* as given by Sr. Menéndez Pidal coincides with that of a very good authority on experimental phonetics. Professor Edward Wheeler Scripture of Yale, following the record of his instruments for *č* (ch) and *J* (French j) teaches us that these sounds 'consist of an occlusive *t* or *d* sound with a fricative release producing a rushing sound instead of the explosive release of an ordinary *t* or *d*.' He goes further than Sr. Menéndez Pidal and what follows is much to my purpose: 'It is customary to assume,' he adds, 'that these are consonantal diphthongs and to indicate them by tš and dž. It is quite possible, however, that the fricative release may not be of the character supposed; moreover the occlusive and fricative elements may be too closely fused to permit us to consider the sounds as diphthongs[2].' This is a very important point quite adequately raised by Professor Scripture and I believe my experiments may contribute to solve the apparent difficulty, which is by no means negligible, inasmuch as Mr Josselyn, quoted by Professor Scripture, considers that it is quite wrong to describe *č* (ch) as composed of the articulations *t* and *š* or even as composed of a series of articulations[3]. It might seem according to Mr Josselyn that the Spanish Academy were quite right and Diez, Jespersen, Sweet, Wyld were quite wrong; but the truth in this case, as in many others, seems to lie equally far from the two extremes.

The result of my experiments tends to prove (1) that there are two

[1] Webster's *New International Dictionary*, London, 1913 (p. xlix).
[2] *The Elements of Experimental Phonetics*, New York and London, 1902 (p. 304).
[3] Scripture, *op. cit.* (p. 321).

different elementary sounds in the Spanish letter *ch*, (2) and that they form a kind of consonantal diphthong, quite different from the sound of the two elements *t* and *sh* when pronounced in succession and separately.

The experiment, which can be readily repeated, is simple. It is based on the a priori principle that two distinct elementary sounds if reproduced from a phonograph record in an inverted position will give the same sounds altering their order. If we talk into the speaking tube of the phonograph and say *no*, the sapphire knife inscribes on the wax of the record certain lines which acting on a reproducer repeat with a metallic intonation the word *no*. But if instead of putting the record in the right position under the reproducer we insert it backwards and make it turn, the trumpet will give back the word *on*[1]. I made the experiment with several words; *ínsula* was one of them and in this case the record when inverted repeated *alusní* quite distinctly. Together with Dr Thomas O. Eastman (a Colombian authority on phonetics) I was trying to discover whether the Castilian *ll* (something like the French *l mouillé*, and identical with the Italian *gli* in *spoglia*) was an elementary sound or not. The phonograph showed clearly that there is only one sound for the Castilian *ll*.

As for the sound *ch* we took for granted that the word *mucho* should be reproduced by the inverted record as *ochum* if *ch* consisted of a single sound as the Academy states. We had this word repeated several times by the reproducer in the regular position of the record and it invariably gave the same word *mucho*, very distinctly. But when we inverted the position of the record on the cylinder we were surprised to hear that the word reproduced was something like *oshdum* or *oshtum*. It was manifest that we were dealing with a double sound, and so we repeated the experiment several times and with different words. Our instrument was not perfect, yet we felt justified in concluding, as the result of our experiments, that the digraph *ch* in Spanish represents two sounds, one of which is undoubtedly a very soft English *sh*, something like the sound of the letters *sj* in the Swedish word *sjö*. As to the remaining sound it was more difficult to isolate: it sounded like a very soft *t* and it seemed to be partially absorbed by the other one. It could be perceived by everybody near the instrument, although not

[1] The operation of inverting the record is not quite so simple as it seems. The cylinder on which the record is inserted is not, geometrically speaking, a cylinder but a truncate cone, so that only a portion of the record can be inserted on the cylinder when the position is inverted. To obviate this difficulty the words should be inscribed on the wider part of the record, after cutting off the smaller half.

very distinctly. We tried to imitate the inverted combination in order to see whether it would give the original sound when reproducing the former backwards, but we did not succeed. We could not vocally isolate the two elements, and hence we could not blend them when following a contrary course to the one in which they are sounded to form *ch*. Yet, we are quite convinced of the existence of two different sounds one of which is undoubtedly *sh*.

We also wished to ascertain whether the Spanish ñ (*gn* between vowels in French and Italian or *nh* in Portuguese) is an elementary sound. The experiments showed that it is. Our experiments with *x* gave the result that grammarians would have foreseen: *éxodo* when inverted in the record gave *odoske*. The graph *x*, as we know, represents the combination *cs* in many European languages.

We may therefore safely conclude that the Spanish Academy and all the authorities who take the digraph *ch* as the representation of a single sound have now an experimental method of verifying the accuracy or inaccuracy of their classification.

Do the *t* and *sh* form a consonantal diphthong like *br* in the Spanish word *obra*? The blending seems to be more intimate in the former case than in the latter, but as both elements can be isolated the diphthong evidently exists. There is a diphthong in the Spanish word *auto*. If we invert these sounds in the phonograph the word *otua* comes out, in which all the elements of the former are clearly perceived. *Cobra* inverted in the same manner gives *arboc*: the consonantal sound *br* being separated into its two elements *rb*. The two elements of *ch* are not so clearly isolated in the inversion, but their separate existence is perceptible. Yet there are cases in which the *t* and the *sh* sound separately and do not form a consonantal diphthong, as in the English word *outshine* where the *t* and the *sh* do not combine to form the sound *ch*.

One might plead against the division of *ch* into two different sounds (the first of which is *t*) that the combination *tch*, between two vowels, exists in Italian and in some other languages. In the Italian word *caccia* (pr. cat-cha) the *t* and the *ch* sound separately and distinctly. There is not much weight in this argument. *T* is a letter which very often, especially in Italian, must sound doubled in order to avoid confusion. The double *t* must sound in *brutto* (ugly) in Italian, as different from *bruto* (beast). In Spanish *t* never occurs before *ch*, but the ear of Spanish-speaking persons can easily perceive the difference between the sound of *cacha* and the pronunciation of the Italian word *caccia* (cat-cha).

To the ear of an expert phonologist like Dr Sweet, the two elements of the digraph *ch* could be practically isolated. 'If we drop the *t* in *catsh*' (the English pronunciation of *catch*), he says, 'we can feel the difference between the resulting *cash* and (the ordinary word) *cash*[1].'

From the etymological point of view the vicissitudes of *ch* and *sh* vary greatly. According to all existing testimony, they formed part of the Sanskrit alphabet. They disappeared in Greek and Latin or in what we know of those languages. They reappear in the Romance idioms, but in French the *ch* (with its English sound) was never adopted although it was one of the Provençal sounds; and in modern Spanish we have the English *ch*, but we only hear the *sh* as a part of the former sound. Yet, there was a time when *sh* had in Spanish an individual existence under the guise of the letter *x*. The English language has taken the single and the compound sounds, while other Teutonic languages, German, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian have only kept the *sh* from the old mother tongue.

In Spanish the sound *ch* stands for a contraction or shrinking of several Latin sounds, of which *c* is often the most conspicuous: *cohecho* (coactus), *leche* (lacte), *ocho* (octo), *mucho* (multus), *chubasco* (pluvia), *ancho* (amplius); while in Italian and Rumanian it is the same Latin *c* before the vowels *e*, *i*, from which coincidence arises the contestable belief that the sound *ch* existed in Latin and was represented by *c* before *e* and *i*.

While experimenting on the phonetic value of *ch* and some other letters of the Spanish alphabet which we wanted to analyse in order to find out whether they were single or compound, Dr Eastman tried to verify certain theories of his concerning quantity and stress. We expected to find that when inverting a word the phonograph would keep the stress on the same vowel, and, as a rule, the instrument substantiated our belief. The Spanish word *mucho*, which has the stress on the *u*, kept it on the same element when inverted; *árbol* sounded as *lobrá* (not lóbra); *sacó* came out as *ócas* (not ocás); *ínsula* gave, when the record was inverted, *alusní* in an unmistakably clear way (not *álusni* or *alúsni*). We were almost ready to generalize and propound the rule that accent is a vital element of the vowels, which gives them a special physiognomy and makes them appear, when stressed, as separate phonetic values. But an experiment which we made towards the end of our trials showed that the assumption could not be maintained. We inscribed the word *éxodo* (with the stress on *e*), and had it repeated by

[1] Henry Sweet, *A Primer of Phonetics*, Oxford, 1906 (p. 85).

the phonograph in an inverted form. It gave *odóske* every time we put it under the reproducer, and not *odoské* as we expected it to come out in conformity with the general result of the foregoing experiments.

Why is it that the stress keeps its place in the case of *árbol* and *ínsula* and is displaced in the case of *éxodo*? I have not yet found a completely satisfactory explanation. It might be that the stress and quantity are one and the same thing, and as there is a tendency in Spanish to pronounce as long the vowel placed before two consonants, the stress which falls on *e* in *éxodo* because there are two consonants *k* and *s* after it, shifts to the intermediate *ó* in *odóske* because the two consonants happen in this case to be before the second vowel of the word. This sounds plausible. Yet in the case of *ínsula* the stress ought to change from *i* to *u* in *alusni*, because the two consonants follow *u* and not *i*; but, as we have seen, the stress was kept on the same vowel in the inversion, which sounded *alusní*. Dr Eastman explains this apparent anomaly by saying that *n* is almost a vowel sound and therefore *n* and *s* cannot be counted as two consonants. At the same time one must not lose sight of the fact that psychological and personal factors have a distinct influence on the accent of words. Spanish-speaking people pronounce *juntandolós*, while thinking that they are saying *juntándolos*, and the accent of a word varies from one syllable to another according to the requirements of emphasis. The same anarchy prevails in regard to quantity. 'The relations of duration,' says Professor Scripture, 'may be entirely reversed, the long vowel occupying perhaps less time than the short one.' And further on: 'The inadequateness of a treatment of accent on the basis of a classification into accented and unaccented syllables has been emphasized by various writers. Accent, we may say, is a continuous property that runs with the flow of speech[1].' And Jespersen writes: 'that part of the word which is of greater value to the speaker and which therefore he especially wants the hearer to notice, is pronounced with the strongest stress[2].' This personal element is one of the difficulties hardest to overcome in the use of mechanical apparatus in the study of phonology.

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[1] E. W. Scripture, *op. cit.*
[2] Otto Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, Leipzig, 1912 (p. 26).

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Textual Notes on the Old English 'Epistola Alexandri.'

The OE. translation of the *Epistola Alexandri*, contained in the Beowulf MS. (Cotton Vitellius A. xv), has been twice printed: by T. O. Cockayne in *Narratiunculae Anglice Conscriptae* (1861), together with the Latin text of MS. Cotton Nero D. viii, 169 f.; and by W. M. Baskervill in *Anglia*, vol. IV (1881), pp. 139—167. The object of this article is to propose some emendations on Baskervill's text, which is here referred to by the numbered lines. The following abbreviations are used: B. = Baskervill; C. = Cockayne; H. = collation of the MS. by A. Holder in *Anglia*, vol. I, pp. 507–12; R. = S. I. Rypins in *Modern Language Notes*, vol. XXXII, p. 15 (based on a collation of the MS.). The Latin is quoted from B. Kübler's text in his *Iuli Valeri Alexandri Polemi Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis* (Teubner), pp. 190 ff.

ll. 6 ff. Simle ic beo gemindig, ge efne betweoh tweondan frecnisse ura gefeohta, þu min se leofesta lareow, etc. The addition of *þin* after *gemindig* is necessary for the grammar and sense; Latin: *semper memor tui*. B.'s emendation *þe* for *ge* is ungrammatical.

ll. 13 ff. to þon þæt hwæt hwygo to þære ongietenisse þissa minra þinga þin gelis ond glengista geþeode. The translator has mistaken the construction of the Latin, and understood the words to mean 'that thy study and genius may add something to the understanding of these new things.' Probably *minra* is a mistake for *niura* = *niwra*; the Latin is *novarum rerum*. For *glengista geþeode* read *gleawnis to geþeode*.

ll. 15 f. MS. þeoh [in] þe seo gefylde gleawnis ond snyttro næniges fultumes abædeð sio lar þæs rihtes. The Latin is: *quamquam in te consummata* [sit] *prudentia nullumque adiutorium expostulet ratio doctrinae*. The addition of *ond* after *snyttro* would give a literal though unidiomatic rendering of the Latin, and is supported by the singular *abædeð*. Baskervill rejects Cockayne's reconstruction of the margin [*in*], preferring [*to*], which accords neither with the Latin nor with OE. idiom.

l. 39. For *secgan* read *leogan*.

l. 50. gif hit [oþe]r bið. For [*oþe*]*r* we should perhaps read *elcor*,

the MS. being imperfect at the beginning of the line. Cf. '*gif elcor*, si quo minus' (Wr.-Wülker 612), the gloss referring to John xiv, 2.

l. 55. Singeall. Certainly read *þas ðing eall.* So R., who also (doubtless correctly) reads *mi[cel]re* instead of *mi[n]re.*

l. 67. For *bæton* read *læton* (according to Holder probably the reading of the MS.).

ll. 73 f. ond we ealle his þeode on onwald onfengon ond þæm londe we wæron monegum cynelicum weolum geweorðode. *Þæm londe* cannot stand alone. Place a full stop after *onfengon*, and read *On* for *ond.* For the common confusion of *on* and *ond*, see especially Napier, *Anglia*, x, 140.

l. 83. For *metdon* read *ineodon*: the Latin is *invasimus.*

l. 93. his hon. The supposed word *hon* 'vine-tendrils,' which has found its way into all the dictionaries from this passage, has no existence. The scribe had written *his*, which should have been followed by *wæstmas*, when his eye fell upon *his hongodon* in l. 91. He began to write *hongodon*, but discovering his mistake, stopped short at *hon.* He then resumed with the correct *ond his wæstmas*, but neglected to delete the erroneous *ond his hon.*

ll. 99 ff. cupressus styde ond laurisce hie utan wreþedon ond gyldne styþa hie uton wreþedon ond aþrawene ðar in gemong stodon. The Latin is: *testudinibus cupressinis, quibus lauari in insigni loco ut in balnearibus erant soliti.* The translator read *lauari* as *lauri*, and made a wild guess at the sense; and the scribe has increased the confusion by repeating the words *hie uton wreþedon ond.*

ll. 112 ff. Read: þa sægdon us ða bigengean þæs londes þæt we us warnigan scoldon wiþ þa missenlican cynd nædrena ond hrifra wildeora þyl[æs] we on ða becwomon. For *þyl[æs] we* B. has *þy[n]e*; R. *þyl[c] we*: both wrongly. The Latin is: *praedixerunt...ne serpentes et rabida ferarum genera incideremus.*

ll. 128 ff. þa [*sc.* godwebwyrhtan] þonne wunderlice of sunnan treowcynne ond of his leafum ond of his flyse þæs treowes spunnon, etc. There is no question here of the 'tree of the sun.' Read *sumum*, which is paleographically very close to *sunnan.* The error was the more natural because later on (ll. 589 ff.) the trees of the sun and moon are described.

l. 151. For *ic hie* read *ic hie het.*

ll. 181 ff. on þære ea ofre stod hreod ond wintreow ond abies þæt treowcyn ungemetlicre gryto ond micelnysse þy clyfe weox ond wriðode. Latin: *flumen...cuius ripam pedum sexagenum arundo vestiebat pinorum*

abietumque robora vincens in crassitudine. The translator has bungled, but he certainly wrote *pin-treow,* not *win-treow.*

ll. 209 ff. Seo wise wæs þa in me on twa healfa uneþe (fol. 118b) ærest be minre seolfre nedþearfe [þanne min]es weorodes. For the impossible *in me* C. reads *mine,* which may pass as translators' English though *me* would be more natural. Before *ærest* B. says there is a part of a letter, which H. takes to be *o*; B. says 'more probably *a* = *ma*.' Read *uneþe*[*lic*]*o, ærest.* At the end we should perhaps read [7 *eft min*]*es weorodes.*

ll. 251–2. *þam cras* (so both editors) is obviously a mistake for *þa nicras,* which according to R. is the actual reading of the MS. Unfortunately the ghost-word, *crās,* 'food,' 'dainty,' has found a place in Sweet's Dictionary and in B.-T. Supplement.

ll. 368 f. ða [*sc.* Indisce mys] þonne ure feþerfotnietenu etan and wundedon. R. 'MS. *itan*; before which space for one or two letters. Read [*b*]*itan* or [*ab*]*itan*.' The true reading is probably [*sl*]*itan*: cf. 323 *sliton ond tæron*: 244 *sliton ond blodgodon.*

l. 431. eohbigenga ('before *eoh* a letter cut off'). Certainly read *feohbigenga.* So B.-T. Supplement, following Napier.

ll. 448–9. gefylcea. The common word *gefylsta* would make excellent sense. If the *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον gefylcea* be correct, it may mean 'marshal'—an agent noun from *gefylcian.* In l. 605 Porus is represented to have been left in command of the body of the Greek army in Alexander's absence. But the Latin of the present passage contains no hint of such a sense.

l. 505. Both editors (and presumably the MS.) have *gesawe* for *gesawon we.*

ll. 588 ff. þu gesiehst, kyning, gif þu hit geferest ond þa tu treo sunnan ond monan. Delete the *ond* after *geferest.*

l. 631. wigegehrine. C. has *wif-gehrine*; H. '*wig* (dann noch eine buchstabe).' Read *wifa gehrine.*

l. 637. ða bad se sacerd sunnan setlgongen. Read *setlgonges.*

ll. 663–4. Both editors print the unmeaning *soþre ondswarege ondwyrdum* instead of *soþre ondsware geondwyrdum* (for *-dun,* more correctly *-den*).

l. 672. Mid þy we þa wel neah stodan þam bearwum ond þæm godsprecum. The dictionaries give *godsprecum* under the nom. *godsprec* or *godsprǣce,* but it seems more natural to assume *godspreca* sb. masc. The declarer of the oracle, not the utterance, is meant.

ll. 679 ff. ac hwæþre ne cymst ðu on þinne eþel ðonan þu ferdest

ær, forþon ðin eþel hit swa be þinum heafde ond fore hafaþ aræded. Read *wyrd* for the second *eþel*, which the scribe has copied from above. Latin: *quoniam fata tua ita de capite tuo statuerunt.*

ll. 711 ff. þigde ða tela micelne mete wiþ mines modes willan. Of course the opposite of the natural meaning. Latin: *paululum cibi contra animi mei voluntatem sumere coepi.* Read [*med*]*micelne.*

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NOTES ON OLD ENGLISH.

I. *Elene*, ll. 899—902.

The passage reads and is usually punctuated:

þā þǣr ligesynnig
on lyft āstāh lācende fēond.
Ongan þā hlēoðrian helledēofol,
eatol ǣclǣca yfele gemyndig.

For 'on lyft āstāh' there is no exact parallel in the Latin source commonly printed, as by Zupitza, Holthausen, Kent. Nor has it been noted, I think, that another text must have been before Cynewulf. Instead of 'diabolus cum furore vociferabatur in aere, dicens,' his Latin text read 'diabolus cum furore vocis ferebatur in aera, dicens.' See this reading in one of the MSS. printed by Holder in his *Inventio Sanctae Crucis*, p. 10 and Notes[1]. This accounts fully for the English 'on lyft āstāh' as distinct from the crying out, 'ongan þā hlēoðrian,' but closely associated with it. It also shows that a semicolon at most should follow *fēond* (l. 900). Glöde, on the 'Sources of the Elene,' *Anglia*, IX, 271 f., makes no mention of this point.

II. *Maldon*, l. 34: Ne þurfe wē ūs spillan.

The usual meanings given for *spillan* seem too strong for this place. The messenger of the invaders could scarcely have said 'Nor need we destroy ourselves,' as implied by 'destroy, kill,' the meanings given to *spillan* by Bosworth-Toller, Sweet, Bright, Sedgefield. Certainly not if he referred to his own party only in the ordinary reflexive sense, and quite as probably not if he included the English: 'We need not destroy one another.' The speech of the Viking messenger is intended to be persuasive, and doubtless the Northmen much preferred that the English should pay the tribute rather than fight, as Englishmen had often done before. I suggest that the meanings 'waste, spend, injure' belonged to

[1] The Greek text which Holder prints (p. 36) reads: *τούτου οὖν μεγίστου θαύματος γενομένου, ἦλθε φωνὴ ἐξ ἀέρος ἀγανακτήσαντος τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ λέγοντος.* It thus rather supports the reading of Cynewulf's Latin text.

spillan even in Old English, although most of the examples usually cited will bear the stronger sense. The unassimilated *spildan* means 'waste, destroy, make away with,' and *forspildan* 'spill, lose, waste, disperse' as well as 'destroy,' Grein's 'perdere, disperdere, dissipare.' So *spilling, forspillednes* mean 'waste' as well as 'destruction.'

The Middle and early Modern English meanings of *spill, spilth*, also suggest that the milder sense may be a retention of that once common in Old English colloquial usage; see the excellent examples in the *Cent. Dict.* We should not assume that the milder meanings are Scandinavian, as does the *New Eng. Dict.*, unless they are impossible or improbable to the native speech. Let me add that Sedgefield has not contributed clearness to the passage by placing a semicolon after *spillan* and a comma at the end of the line. The punctuation of Grein, Sweet, Bright, Crow, is better, and it seems to me the translation: 'We need not spend ourselves (injure one another) if you succeed in that (manage that, or are rich to that extent),' as by Klaeber, *Mod. Lang. Notes* xx, 32. The reference is to paying tribute, as in line 32. This thought the messenger follows naturally with the next: 'For against (in exchange for) that gold, we will establish peace.'

III. *Maldon*, l. 256: unorne ceorl.

The single meaning given for this word in Grein, and the editions of Sweet (*Reader*), Kluge (*Lesebuch*), Bright, Crow, Sedgefield is 'old.' That meaning rests on a single passage in Old English, the translation of Latin *veteribus vestimentis* (*Joshua* ix, 5) by *unornlīc scrūd*, from which it was deduced that the simple adjective *unorne* meant 'old' without further specification or distinction. Grein refers also to Halliwell's *Archaic Words*, where there is a single quotation from Hoccleve in which *unorne* means 'old, worn out.' The latter meaning, however, did not suggest caution to Grein, although it is the only one which could explain the passage in *Joshua*. The clothes which the Gibeonites put on to deceive Joshua were 'old,' it is true, but put on because 'worn out' and intended to confirm the long journey which their wearers said they had come. This is the meaning given to the word in the *Cent. Dict.*, also from a single Middle English quotation—'old, worn out, feeble.' But to have called Dunnere in *Maldon* an 'old, feeble, worn out churl' would scarcely have been good poetry, or at all justified by his vigorous and praiseworthy action. The Latin of the Vulgate *Joshua* was clear enough from the context, but 'old' alone for *unorne* is ambiguous, since it may mean either 'aged, venerable' or 'worn out, enfeebled.'

The larger number of quotations furnished by Bosworth-Toller, especially some from Middle English, show the meaning of *unorne* to be not 'old' in the ordinary sense, but 'simple, plain, poor, mean, humble.' If the connection is with Scandinavian *orna* 'grow warm,' and hence our word, 'lacking warmth, spiritless,' the separation into 'feeble, worn out' on the one side, and 'lowly, humble' on the other would be easy. The latter would explain *unorne ceorl* as 'simple, lowly, humble churl.' We may infer that Dunnere was probably put into the poem to show the loyalty of the lowest as well as the highest among Byrhnoth's followers. Thus, after the heroic speeches of Ælfwine, Offa, and Leofsunu, presumably men of rank, the poet closes the series with that of a man in humble condition, who with equal ardour brandished his spear and called on all to avenge their dead leader.

This note might be thought unnecessary after the Bosworth-Toller exposition of *unorne*, but at least one edition of *Maldon* has since appeared, and another has been revised without change of the glossary in this respect. Besides, the revised edition of Clark Hall's *Dictionary* adds climax to former errors by referring to *Maldon* 256 only, and giving the meaning 'old, worn out, decrepit'—a sad libel upon the valiant Dunnere. Among translators, Conybeare, the earliest (*Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, xc f.), has 'no sluggish carl' for *unorne ceorl*, a curious rendering, but at least reflecting credit upon Dunnere and the poet of the piece. With one exception, the others—W. C. Robinson's *Early English Literature* is not at hand—follow the Grein gloss, using *old* or *aged*. J. L. Hall gives 'the simple-born swain,' with reference to Bosworth-Toller. He adds, 'we see no reason for *old*,' but without explaining how that erroneous gloss came to be used.

IV. *Genesis*, l. 1147: sǣdberende.

In the *Modern Language Review*, vi, 199, Professor Samuel Moore suggested that *sǣdberende* refers to the well-known legend of Seth's carrying seeds from Paradise to be placed under the tongue of the dying Adam, seeds which later grew into the Cross tree. In a footnote he contends that the word cannot mean 'transmitter of life from one generation to another,' because Adam had other sons born after Cain and Abel, as shown by *Genesis* v, 4 and lines 1121–4 of the Old English poem. He admits that the 'earliest extant version of the Cross legend dates from the end of the thirteenth century,' but thinks we may assume earlier knowledge of the story.

The interpretation is attractive in many ways, but it seems to me

not the correct one. Except for the account of the fall of the angels (20—91), and the elaboration of it in *Genesis* B now recognized as not belonging to the original, the Old English poem follows the Bible closely. Now in the Bible itself—to take up first Mr Moore's point regarding Adam's other progeny—no further reference is made to the sons and daughters of Adam mentioned in *Genesis* v, 4. They play no part in the recorded peopling of the world by Adam's descendants. In the fifth chapter of *Genesis*, which calls itself the 'book of the generations of Adam,' Seth follows Adam, and others follow Seth in direct line to Noah and the flood. Through Noah, too, Seth became the father of all races of which the Scripture takes account. For later Scripture, compare *Luke* iii, 38, in which the genealogy of Christ is traced through Seth directly to Adam.

The author of the Old English *Genesis* follows the Bible in every essential particular. The slight amount of poetic filling of the lines does not add, it seems to me, any new detail until the poet begins upon the sixth chapter of *Genesis*. Then he makes the 'daughters of men' of the original 'brȳda...on Caines cynne,' and the 'sons of God' some of 'Sethes bearn' who had gone astray. This follows common medieval interpretation, as I have shown in 'Legends of Cain in Old and Middle English,' *Publ. of Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXI, 831 f. Besides this, the poet elaborates, more than any other single point, Seth's relation to Adam, as in lines 1104–10, and especially his heirship in 1128–9 (æfter yldrum ēðelstol hēold). On the other hand, if the poet had known the apocryphal *Vita Adae et Evae* and the later Cross legend with their wealth of detail regarding the primeval pair, it is unlikely that he would have excluded all but the slight reference to Seth as bearer of the seed to the deathbed of Adam.

As will be inferred, I see in *sǣdberende*, not the extremely literal epithet 'seed-carrying,' but the equally true and more pertinent 'posterity-producing.' A common meaning of OE. *sǣd* when used for men and animals is 'posterity,' and its modern representative *seed* continued to be so used, as shown by many examples in the Bible translations. Seth had come to Eve as 'another seed instead of Abel' (semen aliud pro Abel), and to Adam as 'a son in his own likeness, after his image' (ad imaginem et similitudinem suam), quite in contrast with those dark suggestions of Hebrew lore regarding the paternity of Cain. Besides, Seth was not only the hope of the race, but the bearer of the virtues of Abel to following generations, as might be shown from numerous citations of the Church Fathers. His name was even interpreted

'resurrection,' and thus he became a type of Christ. Finally, this interpretation of *sǽdberende* puts it into entire accord with the other example in Ælfric's *Genesis* i, 29, in which it means not 'seed-bearing' as one might carry a basket, or as Seth carried the seeds to Adam, but 'seed-producing'—seed that would itself bring forth 'after his kind, whose seed [posterity] is in itself' (fructum juxta genus suum, cujus semen in semetipso sit).

Such interpretation is also in accord with Hebrew tradition, as shown by the following from Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews*, I, 121:

> Seth was so formed from the beginning that the rite of circumcision could be dispensed with. He was thus one of the thirteen men born perfect in a way. Adam begot him in his likeness and image, different from Cain who had not been in his likeness and image. Thus Seth became in a genuine sense the father of the human race, especially the father of the pious, while the depraved and godless are descended from Cain.

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A New Latin Manuscript of the 'Ancren Riwle.'

In Coxe's catalogue of the manuscripts of the Oxford colleges, Merton College MS. 44 (of the fourteenth century) is described as containing the following work (No. 6):

> 'Regula Anchoritarum, in octo partes distincta, praeviis capitulis et praefatione,' fol. 89.
>
> Incip. praef. 'Recti diligunt te; Cant. 1. Verba sunt sponse ad sponsum. Est rectum grammaticum, rectum geometricum, rectum theologicum.'
>
> Incip. cap. 1. 'Omni custodia serva cor tuum, etc. Custodes cordis sunt quinque sensus.'
>
> Desin. abrupte in lib. vii. verbis, 'ideo non debetis Eukaristiam sumere nisi quindecies in anno.'

It is certain that we have here a copy of the Latin version of the *Ancren Riwle*, of which heretofore only two manuscripts have been listed (one of them among the Magdalen College manuscripts, also described in Coxe's catalogue). The present copy—which ends obviously in the eighth book, though Coxe has by error written 'lib. vii.'—must be more complete than any other Latin version, since, as Mr Macaulay pointed out in vol. IX of the *Modern Language Review*, in his invaluable study of the manuscripts of the *Ancren Riwle*, the Magdalen copy lacks the eighth book entirely, and the Cotton manuscript has been almost destroyed by fire.

It is unfortunate that Mr Macaulay did not bring the Merton copy into the comprehensive discussion which in general must be the basis for all future study of the work. In continuing therefore my researches

on the 'Origin of the *Ancren Riwle*'—of which a preliminary statement appeared in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (September, 1918)—I shall endeavour to examine the Merton copy of the work, along the lines pursued by Mr Macaulay in the case of the other manuscripts. It is perhaps worth pointing out now that this version, like the French (see my article already cited, p. 541), apparently omits the reference to 'our lay-brethren' in the account of communion.

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'HIND HORN.'

The various extant English versions of the story of Horn, exclusive of the versions of the ballad of 'Hind Horn,' are referred to at some length in Professor J. E. Wells' recent work, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050—1400.* The ballad of 'Hind Horn,' of which at least nine versions exist, has influenced the ballads of 'Young Beichan,' 'Robin Hood rescuing three Squires,' 'Lady Diamond' and perhaps some others. The relation of the different versions of the story of Horn is difficult to discover and not at all clear. The ballad, which gives but the merest outline of the story, is mainly concerned with the 'exile and return' motive and the final recognition of Horn by the ring. This ring incident Ward considered as not older than the Crusades[1]. The story of Horn itself is almost certainly older than the Crusades, and its Danish origin, and the knowledge of it among the Norse in England, appear probable[2].

A version of the story of Horn, connecting the hero with the Crusades, and incorporating the ring incident, has not, so far as I know, been identified or remarked upon. Among the poems of the late Duke of Argyll there is one called 'Colhorn[3].' It is given in a series of poems which is prefaced by the remark—'Verses chiefly from Highland stories.' As Colin is the name of the hero of the poem, I would explain the name of the poem itself as being derived from Colin Horn. This latter name would, I suggest, quite easily decay phonetically from Colin Horn to Col Horn, or as it is written 'Colhorn.' The story, which is clearly that of Horn localised, is briefly as follows:

Colin, a native of Glenorchy, before joining the Crusades, leaves half of his ring with his lady and takes with him half of hers. Later a rumour

[1] Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, p. 448.

[2] Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Mid. Eng. 1050—1400*, and Schofield, *History of Eng. Lit., Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 262.

[3] The Right Hon. the Marquis of Lorne, *Memories of Canada and Scotland*, pp. 68—74.

is circulated that he is dead, and when the seven years, during which his lady had promised to remain faithful, are 'nearly sped,' she consents to be betrothed to another. She will not marry, however, until there is built for her 'a castle gay,' and it so happens that when this castle is nearing completion Colin returns and in beggar's dress demands drink at the lady's own hands at the gate. She complies with the request, and, having given him to drink from a cup, finds that he has dropped into it the half ring which once was hers. Straightway she recognises who it is that stands before her in beggar's dress, and the end is that Colin 'rules again his own abode.'

In 'Hind Horn' the hero begs in the name of St Peter and St Paul:

> He sought for St Peter, he askd for St Paul,
> And he sought for the sake of his Hynde Horn all[1].

It may be of interest to remark that this begging formula occurs in a Souling song, the melody and words of which are, I understand, attributed to Cheshire[2]:

> A soul! a soul! a soul-cake!
> Please good Missis, a soul-cake!
> An apple, a pear, a plum, or a cherry,
> Any good thing to make us all merry,
> *One for Peter, two for Paul,*
> Three for Him who made us all[3].

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'LORD RANDAL' IN AMERICA.

The Irish version of this ballad, published by Mr Joseph J. MacSweeney, in the July, 1918, issue of the *Modern Language Review*, pages 325—327, incites me to submit four American analogues.

The first is current among the inhabitants of the Cumberland Mountain region of Kentucky. These people are of pure English stock, and for over a century have been able through their topographical aloofness from modern influences, social, literary, and educational, to preserve intact much of their inherited lore of the Mother Country. Among them songs abound of queens and kings and castles, of knights in armour and of ladies on milk-white steeds, whose lily-white hands hold bridle-reins hung with bells, who alight before ancestral halls in the North Countree or Edinboro or Nottingham or London-town. Other ballads

[1] Child, *Eng. and Scot. Pop. Ballads*, 'Hind Horn,' version G, stanza 23.
[2] Vid. *English County Songs*, collected by Lucy Broadwood and Fuller Maitland.
[3] I wish to thank Mr Percy Whitehead of Dublin for kindly placing at my disposal his knowledge concerning this Souling song.

picture gold-seekers afloat upon the Spanish Main, Thames boatmen, London apprentices, thieves transported for their crimes, and lovers returning from the French wars. A score or more are close variants of Old World originals recorded by Child in his *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. All have apparently been borne westward across the Atlantic on the tide of eighteenth century Colonial migration to America, where for almost two hundred years they have been wafted like thistle-down on the light breath of oral tradition, changeless and unchanging.

In them British proper names of persons and places are faithfully preserved, as well as ancient customs, manners, and habits of thought and speech. Linguistic and syntactical archaisms are frequent, such as old adverbial genitives in -(e)s, 'one' and 'some' as indefinite articles, 'all' used as adverb, old strong-verb forms, including the preterite in -en and 'were' with singular subject. Their vocabulary and phraseology, too, are antique, furnishing such locutions as 'dinna',' 'riddle my sport,' 'a month and a day,' 'come her wi',' 'bailiff,' 'squire,' 'post-town,' 'shillings,' 'pounds,' 'guineas,' 'cordelee' (corde-de-laine), 'wellaway'; 'list' for stripe, as used in 1629 by Sidney in his *Arcadia*; the Chaucerian 'maintainance,' for behaviour; 'fancy' for love, as in Dryden's *Rival Ladies*; 'to roll a song,' to sing it lustily, as used by Southey; 'to play,' to wrestle, a Shakespearean meaning; 'fee,' a wife's dowry, an old law term; 'denter,' for denture, or denshire, or downshire, meaning level turf-land; and many other such.

The present-day Kentucky minstrel's attitude toward these archaisms is one of charming naïveté. Some time ago a grey-bearded old fiddler was singing for me the 'Bailiff's Daughter of Islington.' 'What does that word Bailiff mean?' I asked. 'Oh, shucks,' came his prompt reply, 'that's just in the song.' Rarely will he tamper with his text! However, one of my singers, in reciting from 'Lord Randal,'

> Mother, make my bed soon;
> I am weary wi' hunting and fain would lie down,

could not brook the, to him meaningless, 'fain'; so he sang 'and pains me lie down'; while yet another minstrel phrased it 'I faint and lie down.' But such folk-etymologizing is not common: 'It's just in the song'—that is all we know on earth, and all we need to know.

In close keeping with all this conservative and conserving spirit stands the Cumberland Mountain version of 'Lord Randal.' Coming from Knott County, in the sequestered eastern portion of the State, it exemplifies well the power of a ballad to resist environment, to persist in its original form, unchanged by topical surroundings. It runs:

'Where have you been rambling?', it's Randal, my son;
'Where have you been rambling, my pretty and sweet one?'
'I've been a-courting; mother, fix my bed soon;
I am sick at my stomach and fain would lie down.'

'What did you eat for your supper?', it's Randal, my son;
'What did you eat for your supper, my pretty and sweet one?'
'Fried eels (eggs) and fresh butter; mother, fix my bed soon;
I am sick at my stomach and fain would lie down.'

'What do you will to your brother, Lord Randal, my son;
What do you will to your brother, my pretty and sweet one?'
'A fine horse and saddle; mother, fix my bed soon;
I am sick at my stomach and fain would lie down.'

'What do you will to your sister, Lord Randal, my son;
What do you will to your sister, my pretty and sweet one?'
'A fine chest of money; mother, fix my bed soon;
I am sick at my stomach and fain would lie down.'

'What do you will to your mother, Lord Randal, my son;
What do you will to your mother, my pretty and sweet one?'
'My house and my land; mother, fix my bed soon;
I am sick at my stomach and fain would lie down.'

'What do you will to your father, Lord Randal, my son;
What do you will to your father, my pretty and sweet one?'
'A dead son to bury; mother, fix my bed soon;
I am sick at my stomach and fain would lie down.'

'What do you will to your sweetheart, Lord Randal, my son;
What do you will to your sweetheart, my pretty and sweet one?'
'A rope and a gallows; mother, fix my bed soon;
I am sick at my stomach and fain would lie down.

The three remaining variants I will not take the space to reproduce. However, each illustrates, not a resisting of topical environment, but a yielding to it. For example, my second version, from Ballard and McCracken counties, in the more sophisticated western part of Kentucky, about two hundred miles distant from Knott County, shows the intrusion of modern and local influences. 'Lord Randal' here becomes 'Jimmie Randal'; 'mother' is the outrageous 'ma'; he wills his father a 'house and plantation' and his brother a 'gun and hounds'; while to his sweetheart his climactic bequest is 'ten thousand green-briars to weigh her soul down'—for be it understood that in Western Kentucky the 'green-briar' is the agriculturalist's greatest pest, a veritable 'thorn in the flesh,' as well as in the fields.

A third and much garbled version I have rescued from the arid plains of Texas, carried thence, no doubt, by migrants from the older State. Metre in this song is made anew, and the whole phraseology is its own. But, in spite of all this, the story remains unchanged, even to the fatal 'eel broth'—think of it: eels on the sand plains of Texas! My fourth and last variant is from New York City—as sung by some little

Jewish girls from the Rivington Street Settlement. Here the hero-victim is not 'Lord Randal,' but 'Henry'; who is poisoned not by his sweetheart but by his sister. And the lethal dish is no longer bucolic 'eels,' or 'eggs'; but, as befits its metropolitan setting, it becomes 'green and yellow butter'—mayhap oleomargarine; who can tell?

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POPE AND FENTON.

Pope's habit of snapping up unconsidered (and generally unacknowledged) trifles, and, by more advantageous dressing, stamping them as his own wit, is sufficiently illustrated in Elwin and Courthope's notes. The following instance does not seem to have been recorded before.

A celebrated couplet of the *Essay on Criticism* (139—140) runs

> Learn hence for ancient rules a just esteem;
> To copy nature is to copy them.

In Elijah Fenton's *Epistle to Mr Southerne...from Kent, Jan.* 28, 1710 [i.e. 1711 N.S.] we have (ll. 9—10)

> If envy could permit, he'd [i.e. Sophocles] sure agree
> To write by nature were to copy thee.

The *Epistle* was published immediately. In the spring Pope was putting the last finishing touches to his much-polished Essay prior to its publication: Fenton's couplet gave him another sparkling phrase. As Wakefield pointed out, Pope made similar use of Fenton's verse later (*vide Essay on Man*, Ep. 3, ll. 29, 30, and *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, ll. 127, 128), and, of course, he made much use of Fenton himself. The above passage, however, seems to supply their first point of contact. May one add that the whole of Fenton's *Epistle* (291 lines in all), with its enthusiastic if limited tribute to Shakespeare, its attack on Heroic Drama, etc., is an excellent document for contemporary literary taste?

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MANCHESTER.

LEWIS CARROLL AND WORDSWORTH.

In *Alice through the Looking-Glass* the White Knight before singing his song expressly states that the tune is his own invention. Yet, as she listens to the 'melancholy music' Alice is constrained to say to herself: 'But the tune *isn't* his own invention, it's *I give thee all, I can no more.*' It does not seem to have been perceived however that, even as the tune of the White Knight's ballad was not his 'own invention,' so is the ballad itself not entirely the invention of the White Knight's

creator. Though not a parody in the sense that *'Tis the Voice of the Lobster* is a parody of *'Tis the Voice of the Sluggard*, this song nevertheless stands in curious yet unmistakable relationship to another poem, and that a famous one. If the last thirteen stanzas of Wordsworth's *Leech-Gatherer or Resolution and Independence* be compared with *A-sitting on a Gate*, a subtle resemblance will be discovered between the two Aged Men in their appearance, their avocations, and even in the effect they produce upon their respective listeners. The austere and dignified Leech-Gatherer, perchance, as Wordsworth hints, an elder of the Scottish Kirk, earning a precarious livelihood on the 'lonely moor,' reappears in Looking-Glass World in the guise of an irresponsible old mendicant, who, among a variety of strange pursuits, 'hunts for haddocks' eyes among the heather bright,' and in his determined efforts to drink the poet's 'noble health' displays no small portion of the Resolution if not the Independence of his sober prototype.

The sequence of events in the two poems is practically the same. The poet chances to meet with an aged man whose hoary locks and glowing eyes at once capture his attention.

Leech-Gatherer.	*A-sitting on a Gate.*
'I saw a Man before me unawares: The oldest man he seemed that ever wore grey hairs.'	'I saw an aged aged man, A-sitting on a gate.' 'Whose hair was whiter than the snow'...
...'a flash of mild surprise Broke from the sable orbs of his yet-vivid eyes.'	'With eyes, like cinders, all aglow.'

Impelled by curiosity he inquires the nature of the old man's occupation,

'And him with further words I thus bespake, "What occupation do you there pursue?"'	'"Who are you, aged man?" I said, "And how is it you live?"'

and receives to each observation a mild and gracious response,

'A gentle answer did the old Man make, In courteous speech which forth he slowly drew.'	'Whose look was mild, whose speech was slow.'

which however is delivered in a voice of such peculiar quality that it produces the effect of running water upon the ear of the listener.

'The old Man still stood talking by my side; But now his voice to me was like a stream Scarce heard; nor word from word could I divide.'	'And his answer trickled through my head Like water through a sieve.' 'And muttered mumblingly and low, As if his mouth were full of dough.'

In consequence the thoughts of the poet wander far astray and he

falls into a reverie from which he rouses himself to repeat anxiously his question.

'My former thoughts returned: the fear
that kills;
And hope that is unwilling to be fed;
Cold, pain, and labour, and all fleshly ills;
And mighty Poets in their misery dead.
— Perplexed, and longing to be comforted,
My question eagerly did I renew,
"How is it that you live, and what is
it you do?"'

'But I was thinking of a way
To feed oneself on batter,
And so go on from day to day
Getting a little fatter.
I shook him well from side to side,
Until his face was blue:
"Come, tell me how you live," I cried,
"And what it is you do!"'

The old man cheerfully resumes his story,

'He with a smile did then his words
repeat';

'His accents mild took up the tale':

from which it appears that his labours are both irksome and unprofitable.

'He told, that to these waters he had
come
To gather leeches, being old and poor:
Employment hazardous and wearisome!
And he had many hardships to endure:
From pond to pond he roamed, from
moor to moor;
Housing, with God's good help, by choice
or chance;
And in this way he gained an honest
maintenance.'

'He said "I hunt for haddocks' eyes
Among the heather bright,
And work them into waistcoat-buttons
In the silent night.
And these I do not sell for gold
Or coin of silvery shine,
But for a copper halfpenny,
And that will purchase nine."'...
'"Yet twopence-halfpenny is all
They give me for my toil."'...
'"And that's the way I get my bread—
A trifle, if you please."'

Finally on parting with the aged man the poet determines to summon up his image in the future at all times of trouble and perplexity. In fact, the inimitable peroration of *A-sitting on a Gate* records the fulfilment rather than the birth of this aspiration.

'"God," said I, "be my help and stay
secure;
I'll think of the Leech-gatherer on the
lonely moor!"'

'And now, if e'er by chance I put
My fingers into glue,
Or madly squeeze a right-hand foot
Into a left-hand shoe,
Or if I drop upon my toe
A very heavy weight,
I weep, for it reminds me so
Of that old man I used to know—
Whose look was mild, whose speech was
slow,
Whose hair was whiter than the snow,
Whose face was very like a crow,
With eyes, like cinders, all aglow,
Who seemed distracted with his woe,
Who rocked his body to and fro,
And muttered mumblingly and low,
As if his mouth were full of dough,
Who snorted like a buffalo—
That summer evening long ago
A-sitting on a gate."

LIVERPOOL. AGNES MARSTON.

Marlowe and Jean de Meung.

It is a little strange to find in the *terre-à-terre* naturalist, Jean de Meung, verses which in thought recall Marlowe. Nature was Jean's goddess, *par excellence*, and he wrote in her praise a hymn in which one would be tempted to seek the first idea of Marlowe's lines on beauty ('If all the pens that ever poets held' etc.), if there were the slightest chance that Marlowe knew *Le Roman de la Rose*. As it is the comparison is perhaps close enough to make the co-incidence worth noting.

Jean is speaking of Nature:

Bien la vous vosisse descrire,
Mes mi sens n'i porroit soffire,
Mi sens! qu'ai-ge dit? c'est du mains,
Non feroit voir nus sens humains
ne par vois vive, ne par notes...

He goes on to say that neither Plato nor Aristotle nor any of the ancient masters of pen, chisel or brush could adequately describe Nature.

Zeuxis neis par son biau paindre
Ne porroit à tel forme ataindre,
Qui, por faire l'ymage au temple,
De cinq puceles prist exemple
Les plus beles que l'en pot querre
Et trover en toute la terre,
.....
Mes ci ne peust-il riens faire
Zeuxis, tant seust bien portraire,
Ne colorer sa portraiture,
Tant est de grant biauté Nature,
Zeuxis, non pas trestuit li mestre:
Car or soit que bien entendissent
Sa biauté toute, et tuit vosissent
A tel portraiture muser,
Ains porroit lor mains user,
Que si très-grant biauté portraire:...

Like Marlowe, Jean would fain have expressed the inexpressible and wracked his brains in vain.

Ge méismes i ai musé,
Tant que tout mon sens i usé
Comme fox et outrecuidiés,
Cent tans plus que vous ne cuidiés.
Car trop fis grant présumpcion,
Quant onques mis m'entencion
A si haute euvre achever,
Qu'ains me poïst le cuer crever,
Tant trovai noble et de grant pris,
La grant biauté que ge tant pris,
Que par pensée la compréisse.
Por nul travail que g'i méisse
Ne que solement en osasse
Ung mot tinter, tant i pensasse.
Si sui du penser recréus,
Por ce m'en sui atant téus. (ll. 16831 ff.)

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Sobre el Castellano 'Majada.'

La etimología de Diez, *Etym. Wört.* 469, **magaliata* (*magalia*) ha sido de nuevo enunciada por Menéndez Pidal, *Gram.* 41, 3. Desde luego la identificación que Diez hacía con *nagüela* 'casa pajiza o pobre' no tiene justificación alguna. A **magaliata* no puede hacerse mas que un reparo dentro de la fonética, y de caracter negativo; que mientras en casos semejantes encontramos datos del proceso *aa* > *a* (por ejemplo *saga saa* en el *F. Juzgo* y hoy en el gallego) no hay el menor indicio de haber existido **maajada*. Las dificultades son mayores en la significación, pues el sentido de *magalia* 'casa rústica' no conviene a significaciones que parecen esenciales en las voces castellanas, en las que la idea de 'casa' falta comunmente. Además de que nos faltan datos para suponer que una voz púnica, citada como tal entre los latinos, tuviese difusión en la lengua vulgar. Si atendiésemos sólo al doble significado, ninguna etimología más probable que **mansata* (*mansa* y *mansus* en Du Cange 'praedium rusticum, domus rustica cum certa agri portione'): al primitivo *mansa* se refieren multitud de formas, como el aragonés *masa* y *mas* 'casa de campo' y el catalán *mas*, con derivados como *masía* y *masada*, y por último el castellano *masada* 'casa de campo y labor.' La idea de 'descansar, hacer alto, etc.' vive en *majada* y sus derivados, y se aviene perfectamente con la significación de *mansum*. Cejador en *La Lengua de Cervantes*, II, pág. 684, apoya esta etimología con la equivalencia 'majada, posada, mansio' del *Dic.* de Nebrija. Y, sin embargo, todo esto se desvanece observando que el aragonés conoce la forma *mallada*, como el portugués y el gallego, cuya *ll* no puede proceder de *s*. Si consideramos por las razones apuntadas como improbable la etimología **magaliata*, no queda de las propuestas más que el **maculata* de Gröber, *Archiv* de *Wölfflin*, III, §20. Y en efecto, aunque sólo sea materialmente, y sin admitir que la base ideológica sea la de 'corral de ovejas' ni cosa semejante, ésta es la que considero como más fundada. Un reparo fonético hay que formular y es que **maculata* no podía dar en gallego y portugués sino *magoada*, que conservan con la significación de 'lastimada.' Debemos suponer en un periodo anterior a la palatización del grupo *cl* una base **maclata*, que sería común a todo el latín español o a gran parte de él (Galicia, Castilla, Aragón), la cual explica bien los dos tipos *majada mallada* en regiones que conocen *oveja ovella* (*ovella*, *güella*, etc.) respectivamente. El punto de partida debió ser el de *macla* 'red' que perdura en la forma *malla*, evidentemente extraña al castellano. Aunque no se admita el texto de Varrón 'Septum totum

grandibus maculis integitur' *Rer. Rust.* III, 11, y se entienda que el original exige *rete*, no admitiendo la equivalencia primitiva de *macula* 'rete,' con la simple idea de que los ganados se aposentaban entre redes (cfr. *redil*) y con la prueba de que *macula* en el latín español significó 'malla y red' hay suficiente para pensar que la forma **macla* pudo existir con la significación concreta de 'red en que se encerraba el ganado' y que de ella se formó un derivado **maclata* en el mismo latín (en vista de la concordancia de dialectos tan alejados como el gallego y el aragonés) con la significación de 'ganado que cabe en las redes[1]' y acaso también ya de 'conjunto de redes del ganado' y de 'lugar de las redes, o redil del ganado.' Pero si esto es posible mirando a su origen, estudiando el caso en la lengua actual se ve que es probable. El *Dic. de la R.A.E.* define de un modo vago la voz *majada* 'lugar o paraje donde se recoge de noche el ganado y se albergan los pastores.' En Castilla significa tanto 'la casa, taina o tenada de guardar los rebaños, como 'el lugar del monte o la tierra en que se recogen, generalmente para pernoctar.' Lo mismo significa en León la voz *mayada* 'sitio donde duerme el ganado' de *mallada* (Garrote, *El dial. v. Leonés*, s.v.). En Santander *majada* denota 'la braña o prado de los puertos de la cordillera' (Huidobro, *Palabras, giros y bellezas del lenguaje popular de la Montaña*, s.v.). La forma *majadal* la define el diccionario académico 'tierra que ha servido de majada, beneficiada con el estiércol del ganado': en Soria y Burgos significa de una manera amplia 'lugar en que el ganado descansa, como los sitios del monte en que el ganado sestea, los prados o heredades en que se hace entrar al ganado para abonarlos, o el lugar del campo o del monte en que duerme.' Lamano (*El dial. v. salmantino*, s.v.) cita *amajadalar*: 'Poco a poco podían ir *amajadalando* este monte y se encespedaría bien y daría luego muy buenos pastos': esto es 'ir abonando el monte por trozos o majadales haciendo pasar la noche al ganado en cada uno de ellos' o sea con la significación del castellano oficial *amajadar*[2] 'hacer la majada o redil al ganado lanar en una tierra de pasto o de labor, o en otro lugar, para que la abone o se mantenga recogido.' Este es el sentido del aragonés *malladear* (Savall, *Col. de Fueros, Glos.* s.v.). De este sentido fundamental de 'redil' nació la equivalencia de *majada* 'tenada, casa de guardar los rebaños' así como la idea de 'grey espiritual': 'Los angeles fueron e adussieronla pora la su maiada' (Berceo, *Mil.* 279) y la de descanso o posada. Pudiera

[1] No se olvide que la idea de 'contenido' de *-ata* es anterior y más fecunda que la de 'colección.'

[2] Compárese *arredilar* 'meter en redil.'

parecer extraña la ausencia de un castellano *maja* con la significación de 'malla o red'; pero en rigor no ha habido sino una suplantación de *maja* por *malla* dialectal o extranjero. También pudiera chocar la oposición con *mancha*, que delata un latín **mancla*; pero **macla* existió en el latín español también, no sólo con la significación propuesta de 'malla' sino con la de 'mancha,' como lo prueba el aragonés *malla* 'mancha' *mallado* 'manchado' y solo en el sentido de 'mancha, defecto moral' sufrió una deformación **mancla* **mancella* '*mancha, mancilla*' por contaminación con *mancus* 'defectuoso.'

VICENTE GARCÍA DE DIEGO.

ZARAGOZA.

REVIEWS.

Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom. Second series. Vol. XXXVI. London: Humphrey Milford. 8vo. v + 201 pp. (With *Report* of the Society, etc. 113 pp.) 7*s.* net.

The chief drawback, from the public point of view, to this excellent little gathering of eight essays (with the report and lists of the Society thrown in) is that it costs seven shillings, which even under present conditions is a high price. Some of the work is so good that, to speak in paradox, it ought to be cheaper. I regret to begin so prosaically; but really this literary magazine, for such it is, might well be better known. It is not quite like any other periodical, except perhaps the *Essays and Studies* published by the English Association. Some of the papers are learned and stringent, such as might appear in this *Review*; others, while not going far beyond the stock of information common to most English scholars, are valuable critical *causeries*; some, again, though not lacking in liveliness, suggest an evening spent at a literary club of sound standing. All are good reading.

One of the most suggestive articles (though I cannot cope with it) is that by Mr Herbert Baynes on 'Oriental Characteristics in the *Divina Commedia*.' The learned Orientalist finds in *Purg.* XXXII and in *Parad.* XVIII allusions to the Hindu Tree of Life, *Ficus religiosa* (pipal or bo tree), 'with a thousand roots stretching out into the Infinite,' and charged with metaphysical and moral symbol. He also develops the idea of Count de Gubernatis, that the Mountain of Purgatory was suggested by Adam's Peak in Ceylon, which according to Mohammedan ideas was the seat of the Earthly Paradise. He finds distinct points of likeness between the Buddhist hells and heavens, and Dante's; and also, rather straining his case, between Lucifer and the Indian, or rather Singhalese, Ravana, an embodiment of pride and evil, who had fallen from a state of goodness. Many of these parallels are undoubted; and the next step will be, if possible, to find the *link*: how, and from what literary or other source, did or could Dante know, if he did know, of this Eastern lore? There is another very erudite article, by Dr D. F. de l'Hoste Ranking, on 'The Graal Legend,' in which it is pleaded that the Graal was 'the central legend of the Templar rite—a rite of Eastern origin...that of the heretical Johannites, who, perhaps, like the Marcionites, attached a peculiar magical value to the chalice' (p. 59). I only cite this in order to call the attention of the experts.

Mr Edmund Gosse figures twice in the volume. He rescues and reprints some hitherto unknown MS. notes made by Gray on the margins of Charles Churchill's *Poems* (2 vols., 1763–4). The notes are worth

saving, though they are mostly on matters of fact, explaining allusions obscure and otherwise. One dry entry is agreeable: 'JOHNSON, a man of considerable talents...' Mr Gosse also writes admirably on 'The Novels of Benjamin Disraeli,' though for some reason he stops short of *Endymion*. The critic's sense of humour does justice to that of the novelist, when he points out, what is often ignored, that the grandiosity and sublimity, in *Lothair* at any rate, are themselves 'part of the satire.' I subscribe to Mr Gosse's view that Disraeli's tinsel is to be viewed, by the historic eye, simply as a foil to his true wit and solid thinking. Another well-balanced study is that on Young's *Night Thoughts*, by Mr J. W. Mackail; though I am tempted to rank as 'merely grandiose' one or two of the passages quoted as illustrations of 'stately rhetoric,' like 'Why this so sumptuous insult o'er our heads,' etc. Young certainly has splendid single lines, which are duly exemplified; but he seldom has more than one at a time; a diamond among soapstones, and coming at rare intervals. Mr Mackail notes a strange ring, as of Matthew Arnold, in the lines called *Resignation*.

I must not linger on the Rev. Montague Summers's pleasant if rather obvious paper on Jane Austen, or on Professor Caroline Spurgeon's genial and by no means exaggerated defence of Walpole, whose fame still suffers from Macaulay's coarse depreciation. Mr John Drinkwater's essay on 'The Poet and Tradition' is strangely stiff and hampered in style; and his thesis may be said to come to this, that a poet, alike in his rhythm, his thought, and his diction, must steer between a slavish following and an anarchical defiance of tradition, and that he must make his own whatever he borrows. Mr Drinkwater in this paper seems to write prose 'with his left hand'; but that is true of many persons of poetic gift.

The Society's Report hardly concerns the reviewer; but the praiseworthy and ambitious plans of its 'Entente Committee' may be noted, and also one of the freshest oddest things in the whole volume, namely the remarks by Professor Kiyoshi Sato on the 'position in Japan.' The Professor is in search of a new religion for his country. The old ones, 'Buddhism, Shintoism, Confucianism,' are 'dead.' 'Christianity is quite too difficult to move the nation; Christianity is not an influence in the sense in which I have been speaking.' 'Quite too difficult' is a valuable and far-reaching phrase. The solution is found in teaching the 'brotherhood of man,' and also 'good manners, old and modern,' and other good things. It is not only in the East, Professor, that your counsel is timely.

OLIVER ELTON.

LIVERPOOL.

Swinburne and Landor: A Study of their Spiritual Relationship and its Effect on Swinburne's Moral and Poetic Development. By W. BROOKS DRAYTON HENDERSON. London: Macmillan & Co., 1918. 8vo. viii + 304 pp. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

This is a fortunate hour for an American scholar to examine the ties subsisting between two English singers of political freedom,—

'aristocratic republicans.' Mr Henderson's book is an expansion of a doctoral thesis submitted to Princeton University. He wishes to show that the debts of 'the youngest to the oldest singer That England bore' are much deeper than are supposed, and that even where the debt is doubtful there is still a marked 'spiritual relationship.' In such a case, everything turns on the documents that can be admitted in evidence, and they are enumerated (p. 55). They include not only the memorial lines of 1864, and the Greek dedication to *Atalanta*, and the 'Song for the Centenary' of 1880, and some passing allusions in verse, and many ampler ones in prose; and the sonnet first published by Mr Gosse (*Life*, p. 105), beginning 'The stateliest singing mouth that speaks our tongue'; all this would carry us little further; but Mr Henderson also adduces, I believe for the first time, two poems which, if they really do refer to Landor, show that Swinburne expressly acknowledged his 'spiritual fatherhood.' Indeed, the influence of Landor would then be even greater than that of Hugo, or of Mazzini.

One of these poems is 'Thalassius.' There is no direct proof possible; but I agree with a *Times* reviewer that a strong plea is made out. The unnamed singer of life and love and hatred, the 'warrior grey with glories more than years,' who moulds the spirit of Thalassius and receives him back after his wandering among strange deities, seems to refer to a real man; and if so, Landor nearly fits the description. Yet it is not easy to find in Landor's 'high song' the precise treatment of the themes of love and hate and life, by which Thalassius is represented as profiting. Mr Henderson likes to say that things are 'obvious' or 'plain,' when they are only possible. Need the passage in *Atalanta* on 'the sweet wise death of old men honourable' allude to Landor in particular? And why should he be referred to in the 'Prelude' to *Songs Before Sunrise?* Why any individual at all? The poet simply says that 'Youth sat and sang by Time,' and so following. Again, we hear that 'the "theology" of the *Hellenics* has weight and a degree of individuality sufficient to prove its influence on Swinburne' (p. 126). This kind of card-building does injustice to the more solid reasonings of the book. Among the real debts, or likenesses, that are brought into light may be named the harping by Swinburne on the sublimity of tyrannicide (pp. 5, 69—74); the allusion to the Atalanta tale (p. 133) in Landor's Conversation between Achilles and Helena: and the similarity of the two poets' ardent allusions to the Italian cause. Though Mr Henderson's inferences are often rash, he has made good more than one or two fresh points of importance. I hope that in some later work he may clarify his material, and produce (with the motto *hypotheses non fingo*) a critical study of Swinburne as a whole.

The dating of the various pieces in the first series of *Poems and Ballads* has always been a puzzle, and the problem is stated clearly by Mr Gosse (*Life*, p. 145, etc.). The known dates are few but fairly definite. Mr Henderson tries to get further, though he does not always profess to be conclusive. His procedure is to take the poems whose date is unknown, to accumulate parallel passages from those whose date

is fixed, and then to rearrange the former group in a 'series' accordingly. So he arrives at a proposition like this:

> Showing that the stages of love, over-loving, bitterness of soul manifesting itself in violent words or will, peace and reassumption of pride of place, which are the stages of 'Anactoria,' are also the stages of *Poems and Ballads* as a developing series (p. 268).

Another house of cards, it is to be feared. The assumption is that a poet never harks back, or echoes an old mood or phrase; that his mind moves onward as smoothly and irreversibly as Time itself. Yet the work is not wasted, if only the author would give the right turn to the argument. The parallels are real and instructive; they show the ideas and feelings round which the poet circled, like a moth moving to and fro between lamp and lamp. Further appendices bring out, by a further array of parallels, curious verbal likenesses between Swinburne and Baudelaire, Swinburne and Meredith (*Modern Love*), Swinburne and Matthew Arnold (*Empedocles*). The closest are those between *Modern Love* and 'Dolores'; but of course the whole strain is different. Also the 'pessimism,' 'fatalism,' and 'pantheism' of *Empedocles* are more unlike than they are like the corresponding themes as handled in 'Hertha,' 'Félise,' and *Atalanta*; but it is quite possible that the likeness of phraseology is not pure chance. Two press *corrigenda*: 'Bassirides' (p. 59) should be 'Bassarides,' and 'Vaquerie' (p. 291) should be 'Vacquerie.'

OLIVER ELTON.

LIVERPOOL.

Rabelais in his Writings. By W. F. SMITH, M.A., Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1918. pp. viii + 230. 6*s.* net.

No English reader of Rabelais is likely to be ungrateful to Mr Smith; they all know the value of his translation and commentary, and all will be glad to have the little book which makes a convenient summary of his studies. Its scope is nearly that of Mr Tilley's *Rabelais* (1907); comparison of the two essays is a pleasant occupation, and not invidious; Mr Tilley praises the commentary and quotes the translation of his neighbour and friendly rival, who in this present work has the advantage of ten years more of the *Revue des études rabelaisiennes.*

One turns to the Fifth Book. Mr Tilley gives a clear statement of the facts and a reasoned opinion. Mr Smith is less methodical, but he has views of his own: 'It has seemed to me possible that the parts composing the *Fifth Book* may have been written, not only before the *Fourth*, but before the *Third Book*, and then laid aside, discovered after the author's death and put together so as to form a continuation of the voyage in the *Fourth Book.*' It is a pity that Mr Smith in his demonstrating should not always remember the less instructed audience: nowhere does he describe *Le Disciple de Pantagruel*, though he mentions

the book in critical passages, and leaves his hearers wanting to know the beginning of the story.

The loyal Pantagruelist will not require from his author any too exact system or proportion: but does not Mr Smith sometimes wander too far into the formless land? It really does seem superfluous to begin a description of the language of Rabelais with the following alarum:

'The decadence of the pure Latinity observable in the writers of the so-called silver age, as instanced in Juvenal, Persius, Tacitus and others, and its further decline in Ausonius, Sidonius Apollinaris, Apuleius, Marcianus Capella and others of the fourth and fifth centuries is a matter of common knowledge.' It is hard to get over this; after all it turns out to be only a preparation for the announcement of the birth of French: 'the language of the troubadours in their *chansons de gestes*.' A sadder sentence casts a gloom over the opening of Mr Smith's enquiry (p. 3): 'Fired by the recently developed Humanism, he adopted all too easily the belief so much fostered by Horace that no one who was a water-drinker, who was not devoted to the inspiration from Bacchic enthusiasm, could achieve the distinctive title of poet.' Does Mr Smith mean that his author's worship of wine was a Renaissance pedantry? that Rabelais picked it up in the classics, as another scholar might select (say) the Dramatic Unities for his inspiration and devotion?

What is the meaning of Mr Smith's note on 'Giglain and Gawaine' (p. 39)? There is no mention of the French romance *Giglan fils de messire Gauvain* (Lyon, 1530) though the subject is nothing else than the French books of Chivalry known to Rabelais, beginning, rightly, with Lancelot du Lac. All the others, in a list of sixteen, have their French editions noted; to Giglain there is given merely a note referring to *Orlando Furioso*, XIX, 38, where the curious investigator will find indeed the name 'Ziliante' to lead him further, but nothing that bears on *Pantagruel*, c. 30. The reference to Ariosto is an ancient and irrelevant gloss on this passage; it ought to have been ignored. Yet this after all is part of the revels, and the vanity of Scholiasts may serve as pastime, for those who have time to spare. After the inauspicious negative attitude of page 3, which need not be taken too seriously, there is nothing but good fellowship in Mr Smith's interpretation of Rabelais.

W. P. KER.

Petrarch. By CHARLES DENNIS FISHER. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1917. 8vo. 36 pp. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Four Essays. By MURRAY ANTHONY POTTER. (*Harvard Studies in Romance Languages*, vol. III.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1917. 8vo. 139 pp. 5*s.* 6*d.* net.

These studies on Petrarch have little in common, save that the world of letters has been deprived of the services of both writers by their early death. It is not for us to say anything of the brilliant scholar who fell gloriously in the Battle of Jutland, or to add a word to the brief but

noble memoir set by his brother, Herbert, at the head of this lecture. *Par nobile fratrum!* Both brothers represent the very flower of Oxford scholarship. The loss of the younger man will long be felt in the University he loved and that returned his affection to the full. Nor is it merely Oxford that mourns him: his loss is felt wherever the loftiest type of Humanistic studies is held in honour. Professor Potter had done admirable work at Harvard. He, too, was held in high esteem by his colleagues; and the present volume is issued by them 'in token of friendship and gratitude.'

Mr Fisher's lecture, 'one of a series of discourses planned by Mr Gordon of Magdalen College, was delivered in the Examination Schools at Oxford during the Summer Term of 1912.' It is a model of what such papers should be. It covers the whole ground, though necessarily without elaboration of detail; it sparkles with flashes of wit and humour; the quotations from Petrarch—whether from the Latin works, the letters or the poems—are as happy as they well could be, and are obviously selected at first-hand by a man who could have written a big book on his subject: so deeply is he versed, not only in the works themselves, but in his author's life and times. There is no need to quote, save for the purpose of criticism, from a lecture occupying 23 pages: everyone interested in the theme, however large his Petrarch library may be, may be trusted to obtain a copy of the little book.

We have referred to the comprehensiveness of the treatment. Well-nigh all the works, the poet's very difficult psychology, his position in relation to his forerunners, contemporaries and posterity, the salient points of his biography, his politics—all these are touched in with a light hand: but it is the hand of a master. One does not necessarily agree with every word. Thus, historians of classical scholarship might demur to the statement that 'he was the first Western—excluding a possible exception at the Court of Naples—to learn Greek.' Or again: 'So the poems were successful, and in favour Petrarch quickly outstripped as a sonneteer his forerunner Dante. They were two very different poets; Dante was philosophic and cold, and required a chair and a lecturer within fifty-three years of his death.... Finally, by sheer weight of numbers Dante was overborne. The sonnets of Dante were just a by-product; three hundred and seventeen stand to the name of Petrarch.' But surely it was the *Commedia* rather than the lyrics that required a Chair. And was Dante always philosophic and cold? And is not the fact that Petrarch wrote more love-poetry than Dante rather in the latter's favour? Still, these are but slight blemishes, if blemishes they be, and mostly matters of opinion. Moreover, they are atoned for by the wisdom to be found on every page. The central portion of the passage on Dante and Petrarch, from which we have just quoted the opening and closing words, is packed with truth. Whether Petrarch was or was not the first Western (or even the first Western but one) to learn Greek, Mr Fisher sums up the position admirably when he says: 'he made his cause fashionable.' To take a final instance: 'After Petrarch's death, the word Petrarchist became in course of time a term of reproach. Trivial

persons seized on trivial things, and even a man of power like Ronsard became a second Bembo, a mere transcriber of conceits; in him all the old properties reappear: flowers and precious stones, tigresses and Medusas. It matters not whom he celebrates—Astræa, Cassandra, Marie, Clytemnestra, Helen: they all *ipso facto* possess ebony eyebrows, ivory shoulders, imprisoning hair.' Even the warmest admirer of Ronsard must needs admit the truth of much of this. But is it quite fair to Ronsard in his inspired moments, when he was thinking neither of Petrarch nor of aught else save his passion, however transient? All who know the poems of Ronsard and the better men of the *Pléiade*, as, say, George Wyndham knew them, feel that they had such moments.

Professor Potter works on perfectly different lines. He has obviously read not merely all that Petrarch wrote but much of the vast literature that has gathered round his name. Where opinions differ, he steps in with judgment. His style and method of exposition are less brilliant, more academic, than Mr Fisher's; but they are thoroughly sound. We admire the courage and devotion of a scholar who, after so much has been written on his subject, works through it all afresh, and brings to his treatment not merely what others have said but his own unbiassed and well-grounded views. The three essays in this volume dealing with the great Italian are concerned with Petrarch 'The Author,' 'The Man,' and 'The Critic and Reader.' Though the Professor's sense of humour lies less on the surface than that of Mr Fisher, he, too, sees the weak points in Petrarch's character and work. Any hero-worshipping critic writing of so inconsistent and wayward a genius is bound to fail; and not a few have so failed. Other men of genius, such as Wagner, have suffered from excessive idolatry on the part of their admirers. Scholars of deservedly high repute, in Italy and other countries, have, at times, been dazzled by the magnitude of Petrarch's real achievement, and have failed to see the spots in their sun. But the man is great enough to survive these indiscretions; and the revived study of his works and personality, in Italy, France, England, America and Germany, bears testimony to the fact that he is one of the immortals.

Professor Potter's concluding essay, 'The Horse as an Epic Character,' though not by any means complete or pretending to completeness, though omitting some famous steeds that we would gladly have seen included, and though somewhat loosely put together, yet reveals the writer as a man of wide reading and much learning.

H. Oelsner.

London.

Torquato Tasso, ein Schauspiel von Goethe. Edited by J. G. Robertson. (*Modern Language Texts.* German Series. Modern Section.) Manchester: University Press. 1918. 8vo. lxxi + 192 pp. 5*s.* net.

An edition of Goethe's *Tasso*, based upon independent study of the Italian sources, with a fresh collation of the texts published in Goethe's lifetime, a critical but very impartial digest of the most important Tasso

literature and a lucid account of the evolution of the material under the poet's hand—this is assuredly a welcome gift to teachers of German and a worthy introduction to the series of German Classics planned by the Manchester University Press. The text is in clear Roman type and delightful to read. The Introduction, Notes and Appendix contain all the material that a student can desire. Scarcely a fact or theory but is mentioned and fitted into its appropriate place. It may even appear to some that the editor has followed too far into the labyrinthic mazes of German hypotheses, at least in regard to the original *Tasso*, about which, after all, we know so little. From indirect evidence Robertson comes to the conclusion, 'that the new *Tasso* was similar in plot and form to the *Tasso* which Goethe originally planned.' Against this, however, we must place Goethe's own statement (quoted p. xiii, Note): 'Das Vorhandene musz ich ganz zerstören, das hat zu lange gelegen, und weder die Personen, noch der Plan, noch der Ton haben mit meiner jetzigen Ansicht die mindeste Verwandtschaft.' There may be some exaggeration in this outburst of annoyance, but the words are strikingly clear and emphatic. The whole question, in fact, of the *Ur-Tasso* is bristling with difficulties. It may well be left where it is, for the finished drama offers problems enough. The chief of these affects the whole conception of the drama. It is the question, Is *Tasso* a tragedy or not? When near the end of the work Goethe called it a tragedy in a passage referred to, but not quoted: 'Ich bin eben jezo mit einer Tragödie beschäftigt, worin ich die schönsten Lebensmomente und die ergreifendsten Schicksalsspiele des herrlichen Torquato Tasso zusammenzufassen mich bestrebe.' The case for tragedy is summarized by the editor on pp. li f. But he himself seems to feel that *Tasso* is not altogether a tragedy, or at least not satisfactory as a tragedy. His words on pp. lxviii–ix reproduce very clearly the mood and atmosphere in which the work was finished, and they are scarcely compatible with tragedy. Tasso, it is true, has lost love, friendship and favour, but he has his art left, and to Goethe who had found himself again in Italy—as artist—such a condition could hardly appear tragic. What may happen to the poet in the future seems to the present writer irrelevant. As the play ends, it stands in strong contrast to another 'artist-drama,' the *Sappho* of Grillparzer, for Goethe leaves us a distinct vista of hope. The character of Antonio is another difficulty. Here Robertson reveals Goethe's real intentions and controverts the subtle but impossible theory of Bielschowsky. On the influence of Goldoni's comedy *Il Torquato Tasso* he joins issue with Kern and proves his case. He quotes more fully from Serassi's *Vita di Torquato Tasso* than previous editors. These passages form interesting reading in connection with the text, and one of them establishes the meaning of a doubtful passage (l. 3322). On a few points of interpretation a different opinion may be held. In the course of the drama there are 'occasional inconsistencies' and 'traits and motives are frequently duplicated,' but to explain these as a token that Goethe 'neglected to bring the earlier passages into harmony with the new' is somewhat risky (see Introd. pp. xxxix—xl and Note to l. 2979). May not the Duke have changed

his mind in view of the very unexpected happenings during the day? And one of the repetitions at least, ll. 1824 ff., where the Princess tells Leonore what she had previously told Tasso, but with interesting additions, may be regarded as natural enough, if not even dramatically effective. This, if memory does not play us false, used to be the explanation of that acute judge in literary matters, the late Prof. Joseph of Strassburg. The pastoral setting of the play is another point. Robertson uses the words: 'The pastoral framework has little meaning, and can be regarded as part of some unrealized plan.' But a great deal can be said for the pastoral setting (see Robertson's own fine remarks on p. lvi), and Goethe's letter to Herder (quoted on p. xv) is also worthy of attention in this connection. Note 1, p. xxxix, seems to rest on a rather airy foundation. Finally, a word should be said about the text of *Tasso*. Robertson's collation of the editions has revealed a good many things which Weinhold was unaware of when editing the Weimar text, just as Scheidemantel's study of the MSS. had previously revealed a fundamental error in that part of Weinhold's work. The two MSS. had somehow got mixed up before they came to the Weimar Archiv. So far as the list of variants is concerned, the Weimar edition is now out of date. This fuller knowledge naturally gives a better clue to the final form in which Goethe would have liked his work to appear. In four instances, ll. 309, 833, 1315 and 1669, the reading of the present edition is preferable to Weinhold's. From what has been said it will be realized that this edition of *Tasso* is particularly full of valuable material, weighed, arranged and presented with admirable sanity and skill. If the texts to follow keep up this high standard, they will do credit to the British school of German scholarship.

JOHN LEES.

ABERDEEN.

Ordbog over det Danske Sprog. Første Bind, Første Halvbind. A—ANLEDNING. Redigeret af H. JUUL-JENSEN. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel: Nordisk Forlag. 1918. Large 8vo. lii + 639 pp. 6 Kr.

A very cordial welcome must be extended to the first half-volume of Denmark's counterpart of our *Oxford Dictionary*. Thirty-six years ago Professor Verner Dahlerup began work on a new Danish Dictionary, working largely single-handed. Gradually the work grew in his hands until he found himself engaged on a task comparable in magnitude with our own dictionary or that of the Swedish Academy and when in 1909 he published a specimen number, he was almost overwhelmed by the burden of time alone which he saw would be necessary for its completion. Fortunately the specimen was well received and Dahlerup gained promises of help from the State and from the Carlsberg Fund whose generosity to learning and the arts is as great as the lager from which its money came is good. Shortly after this the responsibility for the publication of the dictionary was undertaken by *Det danske Sprog- og*

Litteraturselskab. Dahlerup still retained the general direction of the work but with him were now associated other editors and workers with the happy result that the first half-volume is now published and it is hoped to complete the dictionary in some 15 to 17 volumes during the same number of years.

In its scope the dictionary is essentially a modern Danish dictionary for, with certain limited exceptions, it deals only with words found in books published after 1700. The limitation is not so serious as it would be in an English dictionary for medieval Danish literature is, apart from the *Folkeviser*, almost entirely utilitarian and its language has already received thorough treatment in Kalkar's *Old Danish Dictionary* (1881–1907). Further, the dictionary does not profess to be absolutely exhaustive. Its editors wisely fear the fate which seems to threaten such dictionaries, viz. that if you attempt such your dictionary will take centuries to complete and satisfy neither the present nor future generations. You must keep your work within such limits of size as will enable it to be completed within one generation. Such limits are, in part at least, attained by (1) a judicious selection from certain words which always threaten unduly to increase the size of lexicons, viz. compounds, proper names, foreign words, more especially those in scientific or technical use, neologisms, (2) the exclusion of dialect-words found only in dialect dictionaries or purely dialectal texts (the same principle is observed in the case of vulgar or slang words). The limitations are, it will be seen, much the same as those found in the *Oxford Dictionary*, though the latter has perhaps been rather more generous in its treatment of foreign and compound words.

The articles are arranged much after the fashion of those in the *Oxford Dictionary*. Every advantage is taken of the resources of modern type to set things out clearly, but continuous lineation within the article does not compare well with the ample paragraphing of the *N.E.D.*, and references are given by means of what seem, to a foreigner at least, exasperatingly cryptic abbreviations. A long supplement explains these but they would take much time to master, and we are threatened with fresh lists.

In form the dictionary promises to be delightfully easy to handle. Its handy-sized volumes will stand the strain of constant reference a good deal better than the tomes of the *N.E.D.* Thanks to the generosity of the State and the Carlsberg Fund the dictionary is produced at a price which places it at the disposal of 'every Dane who might be interested to possess the work,' viz. six kroner the half-volume. It is to be hoped that many lovers of Scandinavian literature in England may be tempted to share these benefits and enabled thereby better to understand the great poets, novelists, and dramatists of Denmark, not to speak of their great historians and scientists.

Allen Mawer.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

MINOR NOTICES.

The series of *Scandinavian Classics* published by the American-Scandinavian Foundation has now reached its seventh volume (London: H. Milford; each 6*s.* 6*d.* net); and the range of literature it covers is so wide that it might be questioned whether a better general title than 'Classics' ought not to have been found for it. Mediaeval literature is represented by the *Prose Edda*, that of the eighteenth century by three of Holberg's comedies, and of the early nineteenth by Tegnér's *Children of the Lord's Supper* and *Frithiof's Saga*. But quite modern literature predominates. The two latest volumes consist of Icelandic plays by Johann Sigurjonsson, one of which, *Eyvind of the Hills*, was produced in London not very long ago by the Stage Society; and *Marie Grubbe* by Jens Peter Jacobsen. Jacobsen's *Niels Lyhne* appeared in English in 1895, and it is surprising that it has taken more than twenty years for a translator to be found for the other and earlier novel of this master of modern Danish prose. Miss Hanna Astrup Larsen, the translator of *Marie Grubbe*, has added to her title: 'A Lady of the Seventeenth Century'; but why not the sub-title of the original: 'Interiors from the Seventeenth Century,' which, as Dr Brandes says, 'indicates the author's aim and gives us a hint of the nature of his talent'? Jacobsen's own title would have disarmed the most obvious criticism that is likely to be brought against the story by English critics. The printing and binding of the volumes leave nothing to be desired, but in some at least the introductory matter is disappointingly meagre. J. G. R.

From papers in the Record Office Mr Edgar Prestage gives us an interesting account of Antonio de Sousa de Macedo—Portuguese statesman and author of various prose-works in Latin and Portuguese and of a long Portuguese epic—as Portuguese Ambassador in England: *O Dr Antonio de Sousa de Macedo, Residente em Londres*, 1642–6 (Lisboa, 1916). Under a pretence of neutrality, Sousa de Macedo was an enthusiastic and active supporter of Charles I, and later 'upon the newes of the restauration of King Charles 2^{d} to his kingdomes, the said Antonio de Sousa, to show the great respects hee hath for his Ma^{ty}, did in a very splendid manner invite the whole British nation here residing in this City of Lisbo, with so extraordinary expressions of joy as have not beene likely seen in this place before.' In reward for his services his son in 1661 was granted the Irish barony of Mullingar. Mr Prestage's treatise contains many curious sidelights on those times, which will be of use to future English historians, and he also prints two of the Portuguese Ambassador's letters.

A. B.

When Mr Gosse planned his *Literatures of the World* series, some twenty years ago, he omitted Portugal from the scheme—probably because there was no English scholar available who had specialised in this field. Things are very different now. There has been a veritable

Portuguese renascence in this country during the last ten or fifteen years, in which Mr Aubrey F. G. Bell, Mr Edgar Prestage and, more recently, Mr George Young have played the leading part. We hope, at some future date, to publish a composite review of the more important of these books. In the meantime we may notice briefly one of the latest, Mr Bell's *Portuguese Portraits* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1917). The seven worthies dealt with cover roughly a period of three centuries (1261—1548), and cannot fail to interest a young student anxious to learn something of Portugal's glory during those years. Only one of the seven, King Dinis, is connected with literature pure and simple, and his achievements have been set forth far more fully elsewhere by Mr Bell himself. All these sketches, though slight, are carefully wrought, and prove Mr Bell to be well versed in the national, no less than in the literary, history of the country he loves so well.

H. O.

All travellers in Spain love the work of Berruguete. They, and their less fortunate brethren whose knowledge of works of art domiciled in Spain is drawn solely from manuals and guide-books, will welcome the authoritative and comprehensive monograph of Sr. R. de Orueta, *Berruguete y su Obra* (Madrid: Biblioteca Calleja, 1917). Such students as do not know Spanish—their number will, we trust, grow steadily less in the years of reconstruction that lie before us—will find here not merely the Spanish text, but a French version as well. The value of the work is enhanced by 164 excellent photogravures, displaying every side of the master's genius. Though he studied under Michelangelo, that genius—especially as it found expression in the glorious woodcarving—remained essentially Spanish. Some English writers on Spanish Art, by the way, have failed to grasp this fact. There is a very full bibliography, including the numerous scattered papers contributed by Sr. Juan Agapito y Revilla and others to the transactions of various learned societies and to kindred publications.

H. O.

ANIMAL AND PERSONAL NAMES IN O.E. PLACE-NAMES.

IN the *Modern Language Review*, Vol. XIII, p. 510, attention was called to the difference of opinion of certain Scandinavian scholars as to the use of nicknames in O.E.[1] In *Anglia* (1918 volume), as shown by offprints courteously sent by their author, Professor Björkman continues the controversy in an article dealing at length with the name *Mule*, very summarily with animal names, as a whole, used as Christian names, more fully with the name *Ðurcytel myranheafod*, the latter part of which he takes to be a nickname of Scandinavian origin meaning 'mare's head.'

The problem of the existence of such nicknames is closely bound up with that of the interpretation of certain O.E. place-names in which the first element may alternatively be the name of an animal, or a personal name derived from such. An attempt is here made to use the material of the second problem as an aid to the solution of the first. This material is to be found in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (B.C.S.), Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* (K.C.D.), Domesday Book (D.B.) and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A.S.C.) and is here set forth in full. Place-names found only in later documents[2] have not been dealt with, for such may well show the influence of newer Scandinavian and Norman methods of personal nomenclature. Evidence from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire where Scandinavian influence is notoriously strong has been given by itself. Scandinavian influence is also present in Norf., Leic., Notts., Derb., Northants., but the nomenclature of these counties as a whole is much more English than Scandinavian, and cases where Scandinavian influence is probable, judging by the form of the name or the position of the place, are noted. Owing to the scantiness of O.E. evidence for these counties, they do not count for very much in the final results.

[1] Professor Björkman, whose recent death we lament, protested against the use of the phrase 'attacked in somewhat acrimonious fashion' in that note. A re-reading of the relevant pages in *Zur Englischen Namenkunde* has convinced the writer of the note that the charge is untrue, so far as the question of nicknames is concerned, and he gladly withdraws it.

[2] Such documents have only been used to interpret the curiously corrupt forms often found in Domesday. The chief are *Feudal Aids* (F.A.), *Charter Rolls* (Ch.), *Patent Rolls* (Pat.), *Testa de Neville* (T.N.), *Charters in British Museum* (B.M.), *Pipe Rolls* (Pipe), *Inquisitiones post mortem* (Ipm.).

Any conclusions drawn from the evidence of place-names must be checked and interpreted in the light of such evidence as may be found for the independent use of these animal names as personal names. While therefore this article is in the main a study of the evidence from place-names, no conclusions are arrived at in the case of either individual names or the whole body of them without setting forth the evidence of both personal names and place-names.

Names of animals are found compounded with a second element in O.E. place-names in three ways: (1) in unchanged form, e.g. Hawkridge, Berks., B.C.S. 919 *heafoc-hrycg*, (2) in the gen. pl., e.g. Chaldon, Surr., B.C.S. 1198 *cealua dun* = calves' hill, (3) in the gen. sg., e.g. Rampscombe, Hants., B.C.S. 102 *hremnescumb*. If a noun is weak in its declension, e.g. *crawe*, crow, it is impossible to say whether a name like Crawley, Hants., B.C.S. 1158 *crawan lea* is to be placed under (3) or is L.W.S. for *crawena lea* when the name would fall under (2). (1) is by far the most common form (v. Middendorf, *Altenglische Flurnamenbuch*, passim), (1) and (2) are the most natural if we wish to speak of a hill, ridge, or anything else as frequented by certain animals, (3) is quite common and highly ambiguous. It would seem on the whole that places are not likely to take their names from single birds, beasts or insects of the more usual types, though in the case of the more uncommon or secretive, e.g. the eagle (*earn*) or badger (*brocc*), they may do so. Occasionally the ambiguity is removed by noting the meaning of the second element as when a weevil (*wifel*) possesses a stile (*stigel*) or a ford.

Place-names of type (1) and (2) furnish no evidence for our enquiry. Those of type (3) are of uncertain value, unless confirmed by further evidence. That may be drawn from five sources:

(i) The independent use of the animal name as a personal name in an early document or the use of the name of an animal not found in England as an element in a place-name.

(ii) The existence of a weak form of the animal name in place-names when only a strong form is found in independent use, e.g. *colt* = colt, but *coltan beorh* B.C.S. 134.

(iii) Place-names in which the first element (an animal name) ends in *-ing*, where *-ing* is the pseudo-genitival suffix so common in place-names, e.g. Hardington, Som., B.C.S. 314 *heortingtun*[1].

[1] Some of these may come under (ii) with *-ing* for earlier *-an* (cf. Abingdon earlier *Abbandun*) and others under (iv) with loss of the gen. pl. suffix.

(iv) Patronymics derived from such names, e.g. Ermine St., B.C.S. 1003 *earninga stræt* = street of Earn's sons.

(v) Diminutives (not in independent use) formed from animal names and used as personal names. If the diminutive could so be used, so presumably could the original name, e.g. Bucklesham, Sf., D.B. *Bukelesham* from *Buccel*, a diminutive of *bucc* = goat.

The evidence is set forth for each name under these five heads and under a sixth are given the ambiguous forms referred to above[1].

BERA = bear.

(i) [Alexander in *Place-names of Oxfordshire*, *s.n.* Barford, D.B. *Bereford*, suggests that this may be O.E. *Beran-ford* = Bear's ford, but there are Barfords in Norf., Northt., Warw., Wilts. and a Barforth, Yorks., all with D.B. form of *Bereford*, and it is incredible that six fords should happen to be owned by a man with an otherwise unknown name.]

(iii) B.C.S. 459 *beringtun* Kent.

(iv) B.C.S. 1295 *beringahamm* Kent, 1129 *beringafeld* Northt.

(v) Patronymics from a diminutive **Berela* would seem to be found in Birling, Kent, B.C.S. 183 *Baerlingas*, D.B. *Berlinge*; Barling, Ess., D.B. *Berlinga*, Ch. *Barlinges*; Barlings, Lincs., D.B. *Berlinge*, T.N. *Barlinges*; Burlingham, Norf., D.B. *Berlingeham*.

This name would seem never to have been in living use in the Old English period and its derivatives were probably already developed on the Continent (cf. Heintze, *Die Deutschen Familiennamen*, s.v. *bere*).

BROCC = badger[2].

(ii) B.C.S. 787 *brocan burn* Hants., Brockenhurst, Hants., D.B. *Broceste*, F.A. *Brokenhurst*.

(vi) (*a*) Broxbourne, Herts., D.B. *Brochesborne*; Broxham, Kent, B.C.S. 506 *broccesham*; Browston, Suff., D.B. *Brochestuna*; B.C.S. 674 *broccesbroc*, 1299 *broccesslæd* Glo. or Worc., *brocceshlæw* K.C.D. 673.

(*b*) Broxholm, Lincs., D.B. *Broxholm*.

Very doubtful. The evidence under (ii) is doubtful and that under (vi) ambiguous. In three cases the aptness of the compounds would perhaps suggest the animal rather than a man.

BUCC = buck, BUCCA = he-goat.

(i) *Bucca* dux B.C.S. 550.

[1] It should be noted that all evidence from D.B. which is made doubtful by later evidence, so far as it has been possible to collect it, has been entirely rejected.

[2] Several D.B. forms have had to be ruled out of consideration as it is impossible to tell if the first element is *brōc* = brook or *brocc*.

(iv) Buckingham, A.S.C. *Buccingaham* = home of the sons of Buck.

(v) Dimin. *buccel* in Bucklesham, Suff., D.B. *Bukelesham.*

(vi)(*a*) Buckworth, Hunts., D.B. *Buchesworde*; Buxton, Norf., D.B. *Bukestuna*; Buxhall, Suff., B.C.S. 1289 *Bucyshealœ.*

Buckminster, Leic., D.B. *Bucheminstre*; Buckenham, Norf., D.B. *Bucanham, Buchanaham*[1]; Bucknell, Ox., D.B. *Buchehelle*, Salop, D.B. *Buchehalla*; Bucknall, Staffs., D.B. *Buchenole*; B.C.S. 789 *buccan crundel* Berks., 475 *buchanford* Dors.

(*b*) Bucknall, Lincs., D.B. *Buchehale.*

The evidence under (i), (iv) and (v) seems conclusive as to the use of *bucc* as a personal name and under (vi) it may be noted that we should not expect to find a he-goat in possession of a monastery.

BUL(L)A = bull.

(iv) Bullinghope, Heref., D.B. *Boniniope*, F.A. *Bullinghop.*

(v) Diminutive *bulca* is found in *bulcan pytt* (B.C.S. 225), Bulkington, Warw., D.B. *Bochintone*, B.M. *Bulkinton*, while this or the strong *bulluc* = bullock may be found in Bulkworthy, D.B. *Buchesorda*, F.A. *Bolkeworthy.*

(vi) B.C.S. 565 *bullanholt*, 899 *bulandic*, 902 *bulan mœd* Berks., 213 *bulanham* Kent, 144 *bulanhol* Suss., 1282 *bulan wyllan* Worc., 103 *bulansetl*, Bullington, Hants., K.C.D. 101 *bulandun.*

The evidence under (vi) is specially ambiguous owing to the weak form of the noun, but as bulls are usually found singly we may assume perhaps that none is for gen. pl. *bullena* and it may be further noted that *bulan setl* is pretty clearly 'Bull's *setl*,' for it is not clear what use a bull can have for a *setl*[2]. Further, as *bulandic* and *bulan mœd* are very near one another, they probably belonged to one man rather than were haunted by one bull. On the whole the evidence is in favour of the use of *bulla* and its derivatives as a personal name.

CATT = cat.

(i) *Ranulphus cattessone* D.B. (Winchester).

(ii) Catworth, Hunts., D.B. *Cateuorde*, F.A. *Catteworth*; B.C.S. 1176 *cattan eg* Ox.[3]

(iv)(*b*) Catwick, Yorks., D.B. *Catingewic*, Kirby's Inquest *Cattewyk*[4].

[1] This may point to O.E. *buccena ham* = bucks' home.

[2] In spite of the fact that Noah is instructed to provide a proper *setl* for each animal in the ark (*Genesis*, 1304).

[3] These might of course be explained from *catte* f. = she-cat, if we can conceive those who named the place troubling about the sex of the animal.

[4] This is probably a patronymic from O.N. *Kati.*

(vi) Cattistock, Dors., B.C.S. 738 (late copy) *cattesstoke*. B.C.S. 299 *catteshlinc* Glo., 670 (late copy) *cattys gett* Som., 931 *cattesflot*[1] Som., 356 *cattes stycc* Worc., K.C.D. 703 *cattes stan* Glo.

The evidence here is not quite decisive. That under (i) may be condemned as late, on the other hand it is difficult to see what a cat has got to do with a *flot* or stream.

CEALF = calf.

(ii) B.C.S. 1282 *calfan leah*.

(iii) Chalvington, Surr., D.B. *Calvintone*.

(vi) Cawston, Warw., D.B. *Calvestone*; Chawson, Worc., D.B. *Celvestune*, Worc. Surv. c. 1120 *Chalvestona*.

The evidence is slight but satisfactory so far as it goes, especially as much the more usual (and natural) forms are those compounded with *cealf* and *cealfra* gen. pl.

COCC = cock.

(ii) Cockbury, Glo., B.C.S. 246 *coccanburh*, Cockfield, Suff., B.C.S. 1289 *cochanfeld*.

(iii) Cockington, Dev., D.B. *Chochinton*.

(iv) Cocking, Suss., D.B. *Cochinges*, B.C.S. 1309 *coccingepol* Midd.

(v) Dimin. *coccel*, Cucklington, Som., D.B. *Cocintone*, Ch. *Coclynton*, F.A. *Kukelinton*, *Cokelington*[2].

(vi) Coxwell, Berks., D.B. *Cocheswella*, B.C.S. 935 (late copy) *cockes þorn* Dors.

This seems to be well established.

COLT = colt.

(ii) B.C.S. 134 *coltanbeorh* Wilts.

CRAWE = crow.

(i) *Crawe* B.C.S. 1288 (woman's name).

(vi) Crawley, Hants. B.C.S. 629 *crawanlea*; 505 *crawan broc* Berks., 958 *crawan ford* Dors., 1314 *crawan ersc*, 663 *crawan crundel* Hants., 1009 *crawanhyll* Som., K.C.D. 658 *crawanac*, B.C.S. 391 *crawancrundel*, 508 *crawancumb*, 1118 *crawanmor* Wilts., 455 *crawanbroc*, 214 *crawanþorn* Worc.

The evidence under (vi) is, as usual with a nom. of weak formation, entirely ambiguous, but that under (i) makes it probable that some of those under (vi) refer to persons.

[1] K.C.D. 1174 *fleot*.

[2] This may possibly be from a name *Cuc(c)a* for which there is some evidence.

DUCE = duck.

(v) Ducklington, Ox., B.C.S. 1036 *duclingtun*, K.C.D. 775 *duceling dun* suggest a dimin. formation *ducel*.

(vi) B.C.S. 923 (late copy) *duccenhull* Som., 542 *ducan seaþ* Worc. Very doubtful.

EARN = eagle.

(i) *Earne*, D.B.

(iii) Arncote, Ox., K.C.D. 983 *earnigcotan* which may be for *earningcotan* (v. Alexander, u.s.).

(iv) Cambs. Armingford Hundred, D.B. *Erningford*, Pipe *Erningeford*, Arrington, D.B. *Erningetone*; Northants. Ermine St., B.C.S. 1003 *earninga stræt*.

(vi) Earnshill, Som., D.B. *Erneshele* B.C.S. 981 *earnes dun* Berks., 1331 *earneshricg* Dev., 731 *earnesbeorh* Hants., 506 *earnesbeam* Kent, 946 *earnes hlæw* Warw., 862 *earnesbeorh* Wilts., 727 *earneshlinc*.

A form *Earna* which would explain the origin of (iii) and (iv) might well be a short pet-name for one of the well established O.E. compound names in *Earn-*. Further as the second element in all of the names under (vi) fits very aptly with *earn*, taken as an eagle, we must doubt the independent use of *earn* as a personal name. The D.B. form may be due to Scand. influence.

EOFOR = boar.

(iv) Everingham, Yorks., D.B. *Euringham* and (very doubtfully) Hoveringham, Notts., D.B. *Houringham*, F.A. *Heveringham* (v. Mutschmann, *Place-names of Nottinghamshire*, s.n.).

(vi) Eversholt, Beds., D.B. *Evreshot* (sic); Eversden, Cambs., D.B. *Aueresdone*, Inq. Com. Cant. *Euresdona*; Eriswell, Suff., D.B. *Hereswella*, Ipm. *Evereswelle*; B.C.S. 1307 *eferes cumb* Hants.

Very doubtful, though it should be remembered that there is an *Eofor*, a Geatish warrior in *Beowulf*. A man might have been named after him instead of directly from the animal. Numerous compound names in *Eofor-* are given by Searle, but the only ones with any likelihood of being genuinely English are *Eoforhwæt* and *Eoforwulf*.

FINC = finch.

(iii) or (iv) Finchingfield, D.B. *Finanghefelda*, F.A. *Fynchingfeld*.

(vi) B.C.S. 1319 *finces stapol*.

HANA = cock.

(i) *Hana* (coin of Edmund I).

(iii) Hannington, Hants., D.B. *Hanitune*, B.M. *Hanincton*, Northants., D.B. *Hanintone*, Wilts., D.B. *Hanindone*; Hanchett, Suff., D.B. *Haningchet.*

(iv) Hanningfield, Ess., D.B. *Haningefelda.*

(v) Dimin. *haneca.* Hankford, Dev., D.B. *Hanecheforda*, Hånkham, Suss., B.C.S. 821 *hanecanhamm*, Hankerton, Wilts., 59 (late copy) *Hanekyntone.*

(vi)(*a*) B.C.S. 588 *hanan welle, hananwurð*[1] Wilts.; Midd., Hanworth, D.B. *Haneworde*, Hanwell, D.B. *Hanewelle.*

(*b*) Lincs., Cold Hanworth, D.B. *Hanewrde*, Potter Hanworth, D.B. *Haneworde.*

This name would seem to be well established.

HEAFOC = hawk.

(i) *Hauoc*, D.B. (T.R.E.).

(ii) K.C.D. 290 *heafecan*[2] *beorh* Worc., Hawkedon, Suff., D.B. *Hauochenduna.*

(iv) B.C.S. 197 *heafocunga leah* Suss.

(vi)(*a*) Hauxton, Cambs., D.B. *Havocheston*; Hawkesbury, Glouc., D.B. *Havochesberie*; Hawksley, Salop, D.B. *Avochelie*; B.C.S. 906 *heafoces ora*[3], 1169 *heafoceshamm*[3], 1687 *heafoces hlæw*[4] Berks., K.C.D. 1332 *hafocyssetl* Dev., B.C.S. 731 *hafeces del* Hants., 1230 *hafoceshlew* Ox., 676 *hafoces pytt*, 1000 (late copy) *hafokes beorgh.*

(*b*) Yorks., Hawkswick, D.B. *Hocheswic*, Kirby's Inquest, *Haukeswyk*; Hawksworth, D.B. *Havochesurde.*

This name seems to be well established, though the names under (vi)(*b*) may well be due to Scandinavian influence. O.N. Haukr is a well-known name.

HENGEST = stallion.

(i) *Hengest*, A.S.C.

(vi) Hinksey, Berks., B.C.S. 1002 *hengestes ig*; Henstridge, Som., B.C.S. 923 (late copy) *hengestesreg* K.C.D. 648 *hengestes geat* Berks., B.C.S. 1282 *hengestes healh*[5] Glo. or Worc., 1319 *hencstes græfa* Hants.,

[1] It is more natural to assume that these are named after one man (their possessor) than after one cock.

[2] B.C.S. 514 has *heasecan beorh*, but this yields no sense and seems unlikely. *s* and *f* resemble one another very closely in O.E. script.

[3] Examination of the boundaries shows these to be very close together and both refer to one man rather than to one hawk.

[4] Next to *hundes hlæw*. Probably Hawk and Hound's burial mounds rather than one hill haunted by a dog and the other by a hawk.

[5] Next to *horsa broc* so probably referring to the animal.

1201 *hengestes broc* Warw., 1000 (late copy) *hengstes earas*, K.C.D. 714 *hengesðes cumb* Ox., B.C.S. 247 *hengestes heafod.*

There is no evidence that this name was in general use in the O.E. period except possibly as naming someone after Hengest the Kentish king (whether mythical or not), or after Hengest the Danish leader in *Beowulf.* That these heroes were so named shows that at one time the animal name must have been considered a suitable man's name.

HEOROT = hart, stag.

(ii) B.C.S. 1093 *hortan(?)ford* Wilts.

(iii) Hartington, Derb., D.B. *Hortedon*, B.M. *Hertindon*; Hartland, Dev., B.C.S. 553, 554 *heortigtun, Hortyngton*; Hardington, Som., B.C.S. 314 *heortingtun.*

(iv) Harting, Suss., B.C.S. 1265 *hertingas.*

(v) Dimin. *heortla.* Hartlebury, Worc., K.C.D. 653 *heortlanbyrig* and near it *heortla ford.* A patronymic from this is found in Hartlington, Yorks., D.B. *Herlintun*, Kirby's Inq. *Hertlington.*

(vi) Hartshorne, Derb., D.B. *Heorteshorne*, Hartesmere, Suff., D.B. *Hertesmere.*

This name seems to be well established.

HORS = horse.

(i) *Horsa*, A.S.C.

(ii) B.C.S. 282 *horsan leah* Berks., 229 *horsendunes slead* Glo. or Worc.

(iii)(*a*) Horsington, Som., D.B. *Herstenetone*, F.A. *Horssyngton.*

(*b*) Horsington, Lincs., D.B. *Horsintone.*

(vi) [No forms. At least in D.B. it is very unlikely that the full tell-tale *Horses-* would be preserved, it would have become *Hors-*.]

The evidence leads to much the same conclusion as for *hengest.*

HRÆFN = raven.

(i) *Ræfn* (coin Ethelred II), D.B. (various forms) Leic., Bedf., Chesh., Derb., Staff., Yorks., Suff.[1]

(iii) Raveningham, Norf., D.B. *Raverincham, Ravelincham, Rauingeham.*

(vi)(*a*) Ramsden, Ess., D.B. *Ramesdana*, F.A. *Ramnesden*; Rampscombe, Hants., B.C.S. 102 *hremnescumb*; Ramsey, Hunts., A.S.C. *Hrameseg*; Romsley, Salop, K.C.D. 1298 *Hremesleage*; Ramsholt, Suff.,

[1] Cf. Björkman, *Altnordische Personennamen*, p. 109.

D.B. *Rammesholt*[1]; Ramsbury, Wilts., B.C.S. 899 *hremnesbyrig.* B.C.S. 801 *hramesleag* Berks., 866 *rammeshrycg*[1] ib., 1323 *hremnescumb* Dev., K.C.D. 656 *id.* Dors., B.C.S. 594 *hremmesdene* Hants., 982 *hremnesbeorh* ib., 1310 *rammesmere*[1] Hunts., 438 (late copy) *ramesleigh* Som., 834 *hremmesdun* Suss., 940 *hremnesgeat* Wilts., K.C.D. 658 *hramæshangra* ib., B.C.S. 356 *ræfneshyl, ramescumb* Worc.

(*b*) Yorks., Ravenfield, D.B. *Ravenesfeld,* Ravensthorpe, D.B. *Ravenestorp,* Ravensworth, D.B. *Raveneswat*; Ranby, Notts., D.B. *Ranesbi.* Probably here also should come Ravenstone, Bucks., Leic., D.B. *Raveneston* and Ravensthorpe, Northt., D.B. *Ravenestorp.* If they were early English formations we should expect Ramston and Ramsthorpe.

It is exceedingly doubtful if this name was ever in use in pre-Scandinavian times. The form under (iii) comes from a suspicious area and those under (vi)(*a*) are for the most part rather apt compounds with the bird name.

HRŌC = rook.

(ii) B.C.S. 1047 *hrocan leah* Berks.

(iv) Rockingham, Northt., D.B. *Rochingeham*; Ruckinge, Kent, B.C.S. 248 *hrocing,* D.B. *Rochinges.*

(vi)(*a*) Roxton, Beds., D.B. *Rochestone*; Ruxford, Dev., D.B. *Rochesford*; Ruxley, Kent, D.B. *Rochelie,* F.A. *Rokesle*; Roxham, Norf., D.B. *Rochesham.* B.C.S. 1343 *hrocesford* Dev., 1316 *rocisfald* Kent, 480 *hroceswylle* Suff.

(*b*) Lincs., Roxholme, D.B. *Rochesham,* Roxby, D.B. *Rochesbi*; Yorks., Rokeby, D.B. *Rochebi,* Kirby's Inq. *Rokesby*; Roxby (2), D.B. *Rozebi.*

(ii) and (iv) would seem to establish this name and under (vi) we can hardly associate a ford with a single rook. The forms under (vi)(*b*) probably go back to O.N. *Hrókr,* a well-established name.

HUND = dog.

(ii) B.C.S. 1080 *hundanhyll* Hants., 1213 *hundandene* Wilts.

(iii) Honington, Lincs., D.B. *Hundintone.*

(iv) *Hunding, Hundin, Hundic* D.B. (Yorks., Chesh., Derb.)[2].

(vi) Houndstone, Som., D.B. *Hundestone*; Houndsfield, Worc., D.B. *Hundesfeld.* B.C.S. 687 *hundeshlæw*[3] Berks., 596 *hundeshyll* Hants.,

[1] These forms are consistent with a derivation from O.E. *ramm* = ram. There is no evidence for the use of this as a personal name; Ramshorn, Dev. (Earle, *Charters,* p. 266), pretty certainly contains the animal's name.

[2] Cf. Björkman, *op. cit.,* p. 70.

[3] Cf. supra s.v. *heafoc.*

748 *hundesgeat*, 992 *id.* Wilts., 820 *hundespyfel* Surr., 887 *hundesgeat* Glo., K.C.D. 904 (late copy) *hundeslake*.

Somewhat doubtful, especially as (iii) and (iv) might be referred direct to O.N. *Hundingr*[1].

MŪL = mule.

(i) *Mul* A.S.C., *Muul* Liber Vitae Dunelm. (an early name in that list), *Mule, Mulo* D.B. Yorks.

(ii)(*a*) Moulton, Norf., K.C.D. 759 *mulantun*, Suff., D.B. *Muletuna*, Chesh., D.B. *Moletuna*.

(*b*) Moulton, Lincs., D.B. *Multune*, T.N., Ipm., Pat. *Muleton*, Mowthorpe, Yorks., D.B. *Muletorp*.

(iii) Mollington, Chesh., D.B. *Molynton*.

(vi) Moulsoe, Bucks., D.B. *Moleshou*, Ipm. *Moulesso*; Moulsham, Ess., *Molesham*, B.M. *Mulesham*; Molesworth, Hunts., D.B. *Molesworde*; Milson, Salop, D.B. *Mulstone*; Molesey, Surr., B.C.S. 34 *Muleseg*; Moulscombe, Suss., A.C. *Mulescumb*. B.C.S. 565 *muleshamstæde*[2], 682 *mulescumb*, 892 *mulesdun* Berks., 1066 *mulescumb*, 1307 *mulesfen* Hants.

The evidence of (i) (apart from D.B. forms) and (vi) seem to establish the name *Mūl*. The D.B. forms and those under (ii) and (iii) may be due to O.N. *Múli* rather than a weak *mūla* from O.E. *mūl*[3].

SEOLH = seal.

(vi) Selsey, Suss., B.C.S. 64 *Seolesige*; Selborne, Hants., D.B. *Selesburne*; K.C.D. 1263 *Seolesburne* Hants.

Clearly a personal name.

WIBBA = beetle.

(vi) Wibtoft, Leic., K.C.D. 1002 *Wibbetoft*; B.C.S. 610 *wibban wylle* Som., 1045 *wibban beorg* Hants.

Very doubtful. Lindkvist (*Middle English Place-Names of Scand. Origin*, p. 223) suggests that it is a pet name for O.E. *Wigbeald* or *Wigbeorht*.

WIFEL = beetle, weevil.

(i) *Wifle* D.B. (Yorks.).

(iii)(*a*) B.C.S. 677 *wifiling falod* Wilts.; Willingham, Cambs., D.B. *Wiuelingham*.

(*b*) Lincs., North Willingham, D.B. *Wifilengham*, Willingham-by-Stow, D.B. *Wiflingham*.

[1] *Hundingas* is found in Widsith as a tribal name.

[2] This place is near Cholsey and therefore near Moulsford (Pat. *M(o)ulesford*). Both may be named from the same man.

[3] Cf. Björkman, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

(vi)(*a*) Dev., Willsworthy, D.B. *Wifleorde*, F.A. *Wyvelesworthe*; Willeswell, D.B. *Wifleswilla*; Kent, Willesborough, B.C.S. 507 *wifelesbeorg*; Leic., Willisley, D.B. *Wivleslei*; Som., Wiveliscombe, D.B. *Wivelescome*; Suss., Wivelsfield, B.C.S. 197 *wifelesfeld*; Wilts., Wilsford, B.C.S. 567 *wifelesford*; B.C.S. 696 *wifelishyll*, 769 *wiuelisford* Dors., 240 *wiubeles welle*, 1283 *wifeles þorp* Glouc.; 1054 *wifeles stigel*, 1301 *wifeles mœre* Hants., 127 (late copy) *wuveleshale* Warw.; 1067 *wifelesham* Wilts.; 607 *wifeles lacu*.

(*b*) Lincs., Wilsford, D.B. *Wiuelesford*, Wilsthorpe, D.B. *Wiflestorp*, Wilstrop, D.B. *Wiuelestorp*.

The use of this name is clearly established though it may well be that the names under (iii)(*b*) and (vi)(*b*) go back to O.N. *Vifill* rather than O.E. *Wifel*.

WULF = wolf.

(i) *Wulf*[1] D.B., Dev., Warw., Northants., *Wulua* Som., *Wulf* mon. Ethelred II, *Wulf* K.C.D. 954.

(ii) B.C.S. 120 *wulfan dun* Worc. and (possibly) 973 *ulfan treo* Som.

(iv) B.C.S. 922 (late copy) *wolfinges lewe* Wilts., 760 *wylfinga ford* Ox.

(vi) Woolston, Hants., D.B. *Olvestun*.

Wulf and *Wulfa* may simply be shortened names of men whose full name was one or other of the numerous compound names in *Wulf-*. There are a *Wulf* in *Beowulf*, *Wulfingas* in *Widsith* and *Wylfingas* (perhaps the same tribe) in *Beowulf*. The common use of this name is very doubtful.

To sum up, there would seem to be clear evidence that certain names of animals were once freely used as personal names in Old English. It should be noticed however that

(i) very few are found in independent use and of these few *Hengest*, *Horsa* and *Mul* are only found quite early.

(ii) *Hengest*, *Eofor* and *Wulf* are already found in use in the poetry of the Heroic Age.

(iii) from *bera*, *berela*, *bucc*(*a*), *earn*, *heorot*, *hund*, *wulf*, we have pl. patronymic forms in *-ingas* which clearly go back to an early stage of the settlement and even to the Heroic Age.

[1] As distinct from *Vlf* = O.N. *Úlfr*.

(iv) there is a remarkable dearth of such names in D.B.[1], apart from certain ones found in the Danelagh.

The conclusion seems clear that these names, for the most part at least, form a very old stratum in English personal nomenclature and were not in living use at the end of the Old English period. They most of them probably go back definitely to heathen times and there is no evidence that they were given as nicknames, i.e. as additional names, supplemental to the names given at birth. They are real personal names, traditional with the race, given at birth with little or no thought of any application of the name to the appearance or disposition of the child.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

[1] What a pity we have not the names of all the *sochemanni*, *villani*, *bordarii*, *cotarii*, *servi* in D.B.! They might yield highly interesting material.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'GRIM, THE COLLIER OF CROYDON.'

THE play entitled *Grim, the Collier of Croydon, or The Devil and his Dame* was first published in 1662, when it appeared with two others in a volume called 'Gratiæ Theatrales, or A Choice Ternary of English Plays.' It is there described as 'A Comedy, by I.T.' There is no other hint of its authorship and no plausible suggestion has been made as to the person to whom these initials can be supposed to refer. But it is clear that the play must have been written many years before the date of its publication, its phraseology and versification, especially the large quantity of doggerel rime interspersed with the blank verse, pointing to a date about the close of the sixteenth century. There is also conclusive evidence that it was under the title of *The Devil and his Dame* (the alternative title of the 1662 edition) and not under that of *Grim, the Collier of Croydon* that the play originally appeared, for, shortly before the close of the fifth act, St Dunstan, addressing the audience, observes:

> A little longer yet your patience lend,
> That in your friendly censures you may see
> What the infernal synod do decree;
> And after judge if we deserve to name
> This play of ours, *The devil and his dame.*

Now in the year 1600—just about the very time that, judging from internal evidence, one would suppose that this play must have been written—there is an entry in Henslowe's diary of a payment to the dramatist William Haughton in these words:

> Lent vnto Wm Harton the 6 of Maye 1600 in earneste of a Boocke wch he wold call the devell and his dame. .....Vs.

For some reason that it is not now possible to determine, this entry has been crossed out and no other reference to a play of this name is to be found in the diary. So far as the diary is concerned, therefore, there is nothing to indicate whether the play that Haughton proposed to call *The Devil and his Dame* was ever completed. But Henslowe's payments for plays were almost invariably to their authors—and in this instance, as Haughton had the naming of the play, it is reasonable to suppose that he, if it was finished, was its sole author.

There is clearly some ground for the inference that the play of 1600 in which Haughton was concerned is one with *Grim, the Collier of*

Croydon, published in 1662. But it is not very substantial. Indeed if there were extant an anonymous play called *The Devil and his Dame* printed in, or shortly after, 1600 and we had positive proof that Haughton completed the piece named in the diary, an assumption of their identity would not be justified, for the Elizabethan drama affords numbers of instances of plays by different authors with similar titles written at or about the same time.

There remains the possibility of deciding whether *Grim, the Collier of Croydon* was written by Haughton by the application of internal evidence, for we have one undoubtedly genuine play of his—*Englishmen for my Money, or A Woman will have her Will.* This was published in 1616 by William White, and although it is true that neither this nor any early edition bears Haughton's name, no one has ever questioned his title to it, there being here no mysterious initials to disturb the conclusion that the comedy as published is that referred to (under its alternative name 'A Woman will have her Will') in Henslowe's diary in February and May 1598—the entries being of two payments to Haughton—and entered in the Stationers' Register in the name of William White (the publisher of the earliest edition of the extant play) on the 3rd August, 1601.

The latest critic to consider the problem of the authorship of *Grim, the Collier of Croydon* is Mr A. C. Baugh, who has fully discussed it in the account of Haughton's work prefixed to his edition of *Englishmen for my Money*, published by the University of Pennsylvania in 1917, but without being able to arrive at a definite decision. He suggests indeed that the question is 'perhaps not capable of a final solution' and that 'we must be content in the case of this play with the uncertainty that characterises Haughton's work at this time.'

In the case of a writer like Haughton who has left us but one independent play for purposes of comparison, and that a play exhibiting no marked peculiarities of style or diction, the task of establishing the authenticity of a doubtful work on internal evidence is necessarily difficult. Nevertheless, by a careful comparison of *Grim, the Collier of Croydon* with *Englishmen for my Money* I hope to show that they are from the same hand, and thus to establish Haughton's authorship of *Grim* and its identity with the play of *The Devil and his Dame* mentioned in the diary of Henslowe[1]. Afterwards I shall draw attention to

[1] *Englishmen for my Money* is reprinted in Vol. x, and *Grim, the Collier of Croydon* in Vol. viii, of Hazlitt's 'Dodsley.' References are by act, scene and page as in these editions.

certain points of resemblance between *Grim* and what I believe to be Haughton's work in two extant plays in which he collaborated.

I will take first a point to which Mr Baugh has himself drawn attention. It is that the opening speech of Dunstan, the Abbot of Glastonbury, in *Grim, the Collier of Croydon*:

> Know then (who list) that I am English born,
> My name is Dunstan; whilst I liv'd with men,
> Chief primate of the holy English church.
> I was begotten in West Saxony, &c.

is in the same manner as Pisaro's opening soliloquy in *Englishmen for my Money*. In both plays the speaker affords us with full information as to his nationality and career, Pisaro after this fashion:

> Indeed, by birth I am a Portingal,
> Who, driven by Western winds on English shore,
> Here, liking of the soil, I married,
> And have three daughters; but impartial death
> Long since depriv'd me of her dearest life;
> Since whose decease, in London I have dwelt
> And by the sweet lov'd trade of usury
> . . . . . .
> Do I wax rich.

How closely Haughton's method and the style of his blank verse corresponds with that of the anonymous play will be seen by the following extract from the latter. The passage quoted is from one of Belphegor's speeches in the first scene of the second act and is still more like Pisaro's speech:

> I am by birth, my lord, a Spaniard born,
> And by descent came of a noble house;
> Though, for the love I bare to secret arts,
> I never car'd to seek for vain estate,
> Yet by my skill I have increas'd my wealth.
> My name Castiliano, and my birth
> No baser than the best blood of Castile, &c.

Mr Baugh has further noted that 'the device of carrying forward the plot by stating the method in advance' is common to both plays. It is not a very important feature for it can easily be paralleled in other early plays, but it deserves passing notice. Mr Baugh illustrates the use of this device in *Grim* by the following lines anticipating the action, from one of Earl Morgan's speeches to Marian (II, i, 411):

> Thou shalt this night be brought unto his bed
> Instead of her, and he shall marry thee:
> Musgrave shall have my daughter, she her will:
> And so shall all things sort to our content.

Haughton is much addicted to proverbial sayings, which are plentiful in both plays, and it is worth noticing that the allusion in the third line of this passage is to the proverb 'A woman will have her will,' which

serves as a sub-title to *Englishmen for my Money* and is clearly the name by which it was generally known[1]. And to show that this particular allusion is in Haughton's manner we may compare this line:

Musgrave shall have my daughter, she her will,

with these from the latter play:

We sisters do agree
To have our wills, but ne'er to have you three.
III, ii, 512.

I'll have my will and Ned, or I'll have none.
III, iii, 521.

Perhaps the best parallel to Earl Morgan's speech—so far as the foreshadowing of the development of the plot is concerned—that can be quoted from *Englishmen for my Money* is afforded by these lines, addressed to Pisaro's three daughters by Anthony, their schoolmaster:

...all alike, or good, or bad, shall share.
You will have Harvey, you Heigham, and you Ned.
You shall have all your wish, or I be dead,
For sooner may one day the sea lie still
Than once restrain a woman of her will.
. . . . . .
For ere again dull night the dull eyes charms,
Each one shall fold her husband in her arms.
v, i, 549–50.

Two other parallels will suffice to illustrate the general resemblance in tone and style of these plays. First there is Marian's exclamatory speech in Act III, sc. i, of *Grim*:

Why am I young, but to enjoy my years?
Why am I fair, but that I should be lov'd?
And why should I be lov'd and not love others? 432.

Which is precisely in the same vein as Laurentia's exclamation in *Englishmen for my Money*:

Why was I made a maid, but for a man?
And why Laurentia but for Ferdinand? I, i, 476.

But more significant of identity of authorship is the likeness between Castiliano's outburst of rage on discovering the intimacy between Marian and Clinton:

I can no longer linger my disgrace.
. . . . . .
How now, thou whore, dishonour to my bed!
Disdain to womanhood, shame of thy sex!
. . . . . .
What makes this captain revelling in my house?
..... You'll prove a soldier!
Follow Bellona, turn a martialist! &c. III, i, 440.

[1] This is shown by the repeated references to it in the text, and the entries both in Henslowe's diary and the Stationers' Register.

and the speech in which Pisaro, in *Englishmen for my Money*, denounces the schoolmaster and his three daughters:

> I can no longer hold my patience.
> Impudent villain, and lascivious girls,
> I have o'erheard your vile conversions!
> You scorn philosophy! you'll be no nun!
> . . . . . .
> You'll have your will forsooth! I, i, 477.

In both cases the speaker suddenly emerges from a place of concealment, and besides the resemblance between the first lines of these speeches, note that in each case the eavesdropper scornfully quotes fragments of the conversation that he has overheard.

There are no rare words in *Englishmen for my Money* and few uncommon applications of common words. But among these we may perhaps reckon the use of the verb 'to smell' in the sense of 'detect,' since Mr Baugh has deemed it worthy of a note. It occurs twice in *Englishmen for my Money* (I, ii, 483; II, i, 488). At the earlier reference Frisco, the clown, says to Harvey:

> Do not you smell me?

(= Don't you grasp my meaning?). Clack, the Miller, in *Grim, the Collier of Croydon* uses the word in just the same way:

> O Grim, do I smell you? IV, i, 445.

In Hazlitt's 'Dodsley' there is a gloss on the adjectival use of *mankind* (= masculine) in Act III of *Grim*, where Castiliano, exasperated with his wife's behaviour with Clinton, exclaims:

> Is this obedience?...O, she's *mankind* grown! III, i, 439.

Examples are quoted from plays by Shakespeare, Dekker and Massinger. It might have been added that Haughton has *womankind* in a corresponding sense in *Englishmen for my Money*. Here, in the course of an interview with Pisaro, Walgrave (who is disguised in woman's clothes) observes aside:

> I think I must turn *womankind* altogether, and scratch out his eyes. V, ii, 552.

We may note also that in *Englishmen for my Money* Haughton uses a few ordinary words with rather more than ordinary frequency. Thus he has *pate* for 'head' four times in this play. It appears five times in *Grim*. He shows also a noticeable partiality for *device* and *devise*. Together, noun and verb appear seven times in *Englishmen* and thirteen times in *Grim*. Another characteristic word is *drift* (as substantive = scheme, design), which occurs seven times in *Englishmen* and twice in *Grim*.

Haughton having no tricks of repetition or pronounced mannerisms of any kind, the most useful test that we can apply to *Grim* is to see whether it contains any notable phrases or allusions that are also to be found in *Englishmen for my Money*, or whether the plays afford any instances of the use of the same words in association. Correspondences of this kind are, I think, sufficiently numerous and distinctive to complete the proof of Haughton's authorship of *Grim*.

Perhaps the most noteworthy is the use of the phrase 'to be dog at' or 'old dog at' a thing, meaning to be experienced, or as we should say, 'an old hand' at it. It is by no means common. Frisco in *Englishmen for my Money* is 'dog at' speaking French:

> I remember my great grandfather's grandmother's sister's cousin told me that pigs and Frenchmen speak one language, *awee*, *awee*; I am dog at this.
>
> I, i, 479.

Grim of *Grim, the Collier of Croydon* is 'an old dog at' a pudding:

> Now I talk of a pudding, O 'tis my only food, I am an old dog at it.
>
> II, i, 418.

Four times in *Englishmen* we find instances of speakers concluding a sentence with the words 'and so forth' (484, 492, 504, 523). Mr Baugh supposes that they are 'probably a cue for improvisation.' This seems to me unlikely. In all cases they appear to be used as a catch phrase—as they might be to-day—equivalent to 'etcetera,' 'and so on.' They occur also once in *Grim*:

> Here's Joan's benevolation for us, a mess of cream *and so forth*.
>
> V, i, 459.

Among the expressions common to both plays is to 'mar one's market.'

> ..... fall to your muses
> To help poor Anthony now at a pinch,
> Or all our market will be spoil'd and marr'd.
>
> *Eng.* III, ii, 509.
>
> ..... Lacy must be married to his love
> And by that match my market is near marr'd.
>
> *Grim*, I, iii, 401.

and 'helping hand' is another:

> But for your business, do you assure yourself,
> At my repairing home from the Exchange,
> I'll *set a helping hand* unto the same. *Eng.* II, i, 495.
>
> And now the issue of my help relies
> Only on Mariana's gentleness,
> Who, if she will, in such a common good,
> *Put to her helping hand*, the match is made.
>
> *Grim*, II, i, 410.

When Pisaro is called upon to furnish a feast for his guests at a moment's notice, his thoughts turn to geese and giblets:

> There's geese, too, now I remember me,
> Bid Maudlin lay the giblets in paste. *Eng.* v, ii, 550.

Grim offers to provide the same delectable dish for Robin Goodfellow if he will come to his house:

> There is never a time my cart cometh from London, but the collier bringeth a goose in his sack, and that, with the giblets thereof, is at your service.
> *Grim*, v, i, 462.

In *Englishmen for my Money* Harvey tells the 'post' that his face 'looks like a piece of rusty bacon' and that he ought to thank God that his host at Plymouth had meat enough in the house when he was there:

> ... for otherwise he would doubtless have *cut thee out in rashers* to have eaten thee; thou look'st as thou wert thorough *broiled* already. II, i, 493.

and, in *Grim*, the Collier says to Shorthose:

> In wisdom I am appeased; but in anger I *broil as it were a rasher* upon the coals. II, i, 415.

Pisaro, in *Englishmen for my Money*, makes use of the saw 'the flesh is frail':

> Now, afore God, she is a sweet, smug girl!
> One might do good on her; *the flesh is frail*,
> Man hath infirmity, &c. V, ii, 551.

and so does Grim:

> Master Parson, *the flesh is frail*, he shall tempt her no longer. II, i, 416.

Finally it is to be noted that three times in *Englishmen for my Money* Haughton trifles with the words 'substance' and 'shadow':

> ..... each one shall change his name:
> Master Vandal, you shall take Heigham, and you
> Young Harvey, and Monsieur Delion, Ned,
> And under shadows be of substance sped. III, ii, 514.

> *Harvey* Hark, Ned, there's thy substance.
> *Walgrave* Nay, by the mass, the substance is here,
> The shadow's but an ass. IV, i, 525.
>
> For you some other drift devis'd must be:
> One shadow for a substance. V, i, 549.

And this, too, is to be found in *Grim*:

> [The earl] will maintain and love you royally;
> For what had Musgrave but his idle shape?
> A shadow to the substance you must build on.
> II, i, 421.

Besides *Englishmen for my Money*, presumably Haughton's unaided work, we have two plays in which he was one of three collaborators—

that is, if I am justified in assuming that I have[1] established the identity of *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* of Dekker, Haughton and Day[2], with the play printed in 1657 as Marlowe's under the name of *Lust's Dominion*. To Haughton I attribute (*inter alia*) the Crab and Cole scenes of this play (II, iii–v, III, v) which contain doggerel riming lines of eight syllables of precisely the same sort as we find in Shorthose's speeches in *Grim*. The style of these scenes is not Dekker's, and I believe I am right in saying that in none of Day's independent plays is there any verse of this description.

The other play in which Haughton was concerned is *Patient Grissil*, written with Dekker and Chettle towards the close of 1600. I agree with Mr Baugh that Haughton's share in this is confined to the scenes in which Julia appears. The Julia-Onophrio passages are entirely his and I believe that he was also chiefly responsible for those in which the affected coxcomb Emulo figures, though here there are occasional hints of Dekker. If this is correct, Haughton's contribution to *Patient Grissil* is small, consisting of parts only of II, i, III, ii, IV, iii, and V, ii. There are here one or two not unimportant links with *Grim*. In III, ii we again find 'and so forth,' and in Emulo's description of his duel with Sir Owen in the same scene there is a quibble on the two senses of the verb 'to lie,' as in Grim's account of his combat with the Miller (IV, i, 448–9). Also, in IV, iii:

> *Julia* ... what becomes of the rest?
> *Farneze* It becomes us to rest before we come to the rest.

Farneze puns after the fashion of Honorea in *Grim*:

> *Musgrave* But now at last—
> *Honorea* I would that last might be thy last. III, i, 430.

Mr Baugh[3] has hazarded the opinion that, if Haughton had anything to do with *Grim, the Collier of Croydon*, he was probably concerned only in part of it, indicating the first scene of Act I, which appears to him to show most resemblance to the playwright's manner. But the suggestions of his hand—if they are accepted as such—noted above are scattered throughout the text, and the difference in manner and versification between the serious scenes and those that concern Grim and Robin Goodfellow do not seem to me to be of such a kind as need imply more than one author. Mr Baugh appears to consider that the theory of a divided authorship derives some support from the fact that

[1] In *Notes and Queries*, 12, S. i, pp. 81–4.
[2] See the entry in Henslowe's diary under date 13 February, 1599.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 76.

Henslowe records only a payment of 5*s.* to Haughton, but a similar inference would deprive Haughton of the sole authorship of *Englishmen for my Money*, the only difference being that in the case of that play Henslowe's entries cover payments on account amounting to 50*s.* In neither case is the inference of collaboration excluded, but it seems unnecessary. Apart from the initials affixed to the title on the publication of the play in 1662, all the evidence we have points to the conclusion that *Grim, the Collier of Croydon* is entitled to rank equally with *Englishmen for my Money* as entirely the work of Haughton's pen.

H. DUGDALE SYKES.

ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX.

CHARLES FITZGEFFREY, POET AND DIVINE.

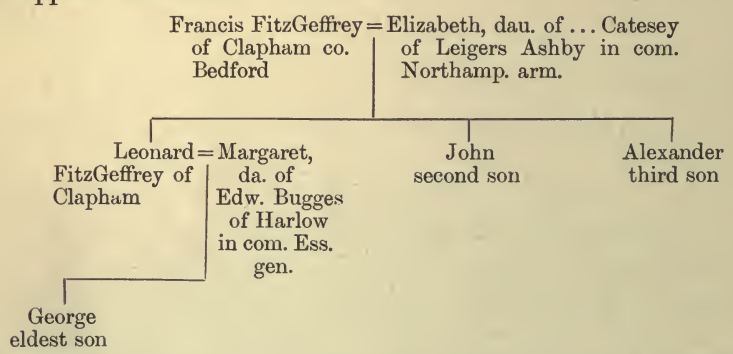
A life of Charles Fitzgeffrey is given by Anthony à Wood in his *Athenæ*[1], to which Grosart made some additions in his account of the poet prefixed to his edition of *The Poems* (1881). Other accounts based on these will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in Boase and Courtney's *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, and in Macleane's *History of Pembroke College, Oxford* (*Oxford Historical Soc. Publ.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 108). But it is possible to go a little further.

Of his father, Alexander Fitzgeffrey, Charles writes in his *Affaniæ* (M 7 v.):

> Nascenti dias Bedfordia præbuit auras,
> Granta artes, vitam Cornubia, Isca necem:

i.e. he was born in Bedfordshire, educated at Cambridge, lived in Cornwall, and died on the Exe or Axe in Devonshire[2].

Dr Grosart showed that there were Fitzgeffreys of Bedfordshire, but while printing a pedigree from the Bedfordshire Visitation of 1619, he strangely overlooked a pedigree in that of 1566 which contains Alexander's name (*Harleian Soc. Publ.*, XIX, p. 26). From this pedigree I append an extract:


Francis FitzGeffrey of Clapham co. Bedford
= Elizabeth, dau. of ... Catesey of Leigers Ashby in com. Northamp. arm.
Leonard FitzGeffrey of Clapham
= Margaret, da. of Edw. Bugges of Harlow in com. Ess. gen.
John second son
Alexander third son
George eldest son

There can be little doubt that Alexander, third son of Francis Fitzgeffrey of Clapham, was the poet's father. He was probably from 20—25 at the time the pedigree was made.

Alexander 'Fitzjeferey' was matriculated in Michaelmas term 1560 as a pensioner of Queens' College, Cambridge. He became B.A. in 156$\frac{2}{3}$, when his name stood first in the Ordo Senioritatis, M.A. in 1566, when

[1] Ed. Bliss, II, 607.

[2] Dr Grosart says on the strength of this couplet, 'he had removed to and died in Cornwall.' I don't know what he made of 'Isca.'

his name stood fourth (the first name is that of Lord Henry Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, who as a nobleman had not been included in the B.A. list)—and Fellow of his college.

We now come to Fitzgeffrey's removal to Cornwall. Macleane says he was 'priest of Fowey,' and Grosart says that his son Charles was born at Fowey. I am not aware of the authority for these statements[1], but, as we shall see, they have some plausibility. At any rate on 26th November, 9th Eliz. (sc. 1566), Alexander 'FitzJeffery' compounded for the Rectory of Breock (Breag), Cornwall, and on 9th November, 16th Eliz. (sc. 1574), for the Rectory of Boconnock, Cornwall, the latter living being then apparently in the gift of Francis, second Earl of Bedford[2].

In 1579 the manor of Boconnock was sold by the Earl of Bedford to William Mohun, Esq. (afterwards Sir William), eldest son of Sir Reginald Mohun (d. 1556) of Hall[3], near Fowey. Mohun built Boconnock House, which became the chief seat of his family[4].

At some date unknown to us, apparently not later than 1576, Alexander Fitzgeffrey married into the Mohun family[5]. According to the Mohun pedigree[6] his wife was apparently Honor, Sir William Mohun's youngest sister.

Sir Reginald de Mohun of Hall, Kt = Johanna, da. of Sir William Trevanion

Sir William = Elizabeth, da. of John Horsey

Isabella m. Matt. Trewinward

Jana m. John Treffry of Fowey

Anna

Honor

Hugh ob. s. p.

Reginald ob. s. p.

John

Sir Reginald
m. (1) Mary, da. of Sir Henry Killigrey.
(2) Philippa, da. of John Heale.
(3) Dorothy, da. of John Chudleigh.
His son and heir (by his second wife), John, became Lord Mohun of Okehampton.

[1] No registers of Fowey for this period are extant.

[2] The second of C. Fitzgeffrey's 'Cenotaphia' commemorates the Earl and his eldest son, who both died in July 1585.

[3] Camden writes: 'E regione ad alteram ripam sedet Hall amœnissimo ambulacro in collis devexo,' and R. Carew gives a charming description of it in his *Survey of Cornwall*.

[4] In 1718 the widow of Charles Lord Mohun, killed as we know from *Esmond* in the duel with the Duke of Hamilton in 1712, sold the property to Thomas Pitt. It thus became the birthplace of Lord Chatham.

[5] It is rather curious to find that the families had intermarried before. Reignold Mohun, Baron of Dunster and Earl of Somerset (ob. 1257), had as his first wife Hawis, da. of John Fitzjeffrie.

[6] See Vivian's *Visitations of Cornwall*, p. 324.

My reasons for concluding that Alexander Fitzgeffrey married Honor Mohun are these: Charles Fitzgeffrey was with little or no doubt nephew of Sir William Mohun, that is, son of one of his sisters. But of the two sisters left unmarried in the above pedigree, Anna married Francis Bellot of Bochin[1]. Accordingly Fitzgeffrey, unless he was second husband to one of the sisters already married, must have married Honor.

Sir William Mohun died soon after 6th April, 30th Eliz. (1588[2]), when he made his will (proved 21st June 1588). Alexander Fitzgeffrey would seem to have died between 1st February $15\frac{89}{90}$ and July 1591[3], judging from the position he occupies in his son's list of 'Cenotaphia' which seem to be in groups, of which each group is arranged in order of date of the death of the subject[4]. Our assumption that Sir William Mohun died about May 1588 and Alexander Fitzgeffrey in 1590 or the early part of 1591, is in perfect accord with what Charles Fitzgeffrey writes as we shall soon see.

Charles Fitzgeffrey tells us a little about his early years. His companions 'a cunis' and 'a ferulis' were William and Thomas Mohun[5], sons of Sir William by his second marriage. He had had as his teacher one Richard Harvey, whom he describes as 'Danmonium, Theol.' That is, he was a Devonshire clergyman. He thus addresses him:

> Verum ô prime mei teneris formator ab annis
> Libamenta tibi, qualia quanta dabo?...
> Tu mihi me quondam studiis, Harvæe, dedisti,
> Totum ego me grata nunc vice reddo tibi[6].

Harvey was with little doubt Richard Harvey, who was instituted to the Vicarage of Axmouth on 25th April, 32nd Eliz. (1590), and whose will was proved in 1631[7].

If the Oxford record of Fitzgeffrey's age is correct (which however is doubtful) he must have been under Harvey's care before the latter

[1] The Rev. Philip E. Browne of Lostwithiel writes: 'In the Bodmin Calendar of Wills there was the name of Francis Bellot of Bochyn who married Anna daughter of Sir Reginald Mohun: the will was proved 27th July 1597 but is not now at Bodmin.' In Vivian's *Visitations of Cornwall*, p. 26, Francis Bellot's wife is described as 'daughter of Reginald Mohun of Boconnock esquire for the body to Queen Elizabeth.' This presents some difficulty as, if Sir Reginald Mohun died as stated in 1556, he could not have served Queen Elizabeth after she became Queen. I have no doubt however that Sir Reginald Mohun is meant. Charles Fitzgeffrey speaks of Reginald Bellot (son of Francis Bellot) as his cousin ('consanguineo'). As Reginald Bellot took his degree of B.A. in $157\frac{3}{4}$, his mother must have been married by 1553 and born c. 1535.

[2] The pedigree makes him die in 1587.

[3] A new rector Rob. Hardinge compounded for Boconnock on 7th May, 44th Eliz. (1602), and Will. Coton for Breock 27th June, 5 Jas. I (1607). But these cannot have been Alexander Fitzgeffrey's immediate successors.

[4] See below.

[5] *Affaniæ*, I 1 v.

[6] *Affaniæ*, H 3.

[7] See McKerrow, *Nashe's Works*, v, p. 72, note 6.

became vicar of Axmouth. Perhaps Harvey had been his private tutor. In another poem addressed to George Sommester, Principal of Broadgates Hall, Oxford, Fitzgeffrey says he passed from Harvey's hands to the college[1]:

Ille Fitzgeofridus ille vester
...fatetur
Quantus, quantulus est...
Totum post Deum & optimos parentes
Harvæumque sibi alterum parentem
Se acceptum merito referre vobis.
Vos me adhuc tenerum rudemque alumnum
Et charo patre destitutum, et illo
(Qui desyderium patris superstes
Alleuaret) auunculo Mohuno
(Eheu vulnera bina telo ab uno !)
Cum primum ferulæ manum Harveianæ
Jam subduximus, haud ephœbi, at annos
Lustris addidimus duos duobus,
Excepistis, et in sinu fouentes
Gratum, Iupiter ! otiique plenum
Septenne hospitiumque præbuistis.

That is, at the time of his passing from Harvey's care to Broadgates Hall, he was twelve years of age, and had already lost both his father and his uncle Mohun. We must not press the meaning of 'telo ab uno' and conclude that both had died from the same cause at the same time.

The fact that Sir W. Mohun made his will shortly before his death in 1588 makes this unlikely apart from the ground we have for supposing that Alexander Fitzgeffrey died in 1590 or the early part of 1591. We must understand Charles Fitzgeffrey in what he writes of his uncle to mean 'who, *if* he had survived, *would* have softened the sense of my father's loss.' The date of Sir William Mohun's death agrees so completely with Fitzgeffrey's statement about his uncle, that one feels sure that he is the man[2].

A curious difficulty arises about the dating of Charles Fitzgeffrey's time of residence at Oxford. He says—as we have seen—that he entered Broadgates Hall at the age of twelve (his father and uncle being both already dead) and remained there seven years. It is not easy to reconcile this statement with those of the official records of the University of Oxford. According to the latter[3] Fitzgeffrey was matri-

[1] *Affaniæ*, L 8.
[2] Among the 'Cenotaphia' in his *Affaniæ*, Fitzgeffrey has one (M 5), 'Gulielmo Mohuno Equiti Illustriss.' spoken by 'Cornubia Patria.' If Sir William was not his uncle, he leaves his uncle without a tribute.
[3] See Clark's *Register* and Foster's *Alumni*.

culated on 6th July 1593, 'etat. 17[1],' was admitted B.A. on 31st Jan. $159\frac{6}{7}$, had the grace for his M.A. 4th July 1600, and was incorporated in that year. If we could suppose that the '17' (the year of Fitzgeffrey's age at matriculation in the Oxford Register) was a scribal error for '12,' some difficulties would disappear, and the 'septennium' which Fitzgeffrey says he spent at Broadgates Hall would coincide with the period between his matriculation in July 1593 and his M.A. degree in July 1600. The assumption however would be a bold one, and it would land us in the fresh difficulty that Fitzgeffrey would then be only fifteen at the time of his taking the B.A. degree and publishing his poem on Drake.

We cannot ignore Fitzgeffrey's statement that when he joined Broadgates Hall he was 'haud ephœbus,' even if we think he was rather older than twelve. But while he is no doubt right in saying that he did not join the college till after his father's death (i.e. as we have surmised, not till 1590 or 1591 at earliest) he may well have joined for a year or two before being formally matriculated[2]. We may then conjecture that Fitzgeffrey entered Broadgates Hall in 1592 when about fourteen years of age, and remained in more or less continuous residence till near the time of his M.A. in July 1600.

He would still be only eighteen when, six months before he took his B.A. degree, Fitzgeffrey published his poetical eulogy of the great West-country hero, who had died in Dec. 1595: *Sir Francis Drake, His Honorable lifes commendation, and his Tragicall Deathes lamentation.* Oxford, 1596. The poem was prefaced by commendatory lines in English by Richard Rous, Francis Rous[3], and D. W. [Degory Wheare] and a Latin poem by Thomas Mychelbourne. The three former were

[1] Mr R. L. Poole, Keeper of the Archives, has kindly verified these statements for me. He writes: 'The entry in Reg. Matric. [Register of Matriculations] P, p. 498, is as follows: "Charles FitzJeffry Cornubiensis generosi filius etat. 17." The date "Julij 6° 1592" stands in the margin against the fourth preceding entry; but Mr Vere Bayne has corrected the year to 1593, the registrar of the time having omitted to note the change of year from 1591 to 1592, and from 1592 to 1593.

'In the Reg. Subscr. [Register of Subscriptions] Ab, fo. 79 b, the signatures of "Diagory Where" and "Charls Fitzgeofry" are bracketed together. The page is headed "1593" in Dr Bliss's hand.

'The grace for the admission of "Charolus Fitzgefferyes" to the degree of M.A. was granted on 4 Julij 1600: Reg. Congr. [Register of Congregations] M, fo. 100 b.'

[2] Matriculation was often postponed till some years after admission to a college, and Broadgates Hall may have laid itself out to receive boys specially young. Mr Poole writes: 'We know nothing whatever about the internal circumstances of Broadgates Hall... There may have been a master of grammar, and boys may have been taught there, but there is no evidence.'

[3] A copy of Fitzgeffrey's work from Lord Ailesbury's library was sold at Sotheby's in March 1919, which appears to be an earlier issue than the one in the British Museum, as the commendatory verses of Richard and Francis Rous are here signed with initials only (*Times Lit. Supplement*, 20th March 1919).

Fitzgeffrey's contemporaries at Broadgates Hall. Richard, third son of Anthony Rous of Halton, Cornwall, and Francis Rous his next younger brother had been matriculated from Broadgates Hall on the same day as Fitzgeffrey, 6th July 1593, Richard being fourteen and Francis twelve, and they were both to be admitted to the B.A. degree with him on 31st Jan. $159\frac{6}{7}$. Francis had a distinguished career before him, as he became M.P. for Truro in 1626, Speaker of the Short Parliament 1640, Provost of Eton 1643, and one of Cromwell's lords 1657. He died on 7th Jan. $165\frac{8}{9}$. Degory Wheare was matriculated on the same day and took his B.A. degree within a few days of the others, and his M.A. on 11th June 1599, a year before Fitzgeffrey. Wheare, known later as the author of *De ratione et methodo legendi historias* and as Camden Professor of History, himself furnishes evidence for the close friendship which united this 'Quadruple Alliance[1].' Of his *Epistolæ Eucharisticæ* No. 39 is addressed 'Carolo Fitzgeofrido amico & fratri charissimo,' No. 40 'Richardo & Francisco Rousæis,' Nos. 45, 46 and 47 again to Fitzgeffrey. To Fitzgeffrey he calls himself 'Hilarius': 'quis Carolum ab suo Hilario tam diutulè tamque propè abesse suspicaretur?' (Ep. 46, '6 Kal. Sept. 1604'). He has received 'pulcherrimum illud ingenii tui fœtum (Panegyricum intelligo),' copied it with his own hand and given the copy to a friend (Ep. 47).

The closeness of the friendship would raise a presumption of something like equality of age among the four friends. But if Wheare was born in 1573, at the time of the publication of the Drake poem he would be about twenty-three, Fitzgeffrey, on the supposition we have made, would be eighteen, Richard Rous would be seventeen and Francis Rous fifteen. Fitzgeffrey's work even on this supposition would be one of extraordinary precocity, and would more than justify the terms in which Meres spoke of it in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598): 'As C. Plinius wrote the life of Pompon[i]us Secundus: so young Charles Fitz-Ieffrey, that high touring Falcon, hath most gloriously penned *The honourable Life and Death of worthy S^r^ Francis Drake.*'

A second edition of the poem came out in the year of its publication. This has an Epistle to the Reader dated 'Broade-Gates Novemb. 17, 1596,' English verses by Thos. Michelborne substituted for his Latin poem of the first edition and five new tributes to the memory of Drake gathered from printed books. They are ascribed to 'Nicolaus Eleutherius,'

[1] From the poem addressed to him in *Affaniæ* (B 1 v.) it would seem that Wheare and Fitzgeffrey had been for years associated (probably as pupils of Mr Harvey) before going up to Oxford.

'Huldricus Cassianus,' 'D. G. G. L. E.,' 'Ioh. Tolmerus,' 'Th. Watsonus Lond. Amint. Gaud. Epist. 5[1].'

Five years later, when he was already M.A. and had left Oxford, Fitzgeffrey produced a second work. The little volume *Affaniæ*[2] consists of three books of Latin Epigrams followed by a collection of 'Cenotaphia' or funeral poems. It was published by Joseph Barnes at Oxford in the latter half of 1601.

Prefixed to the Epigrams are three poems: the first addressed by Degory Wheare ('Hilarius Verus') to Edward Michelborne, the second, Michelborne's reply to Wheare, the third addressed by Charles Fitzgeffrey to William Raleigh 'jurisconsult' (Fellow of All Souls'). The first and third are in hendecasyllabics, the second in elegiacs.

Edward Michelborne, reputed, according to Anthony à Wood, the best Latin poet of his time at Oxford, was the eldest of three brothers, friends alike of Fitzgeffrey and of his senior contemporary, Thomas Campion. It was natural that Fitzgeffrey should wish his work to come into the world with Michelborne's blessing. The three books into which it is divided are dedicated respectively to Laurence, Edward and Thomas Michelborne (the last Fitzgeffrey's original friend[3]). The Epigrams are in elegiacs, hendecasyllabics, and other metres, and in spite of some faults common in Latin poets of the age, show remarkable gracefulness and facility of composition. A great number are addressed to the author's friends and have a biographical interest; interspersed with these are a number of little lampoons such as Herrick gives us in English. The first book differs from the others in containing a number of epigrams, some of them a little coarse, addressed to 'Cordula,' an (apparently imaginary) cold beauty, who with Fitzgeffrey takes the place of Campion's 'Mellea' (B 6 v.).

The whole plan seems to have been suggested by Campion's Epigrams. Fitzgeffrey says that the first English writer of Latin epigrams was Sir Thomas More, the second—not inferior in merit—Campion, the third, himself:

> Vltimus his ego sum, quem quāvis mille sequātur,
> Præripiet, vereor, hunc mihi nemo locum[4] (F 7).

We have already drawn on the autobiographical material contained in the *Affaniæ*. It is from them that we know of the debt Fitzgeffrey

[1] Thomas Watson had died in 1592, the year of publication of his *Amintæ Gaudia*.

[2] 'Chatterings.'

[3] I do not understand Fitzgeffrey's statement 'Quem primū *Patrima Sais*...mihi... dedit' (*Affaniæ*, G 6).

[4] Fitzgeffrey gives Campion the further praise of having first introduced the Latin elegy into England: 'Romana elegia...Te duce cœruleos invisit prima Britannos' (D 5 v.).

owed to his early teacher, Richard Harvey, and of his admission to Broadgates Hall, while still a boy, after the loss of his father and his uncle, Sir William Mohun. These epigrams tell us further that he had lost an eye, and had been in consequence exposed to satirical comparisons with Homer (E 5 v., E 6 v.): and that he had an illness of many months which forced him to leave Oxford, the city of Apollo, for Cornwall ('Longa Coronei quà iacet ora ducis[1]') and which brought him in fear of death (L 5—L 7 v.). At an earlier time apparently he invites Wheare to come to him from Oxford 'Wiltiam,' or 'Wilciam'—query, to Wiltshire? (D 3 v.); and again he speaks of the Lennar or Lynher as *his* river, while the Tamar is the river of the Rouses (F 6 v.).

Above all, the *Affaniæ* show us that Fitzgeffrey was a man with a host of friends. There is an elder group—Thomas Campion, the Michelbornes (Thomas the youngest of the three who was the first of them known to Fitzgeffrey was perhaps his coeval), John Case of St John's, whose lectures in philosophy he had perhaps attended[2], Eustace Moore of Balliol, Henry Nelder of Broadgates Hall, William Raleigh of All Souls'. But the larger body consists of men of his own standing in Broadgates Hall or other colleges. The chief place is taken by Degory Wheare, 'Hilarius Verus,' his Pylades (D 3 v.), a friend with whom for twelve years he had been constantly associated (B 2). But Richard and Francis Rous also appear, and Fitzgeffrey looks forward with joy to meeting them on their return from the University of Leyden (H 8 v.—I 1). Richard Carew the younger of Anthony is greeted on his return from sojourning at Paris and Orleans with his friends Nevill and Trelawney (I 2).

Of the majority one can only give the names. Of Broadgates Hall, Marmaduke Angrome B.A. 159$\frac{4}{5}$, Henry Bond ('Erricus Band') matr. 1595, John Debill (also a friend of Nicholas Breton) matr. 159$\frac{2}{3}$, Arthur Hele matr. 1595, John Leigh B.A. 159$\frac{2}{3}$, Richard Moore B.A. 1596, John Pym[3], stepbrother of the Rouses, who seems to have looked after Fitzgeffrey's belongings when the latter was kept from Oxford by illness (I 3), matr. 1599, George Spry B.A. 159$\frac{8}{9}$, Nicholas Trefusis B.A. 1593, John Willoughby; of Brasenose College, Henry Phillipps B.A. 1595,

[1] Cp. the distich quoted in Camden's *Britannia*: 'Pars Corinea datur Corinæo, de duce nomen Patria, déque viro gens Corinensis habet.' One wonders where Fitzgeffrey's home was in Cornwall, between his father's death and his own settlement at St Dominick in 1603. Perhaps for a time with his cousin Reginald Bellot, Rector of Menheniot, which lies between Liskeard and the Lynher.

[2] See the account of Case in the *D.N.B.*

[3] 'Veri dextime ocelle, ocelle Carli,
Mellitissime Jane Pimme' (I 3).

Henry Shewarde B.A. 1598, Edward Vernon B.A. 1597; of Exeter College, Richard Carpenter B.A. 1596; of Christ Church, John Rice B.A. 159$\frac{7}{8}$, John Sprint B.A. 159$\frac{5}{6}$, Thomas Storer; of St Alban Hall, Thomas Rashley B.A. 159$\frac{5}{6}$, Abel Treffry (Fitzgeffrey's cousin) B.A. 1598; of Magdalen College, Anthony Jeffrey B.A. 1595; of St Mary Hall, Charles Tripp matr. 159$\frac{7}{8}$; of Queen's College, Thomas Overbury[1] B.A. 1598 (the Sir Thomas Oberbury who was poisoned in the tower in 1613); of Jesus College, William Vaughan ('Maridunensem,' sc. of Carmarthen) B.A. 159$\frac{4}{5}$, whose *Golden Grove*, published in 1599, had included commendatory verses from Fitzgeffrey, Thos. Storer, and Thos. Michelborne.

Some friends Fitzgeffrey had at Cambridge also, whom he thought of when in prospect of death—John Benton, Emm. B.A. 159$\frac{4}{5}$, William Durant, Emm. B.A. 159$\frac{6}{7}$, Charles Flamank, Magd. B.A. 159$\frac{6}{7}$ (afterwards Fellow of Peterhouse), and John Bridgeman, Pet. B.A. 159$\frac{6}{7}$ (afterwards Fellow of Magdalene and Bishop of Chester).

Other epigrams celebrate famous authors or eulogize books. Probably Fitzgeffrey's acquaintance with Ben Jonson (he praises already 'quædam Dramata diserta,' D 7 v.), Drayton, Daniel, Sylvester, John Hall (the satirist and future Bishop), Francis Meres, John Marston, Sir John Harrington, William Percy ('Mæcenas simul et Mars Britannus') was not great; but his *Drake* and the praise it won for him from Meres must have given him an introduction into literary circles in London. It is easier to understand that he should have known Thomas Storer of Christ Church, the author of the poem on *Wolsey*, and the accomplished linguist and Cornish antiquary Richard Carew of Anthony. Whether Fitzgeffrey was a practical musician, is not clear: but he has verses in praise of *The Cittharn School* of Anthony Holborne (1597). He had had four commendatory poems, two in Latin and two in English, in Storer's *Wolsey* 1599—in *Affaniæ* there is another Latin epigram on the book. Sylvester's translation of du Bartas (first published in 1605) contains verses by Fitzgeffrey which had already appeared in *Affaniæ*. Chapman's *Homer* also receives praise.

Nashe is in one epigram referred to as alive (E 7 v.), though in the 'Cenotaphia' his death receives its earliest mention[2]. Ric. Lateware of St John's is commemorated as author of a work *Daphne* (E 8 v.).

[1] 'Overberule præpotens mederi
Pætis luscioli *Puelli* ocellis
Dearumq*ue* tenerrimis medullis,
Oris nectare, balsamoq*ue*, linguæ' (B 6).

[2] Is it possible that the epigram *De Morisco* (F 2) refers to the disease which brought Nashe to his end? It is perhaps unlikely, as the later epigram makes no reference to the loss of his sight which is the chief fact dwelt on in the earlier one.

His death is also lamented later, and as he was slain only on 17th or 27th July 1601, we see that *Affaniæ* cannot have appeared before the autumn of that year.

It is interesting to see from the *Affaniæ* how closely a young English scholar felt himself bound to the scholars of the continent. Fitzgeffrey has poems to Theodore Beza, Joseph Scaliger, Henry Rantzau, Janus Douza, Albert and Scipio Gentilis, and celebrates the *Schediasmata* of Paulus Melissus, the *Manes Catulliani* of J. C. Scaliger, the *Columbæ Poeticæ* of F. Taubmann, the *Cupido* of Janus Lernutius, the *Hymni Sacri* of Jacobus Vluggius, etc., etc.

There are poems to a certain number of persons of high position in the State or the Church, as Mary, Countess of Pembroke, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, Archbishop Whitgift, Bishop Toby Matthew of Durham, Bishop Bilson of Winchester, Bishop Cotton of Salisbury, Bishop Robinson of Carlisle. But there is a refreshing absence of flattery of statesmen and court favourites.

The *Affaniæ* have some few interesting allusions to contemporary manners and customs.

Thus the book is made to say:

> Non ego *Paulinas* audax habitare tabernas,
> Nec postes titulo grande onerare moror:
> ... Non ego *Bishopij* sum præla molesta ferendo. (A 5.)

(Bishop was the printer of Camden's *Britannia*.)

The book's uses are modestly described:

> Primo fallere tædium theatri
> Dum Mimos tuba tertia evocabit,
> Clamosæ dein otium tabernæ
> Dum lentus nimis Oenopola miti
> Bacchum sacchare fervidum maritat; (A 6 v.)

to beguile the waiting time in the theatre till the players come out of the tiring house at the third note of the trumpet, or that in the tavern while the dawdling host is mixing the sugar and sack.

We have references to the bathing at Bath (B 3). Fitzgeffrey, it may be remarked, uses 'Illermus' as an alternative form of Gulielmus (H 4 v. and I 1 v.) and 'Calæna' = Oxonia (E 4 and L 5 v.). The latter form is interesting. It is a perversion of 'Calleva,' properly Silchester, but applied by Bale, and according to Brian Twyne (*Antiq. Oxon. Apologia*, 1608, p. 114) by Leland, to Oxford[1]. Camden, on the other hand, says 'Caleva' should be 'Gallena' and means Wallingford

[1] Jas. Parker, *Early History of Oxford*, p. 309. I was directed to this by Mr C. W Previté Orton.

[Guallenʒaford]. Speaking of Wallingford Castle, he writes: 'Amplitudinem eius & magnificentiam cum illic Oxonia secederemus, demirabamur (est enim iam secessus studiosis ex æde Christi Oxon.).' It is probable however that by 'Calæna' Fitzgeffrey meant Oxford and not Wallingford.

Appended to the epigrams is the set of 'Cenotaphia,' or funeral tributes, already referred to. The first is to Harry Band or Bond, a Broadgates Hall friend who had died before taking his degree. The verses had perhaps been pinned on his hearse. Then come Francis Lord Bedford (ob. 1585), who had perhaps presented the poet's father to Boconnock, Sir Francis Walsingham (1590), Sir Philip Sidney (1586), Sir William Mohun (mourned by 'Cornubia') (1588), Sir Richard Granville (of 'The Revenge'—1591), Sir John Norris (1597), Sir Thomas Egerton—then a series of theologians, John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, once of Broadgates Hall (1571), Edward Deering (Latinized as 'Annule Chare') (1576), John Foxe (1587), Laurence Humphrey, President of Magdalen ($15\frac{89}{90}$), the poet's father Alexander Fitzgeffrey, Henry Smyth (1591), William Whitaker, Master of St John's College, Cambridge (1595), Richard Grenham or Greenham (before 1599), Reginald Bellot his cousin (1600), Henry Nelder of Broadgates Hall; a new group, Mary wife of his cousin Sir Reginald Mohun, Francis de Brina, an Italian doctor who had been driven from his country and died at Exeter, Janus Douza the younger (1597), Edmund Spenser (1599), Richard Tarleton the jester (1588). The last group seems to consist of men who died very shortly before the book was published. Thomas Nashe[1], Nicholas Trefusis of Broadgates Hall, John Case of St John's, Oxford ($\frac{1599}{1600}$—see *D.N.B.*), Arthur Hele of Broadgates Hall, and Richard Lateware of Christ Church, slain in Ireland on 17th or 27th July 1601.

We are ignorant if Fitzgeffrey's acquaintance with the Rous family began at Broadgates Hall, or dated from earlier intercourse in Cornwall. At any rate he owed to Sir Anthony Rous[2], father of his friends, the

[1] This poem, which is our earliest record of Nashe's death, runs as follows:

Quum Mors edictum Jovis imperiale secuta
Vitales Nashi extingueret atra faces
Armatam juveni linguam calamumque tremendum
(Fulmina bina) prius insidiosa rapit.
Mox illum aggreditur nudum atque inuadit inermem
Atque ita de victo vate trophæa refert
Cui si vel calamo præstò vel lingua fuisset
Ipsa quidem metuit mors truculenta mori.

I read in this what has not apparently been remarked by others: that Nashe's death was preceded by a stroke which deprived him of his speech and of the use of his right hand.

[2] He has a poem to Sir Anthony in *Affaniæ* in which he mentions his six sons, Ambrose, Robert, Richard, Francis, Arthur and Anthony (H 6).

preferment which was to give him his life's work. On 19th November 1603—three years and four months after taking his M.A.—he compounded for the Rectory of 'Domyneke' (St Dominick), Cornwall. Sir Anthony Rous' house, Halton, was in his parish, the home of Richard and Francis Rous and of a younger member of Broadgates Hall, Lady Rous' son by her former marriage, the future statesman John Pym.

Fitzgeffrey must have married within a few years of his settling at St Dominick. We know that he had at least four sons, of whom John (apparently the eldest) was matriculated as a pensioner from St John's College, Cambridge, in the Easter term of 1622 and took the B.A. degree in 162$\frac{4}{5}$, was incorporated at Oxford in 1628 and took the M.A. degree from Gloucester Hall there three days later. He succeeded his father in 163$\frac{6}{7}$ as rector of St Dominick[1].

The baptisms of three other sons are recorded in St Dominick registers[2] as under:

160$\frac{8}{9}$ Jan. 22. Charles son of Charles FitzGeffry.
161$\frac{8}{9}$ Feb. 7. Alexander . . . . (pastor).
162$\frac{0}{1}$ Feb. 11. Francis . . . .

Charles was matriculated from Gloucester Hall, Oxford, on 5th Feb. 16$\frac{29}{30}$ 'aged 19,' and became B.A. on 10th Nov. 1631.

Alexander was matriculated from Gloucester Hall on 13th March 16$\frac{39}{40}$ 'aged 21.' Mr Joseph Foster[3] thinks he was the Alexander Fitzgeffry who became vicar of Tamerton Foliatt, Devon, in 1663[4].

It has been sometimes said that Henry Fitzjeffrey (spelt in the book 'Fitz-Ieoffery'), author of *Satyres and Satyricall Epigrams: with certaine observations at Black-Fryers? By H. F. of Lincolnes Inne Gent.*[5], was another son of Charles Fitzgeffrey—while Dr Grosart, without giving any reason, calls him his brother.

Either statement is refuted by the entry in the Lincoln's Inn Admissions: '1614 Nov. 5. Henry FitzJeffreys[6], 2nd son of Sir Geo.

[1] The will of Elizabeth FitzGeffry, widow, of St Dominic, made 10th July 1670, and proved 10th March 16$\frac{8}{9}$, and preserved at Bodmin. She may have been John Fitzgeffrey's widow. An Anthony FitzGeffry was buried at St Dominick 4th Sept. 1639, perhaps John's son.

[2] These items have been kindly found for me by the Rev. Philip E. Browne, vicar of Lostwithiel.

[3] *Alumni Oxonienses.*

[4] I have a record however [? from the St Dominick Registers] undated that Henry FitzGeffry, son of Charles FitzGeffry, died at Tamerton, Devon. Perhaps he was visiting his uncle Alexander.

[5] Contained in *Certaine Elegies done by Sundrie excellent Wits: With Satyres and Epigrames*, 1617, 1618, 1620 and a fourth edition undated.

[6] A Henry Fitzgeofrey, probably the same, was matriculated as a pensioner of Trinity College, Cambridge, in Michaelmas term 1611, but did not proceed to a degree. He took a part in the performance of Brooke's *Adelphe* in 161$\frac{1}{2}$, but not in the revived performance of 161$\frac{3}{4}$ (Trin. Coll. MS., R. 3. 9).

F. of Barford, Beds. Kt.' This Sir George, there can be little doubt, appears in the Fitzgeffrey pedigree given above as Charles Fitzgeffrey's first cousin—being the eldest son of Alexander Fitzgeffrey's eldest brother. The will[1] of 'Sir George Fitzgeofferie Kt. of Creakers in the parishe of Barforde, Beds' (he had apparently migrated from the ancestral home at Clapham) was made on 28th Nov. 1618 and proved on 7th May 1619. He provides for his wife, Dame Anne, his 3rd and two younger sons, and for his eldest, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th daughters, but not for his two eldest sons or second daughter (who presumably was married). He states however that he has already disposed of his lands.

Charles Fitzgeffrey had a number of Latin poems in different metres in the Oxford University collection, *Pietas*, commemorating the accession of King James in 1603. Among other contributors are his friends Thos. Storer, William Raleghe, John Sprint, Richard Carpenter, Henry Sheward, Antony Rouse, Abel Treffry, Henry Phillipps, Richard More and Degory Where whom he follows in the list. He had one Latin poem in the collection *Funebre Officium in Memoriam... Elizabethæ* of the same year.

In July 1618 Fitzgeffrey was incorporated as a Master of Arts at Cambridge.

Fitzgeffrey's life in Cornwall would seem to have been a happy and beautiful one. A poet and scholar, beloved by his friends, and returning their love, a scion of a good family and through his mother related to one of the chief families of the west, a zealous and sincere clergyman, he seems to have commanded a degree of respect and admiration such as can rarely fall to a country parson's lot.

John Davies of Hereford, whose *Microcosmus* had been ushered into the world in 1603 with commendatory verses by Fitzgeffrey, naturally included Fitzgeffrey among the 'Worthy Persons' whom he commemorated in his *Scourge of Folly* in 1611. His lines are as follows:

To my deere friend Mr Charles Fitz-Ieffery.

Great-little Charles (great in thine arte and witt,
But euer little in thine owne esteeme)
To thee that now dost minde but Holy Writ,
These lynes (though louing) will but lothsome seeme.
Yet sith in Latine thou on such didst fall,
In British now (for now we Brittaines bee)
I send in such: What? nothing but mine all;
That's lesse then nothing in respect of thee,
But if thou tak'st in worth my lesse then nought,
Ile give thee more then all, when I am ought.

[1] 37 Parker.

The Scot, John Dunbar[1], whose 'Mæcenas' was Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of Plymouth, addressed a poem to Fitzgeffrey in 1616, which was probably inspired by personal acquaintance:

Ad Carolum Fitzgeofridum.

Fitzgeofride, sacri potor placidissime rivi,
Lactea cui liquido pectore vena fluit:
Si tua Musa mori, poterit si fama perire,
Esse potest lepidis vrna parata iocis.

To Dunbar he was still a graceful poet, whose vein gushed like milk from an untroubled heart.

Thomas Campion addressed two of his 'Epigrammata' to Fitzgeffrey in 1619. They were perhaps written much earlier:

Ad Carolum Fitzgeofridum[2].

Iamdudū celebris scriptorum fama tuorum,
In me autem ingenuè non reticendus amor
Frustra obnitentem si non fortuna vetasset,
In veteres dederat, Carole, delicias:
Hæc tibi qualiacunque tamèn noua lusimus: vt nos
Vsque amplecteris non alieno animo.

Ad Carolum FitzGeofridum[3].

Carole, si quid habes longo quod tempore coctū
Dulce sit, vt radijs fructus Apollineis;
Ede, nec egregios conatus desere, quales
Nescibit vulgus, scit bona fama tamen
Ecce virescentes tibi ramos porrigit vltrò
Laurus, & in Lauro est vivere suaue decus.

Even in 1628 when Robert Hayman published his *Quodlibets* he thinks of Fitzgeffrey (whom he may have first known at Oxford or in London) as a poet—a son of Geoffrey Chaucer, and akin to Homer whom he also resembled in having only one eye—a little fact which we have heard of already in the *Affaniæ*[4].

In lines inscribed 'To the Reverend, learned and witty Charles Fitz-Geoffery, Bachelor in Divinity, my especial kind friend, most excellent Poet' he refers to Homer and Chaucer, and adds:

Featur'd you are like Homer in one eye,
Rightly surnam'd the sonne of Geoffery.

(The last line echoes the final conceit of Whear's verses prefixed to *Drake*:

Then sith old Geffreys spirite liues in thee,
Rightly thou named art Fitz-Geffery.)

[1] Author of *Epigrammaton...centuriæ sex*, 1616. Cent. II, xvi.
[2] Lib. I, No. 178. [3] Lib. II, No. 70.
[4] Was Dunbar thinking of Fitzgeffrey in his less sympathetic epigram:

Ad Luscum Poetam.

Vno capte oculo vates mediocris, vtrumque
Excutias, et sic alter Homerus eris?
(*Epigrammaton*, I, viii.)

Long before this, however, Fitzgeffrey had ceased to seek secular laurels, and had devoted himself to his sacred calling.

One poetical work springs from this time, *The Blessed Birth-Day celebrated in some religious meditations on the Angels Anthem. Luc. 2. 14. Also Holy Transportations in contemplating some of the most obseruable adiuncts about our Sauiours Natiuity*...1634. (Reprinted 1636, 1651 and, by Grosart, 1881.)

The Blessed Birthday is introduced by commendatory poems supplied by Henry Beesley[1], A.M. and Stephen Haxby[2], Cantab. Beesley happily contrasts the three children of Fitzgeffrey's poetical Muse:

> Your younger wit as taking a delight
> In bold atchieuements, ventred to recite
> The deeds of valiant *Drake*, who by your skill
> And strong description goes that voyage still
> Which once he did: and with full blasts of fame
> Yet sailes securely round the earth againe.
> Then as experience taught you to survey
> The worlds conditions, your free muse would play
> In various Epigrams: where both for tongue,
> Conceit, and choice of verse, you seeme to runne,
> With foremost Martial, and so thriue therein,
> That you come nearest to the goale next him.
> But hauing now retraited from the foame
> Of surging youth, and safe at last come home
> To quiet age, diuiner thoughts inspire
> Your pregnant fancy, and with holier fire
> Enflame you to the sweet discouery,
> Of heauenly mysteries, where the most high
> Must exercise your soaring braine to tell,
> The Natals of our Sauiour, which so well
> You haue displaied with such nice circumstance
> Of time, and place, and persons, to aduance
> Such lofty wonders that you make to us
> Those miracles seem more miraculous.

Apart from this work, Fitzgeffrey's later productions were sermons.

One of these, *Elisha his Lamentation* (1622), had been preached 'at the Funeralls' of his patron, Sir Anthony Rous of Halton—who had died about 10th Nov. 1620, four days after the learned and delightful author of the *Survey of Cornwall*, Richard Carew of Anthony. It is dedicated to Sir Anthony's grandson and heir, William Rous, Esq. He speaks of Sir Anthony in terms of affection: 'Ever since he made choice of mee freely vnto this place, to bee vnto him by function a Father...he hath beene vnto me not so much a Patron as a Father.'

Sir Anthony's widow only survived him by two or three months, and immediately after its delivery in 1620 (= perhaps $162\frac{0}{1}$) Fitzgeffrey

[1] B.A. Merton College 1624, M.A. St Alban's Hall 1627.
[2] Fellow of St John's, Cambridge 1607, M.A. 1608, S.T.B. 1616.

published *Deaths Sermon Vnto the Liuing, Deliuered at the Funerals of the Religious Ladie Philippe, late Wife vnto...Sir Anthonie Rous.* This was dedicated to her son 'John Pym esq.' who had lately lost 'a most louing holy helpfull wife' and now a dear Mother. A second edition appeared—probably at the same time as the sermon on Sir Anthony (both published by W. Stansby)—in 1622.

Other sermons deal with questions of public importance. In 1631 from an Exeter press appeared *The Curse of Corne-horders: with The Blessing of seasonable Selling. In three Sermons, on Prov. 11. 26. Begun at the general sessions for the county of Cornwall, held at Bodmin, and continued at Fowy.* The sermons are dedicated to 'Sir Reginald Mohun, Knight and Baronet,' with this explanation: 'These two yeeres of dearth (in some distance) called from mee these three Sermons. That which in the first was summarily deliuered in one, vnto the eares of that Bench on which you haue sate sundry yeeres as chiefe, is vpon this yeeres occasion enlarged into three and now sent abroad into publike.'

These sermons must have attracted attention and been remembered, for ten years after the author's death they were republished from London, with the title, *Gods Blessing upon the Providers of Corne, and Gods Curse upon the Hoarders—Read Iudge and Consider Gods Iudgements*

$$\textit{by the} \begin{cases} \textit{Sword} \\ \textit{Plague} \\ \textit{Famine.} \end{cases}$$

Together with the Corn Imported into London Port in four moneths. By C. F-G. London 1648.

Soon after Fitzgeffrey's death, another set of his sermons saw the light: *Compassion towards Captiues, Chiefly Towards our Bretheren and Country-men who are in miserable bondage in Barbarie. Vrged and pressed in three Sermons on Heb. 13. 3. Preached in Plymouth, in October 1636.* Oxford, 1637.

The event which led to the delivery of these sermons was 'The lamentable surprizing of Baltamore by the Turks[1].'

'Can we forget,' he says, 'that Tragicall transportation of our brethren from *Baltamore* into that *Babilon, Barbary*? All of them *English*, most of them *Cornish*, suddenly surprized in the silence of the night. They dreaded no disaster, they supposed themselves safe, they went to bed and laied themselves downe (as they hoped) to sleepe in safty. When suddenly their houses were broken up, they haled

[1] The village of Baltimore in the parish of Tullagh, co. Cork, was attacked in 1631 by Algerine pirates who effected a landing here, plundered and burnt the town, and took a great number of prisoners. (*National Gazetteer.*) Fitzgeffrey's sermons were preached five years later.

out of their beds, the husband, wife and children every one fast bound, carried away in three or fowre howres, and afterward so seperated as not suffered to meet againe. ...Some lost their lives fighting (but in vaine) to save their wives and children.'

In February 163$\frac{6}{7}$[1] Fitzgeffrey died, and on the 22nd was buried under the communion table in the church of St Dominick. He was nearly 60 years of age. He was succeeded in his living by his son John, who compounded for it on the 3rd March.

Another poetical tribute was offered to him after his death by Robert Chamberlain, who, as we see from his book, had relatives and friends at Exeter, though his life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* throws no light on this connexion with the west. In his *Nocturnall Lucubrations...whereunto are added Epigrams and Epitaphs* (London, 1638), he has an epitaph from which we see that to him Fitzgeffrey was known, less as a poet and wit, than as a shining example of a Christian Divine:

On the death of Mr Charles Fitz-Geffrays, Minister of Gods Word.

O thou the saddest of the Sisters nine,
Adde to a sea of teares, one teare of thine.
Unhappy I, that am constrain'd to sing
His death, whose life did make the world to ring
With ecchoes of his praise. A true Divine
In 's life & doctrine, which like Lamps did shine
Till they were spent and done, did never cease
To guide our steps unto eternall peace—
Thy habitation 's now the starry mount,
Where thy great Maker makes of thee account.
Farewell thou splendor of the spacious West,
Above th' Ætheriall clouds for ever blest:
The losse of thee a watry mountaine reares,
With high spring-tide of our sad trickling teares.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

[1] The *D.N.B.* says 2 Feb. 163$\frac{7}{8}$.

THE FIRST DRAFT OF SWINBURNE'S 'ANACTORIA.'

No modern poet offers a more interesting field for critical examination in his MSS. than Swinburne does, and in perhaps no other is the movement of mind, under changes of mood, to be so accurately followed. His prose MSS. have a somewhat heavy uniformity, from which little is to be gathered, but the aspect of his written verse is so diverse as to be almost bewildering in its changes of form, not merely from one group of years to another, but even in the effusions of a single day. After long consideration, and a study of a multitude of MSS. written between 1857 and 1909, I have come to the conclusion that the critical value of Swinburne's drafts depends very much upon the spirit in which he happened to compose his poems. There were evidently three methods in his use. Some time ago there turned up a large number of dramatic and lyrical exercises, written by Swinburne as an undergraduate. These have greatly modified our conception of his early work, and they reveal in the apparently idle youth an amazing persistence in self-apprenticeship to the craft of verse. I hope to find leisure on a future occasion to describe these interesting and voluminous papers: in the meantime I only mention them here, in order to point out that they are written, with curious uniformity, and with very few corrections, in a hard, angular handwriting which Swinburne presently abandoned, but which resembles the formal script in which his later Putney poems appear to be composed.

I say 'appear to be,' because I am convinced, and my conviction is supported by the evidence of those who lived with him, that he adopted in later life the practice of composing and practically finishing his poems in his head before he put anything on paper. He used to be heard walking up and down his room at The Pines, and then pausing awhile, evidently to write down what he had polished in his head. This accounts for the 'clean' look of most of his later MSS., which appear to be first drafts, and yet have few corrections. What we now discover from the undergraduate MSS. of which I have spoken above is that, apparently, he adopted in early youth the plan to which he was to revert in old age. But of this plan there might be two varieties; Swinburne might work up his stanzas to perfection in his brain before writing anything, or he might be inspired with such a flow of language

that the finished poem would slip smoothly from his brain. Doubtless there was something of both these in his practice, but I incline to think the former by far the most frequent. From neither can we obtain much impression of the mechanism of his invention.

But there was a third method, of which I am about to describe a peculiarly interesting example, which the poet adopted in the hey-day of his poetical career. Soon after he left Oxford, perhaps in 1860, his handwriting changed its character; it became less boyish, but more crabbed and careless. I think that the weakness of his wrist may have been the cause of this alteration. It is particularly marked in the period from 1862 to 1870. His later writing was emphatic in its stiff inelegance, but usually legible; the script of his middle period was, at its best, lax and straggling, at its worst almost indecipherable. But it varied extravagantly, so much so that it is often difficult to believe that the same pen, and still more that the same hour, could have produced such violently diverse exhibitions. It has gradually dawned upon me, while helping Mr Wise to disentangle an accumulation of rough copies and fragments, that the cause of this diversity lay in the degree of excitement which Swinburne put into the act of composition. He was always paroxysmal, always the victim of excruciating intellectual excitement which descended upon him like the beak of the Promethean vulture. To discover the points at which, in a particular composition, this fury of inspiration fell upon him, is to get a little closer to the secret of Swinburne's astonishing virtuosity, and this is my excuse for the following observations.

So many of Swinburne's MSS. have been preserved, principally in the newspaper bundles which he so oddly carried with him, without ever examining, through all his peregrinations from Oxford to Putney, that it is particularly vexatious that those which we could least afford to spare, those of his blossoming period from 1861 to 1868, are very exiguously represented. No scrap of *The Queen Mother* has turned up, nor of the published form of *Rosamond* (an undergraduate sketch of this play remains). The original MS. of *Chastelard* exists only in a few fragments, the MS. sold in New York in 1913 being a clean copy for the press. According to the evidence of George Meredith, the first draft of *Laus Veneris* was written in red ink; the existing version, though containing corrections and cancelled passages, is written in black ink, and shows no sign of the frenzy of composition; it is evidently a transcript. Of *Poems and Ballads* no general MS. exists, but portions of the 'copy' sent to the printers are in various collections. Most of these are tran-

scripts, and show no sign of emotion or excitement. Several first drafts of *Poems and Ballads*, however, have been preserved, and of these the most remarkable that I have examined is that of *Anactoria*, of which I will now give some account.

Swinburne's first drafts offer none of the attractions which collectors of autographs commonly desiderate. They are never signed and rarely headed. That of the long poem afterwards called *Anactoria* has neither a title nor the Greek epigraph from Sappho. It is written, or rather wildly scribbled, on both sides of six sheets of blue foolscap, the water-mark of one of which is 1863, doubtless the date of the composition of the poem. These sheets were thrown away, and came into our hands in a great disorder of papers, mostly worthless, which left The Pines after Watts-Dunton's death. As we turned them over, in the welter of manuscript, my eye caught the line

Lilies, and languor of the Lesbian air,

and I realised what lay before us. Scattered through the bundle, five sheets were identified, but unfortunately one sheet was missing. By a happy chance, this also turned up in another parcel three years later, and the first draft is now, I believe, complete, although one passage in the published poem, as I shall presently show, is absent.

The text begins high up on the first sheet, and offers no peculiarity in the opening eight lines, which, with the slight exception of 'Sting' instead of 'Blind' in line 2, are identical with the published version of 1866. The handwriting is the usual script of Swinburne in the 60's, crabbed, but plain and calm. Suddenly, with line 7, a sort of frenzy takes the poet's pen, and at the side of the paper, in lines that slope more and more rapidly downwards, and in such a stumbling and trembling hand that they are with great difficulty to be spelt out, are interpolated the lines:

Severed the bones that bleach, the flesh that cleaves,
And let our sifted ashes drop like leaves.
I feel thy blood against my blood; my pain
Pains thee, and lips bruise lips, and vein stings vein.

Then, in very small clear script, opposite this outburst, is written, by itself, like a solo on a flute:

Let fruit be crushed on fruit, let flower on flower,
Breast kindle breast and either burn one hour.

To this immediately follows:

In her high place in Paphos,

which is the opening of line 64 in the published version. But the first

draft stops here, leaving that half line uncancelled, and proceeds quietly, in a large hand,

> Saw love, *a* burning flame from crown to feet,

and so on for six lines which are now to be found in the middle of the poem. Thereupon follows a breathless interlude of six couplets, scribbled with extreme violence and so curiously interwoven that the only way to explain their relation is to quote them:

> I would my love could *slay* thee; I am satiated
> With seeing thee live, and fain would have thee dead,
> Vex thee with amorous agonies, and shake
> Life at thy lips, and leave it there to ache;
> Strain out thy soul with pangs too soft to kill,
> Intolerable interludes, and infinite ill;
> I would earth had thy body as fruit to eat,
> And no mouth but some serpent's found thee sweet.
> I would find grievous ways to have thee slain,
> Intense device, and superflux of pain,
> Relapse and reluctation of the breath,
> Dumb tunes and shuddering semitones of death.

If this passage be compared with the published text, it will be observed that firstly, there are, with the single alteration of 'kill' for 'slay,' no verbal modifications whatever: and that secondly the couplets are shifted about like counters in a game, or as if they were solid objects which might be put here, there, or anywhere in a liquid setting. The first draft of *A Song of Italy*, now in the possession of Mr Thos. J. Wise, presents the same characteristics, though in a less degree.

We are still on the opening page of the draft of *Anactoria*, and it now presents to us, quietly and conscientiously written in the middle of the page:

> For I beheld in sleep the light that is
> In her high place in Paphos, heard the kiss
> Of body and soul that mix with eager tears,
> And laughter stinging thro' the eyes and ears,

a sort of *tessera* evidently left there to be fitted in whenever a favourable blank presented itself; we find it now, without the smallest change of language, fixed in the middle of the poem. It is noticeable that the fragment 'In her high place in Paphos' is now utilised.

A storm of excitement presently ruffles the poet, and he turns the sheet in such agitation that he holds it upside-down. Without leading up to it in any way, he starts a passage

> *She came and touched me*, saying "Who doth thee wrong, Sappho?"

which closes abruptly with lines which may be cited because they contain

several of the very rare instances in which the draft slightly differs verbally from the text of 1866:

> Ah, wilt thou slay me lest I kiss thee dead?
> "*Be of good cheer, wilt thou forget?*" *she* said:
> "*For* she that flies shall follow for thy sake,
> *For* she shall give thee gifts that *will* not take,
> Shall kiss that *will* not kiss thee" (yea, kiss me)
> "When *I would* not, etc."

We presently come across the only couplet in the whole poem which was cancelled in the first draft, and yet reappears in the published text. This is:

> Bound with her myrtles, beaten with her rods,
> The young men and the maidens and the gods,

now very effectively introduced into the argument, but in the first draft destroyed with a whirling movement of the pen, so that it looks as if a dust-storm involved it. Written with frenzied violence, almost perpendicularly, the draft then presents a couplet:

> Taught the sun ways to travel, woven most fine
> The moonbeams, shed the starbeams forth as wine,

for which a place is now found immediately before the 'Bound with her myrtles' couplet. The ecstasy of the poet seems to have suddenly flagged here, and there follows immediately, in sedate script, with even lines, the passage

> Alas, that neither moon nor sun nor dew
> Nor all cold things can purge me wholly through,
> Assuage me nor allay me nor appease,
> Till supreme sleep shall bring me bloodless ease,
> Till time wax faint in all his periods,

which now takes its place near the very close of the poem. The actual closing lines are, in like fashion, appended to the third page of the draft. They read as follows:

> Till fate undo the bondage of the gods,
> And lay to slake *the unquenchable desire*
> *Lethean lotus on a lip of fire,*
> And *pour* around and over and under me
> *The wake of* the insuperable sea.

There was evidently on the poet's part no original intention of utilising these lines as a conclusion to the poem. I give them here because they present the solitary instance of important verbal alteration to be found in the whole text of 1866.

It would baffle the most meticulous investigation to restore the innumerable false starts, broken lines and rejected readings which underlie the text of the Draft. There is no question here of Swinburne's

creating or polishing anything in his mind, the whole work of composition proceeds on the paper itself, and what is very curious is the fact that nothing of any merit or technical beauty seems, so far as it is possible to decipher the cancelled verses, to be lost. As soon as ever the expression became adequate the line was left, and was never modified; as long as it was inadequate, it was pitilessly rejected, and the verse not passed till it satisfied the ear and imagination of the poet. What is interesting is that this work was carried out with the pen, and not, as was the practice in Swinburne's later years, with the mind ; and nothing could be more opposed to the popular notion of Swinburne as the inspired improvisatore than all this evidence of intense laborious application to his creative task. In fact the more the original MSS. of Swinburne are examined, the more clearly is he revealed to us as an artist equally sedulous and sensitive, working by fits and starts, in gusts of overwhelming emotion, but always sufficiently master of himself to recognise, with finality, when the exact form of expression had been reached. Having recognised it, he did not, like Tennyson, Landor and other poets, fidget any further with it, but left it verbally permanent.

On the other hand, the draft of *Anactoria* proves, what we might have suspected, that if Swinburne completed his verbal text in his first movement of laboured inspiration, he made no effort then to build up his poem. It may be observed that *Dolores* is a rosary of stanza-beads on an invisible string; in other words, that the string might be broken, the beads shaken together, and the stanzas arranged in an entirely new sequence, without any injury to the effect of the poem. In other cases, and these some of Swinburne's finest lyrics, the same want of progression is to be noted. But we have not been able to witness the process before, nor were we prepared to find it working in a poem which is so elegiacal as *Anactoria*. Yet the evidence of the First Draft is positive. It is now clear that Swinburne forged his brilliant Dryden-like couplets as though each one were a stanza, and practically treated them as bits of mosaic to be fitted, in cooler blood, into a scheme not present to his mind when his inspiration seized him.

We seem, therefore, to be in the presence of a curious phenomenon. Whereas in the case of most poets the general outline of the work precedes the execution of it in detail, Swinburne offers us the paradox of an execution carried to the utmost finish before the act of evolution begins. He takes a bag-ful of couplets, all polished to the finest point, and—on some subsequent occasion—he builds these up into a poem which has the aspect of inevitable growth. The First Draft of *Anactoria*, which I

have attempted to describe, is totally unintelligible, a chaos of Rodin-like fragments, unless we accept this theory of the poet's method.

One point remains to be stated. The published text of *Anactoria* contains 304 lines. Of these I have found, scattered over the tract of delirious manuscript, 270. It is curious that not a single verse should have been added by the poet when he came to distribute and arrange his cluster of couplets, the solitary accession to the text being the solid passage of 34 lines in the middle of the poem, beginning

> Or say what God above all gods and years
> With offering and blood-sacrifice of tears.

Of this, not a single trace is to be found in the Draft. My first supposition was that the sheet containing these lines was lost, as might well be when we consider the accidental and fortuitous way in which the rest was retrieved. But I have come to the conclusion that this is not the case. The text in the Draft stops at the line

> The mystery of the cruelty of things

without any sign that the idea of the impassive harshness of Fate was to be expanded. The 34 lines which now follow have, moreover, a character that distinguishes them from the rest of *Anactoria*, with which they are not quite in keeping. They leave the individual passion of Sappho entirely out of sight, and they are instinct with an order of theological ideas which occupied Swinburne in 1864 and 1865, when he was writing *Atalanta in Calydon* and the earliest of *Songs before Sunrise*. They are on a higher philosophical plane than the melodious ravings of the love-sick poetess, and the more we read them, the more may we be persuaded that they are an after-thought.

EDMUND GOSSE.

LONDON.

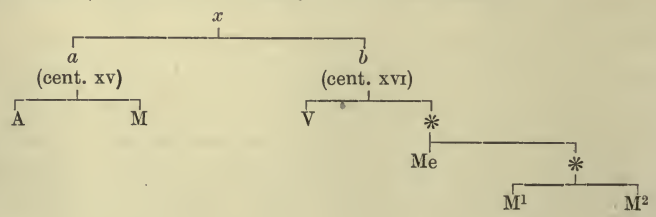
DANTE'S LETTER TO CAN GRANDE (*EPIST.* X).

EMENDED TEXT.

DANTE'S letter to Can Grande[1] (*Epist.* X in the *Oxford Dante*) has been preserved in whole or in part in six MS. texts, two of the fifteenth, and four of the sixteenth century. The two fifteenth century MSS., which contain the first four sections only (that is, the strictly epistolary portion) of the letter, are *Cod. Ambrosiano C.* 145. *Inf.* at Milan, and *Cod. Lat.* 78 at Munich. Of the four sixteenth century MSS., three contain the whole letter, viz. *Cod. Mediceo* (forming part of the *Carte Strozziane*) in the Archivio di Stato at Florence; *Cod. Magliabechiano* VI, 164 at Florence; and *Cod.* 314 in the Capitular Library at Verona. The fourth sixteenth century MS. text, which is contained in the same *Cod. Magliabechiano* which contains the complete text, is incomplete, sections 4—6, and 28—32 inclusive being missing[2].

[1] The question as to the authenticity of this letter has been exhaustively dealt with by Dr Moore in his *Studies in Dante*, III, 284—369.

[2] For the above account of the MSS. containing the letter I am indebted to the exhaustive article of G. Boffito, *L'Epistola di Dante Alighieri a Cangrande della Scala* (Torino, 1907), p. 2. Owing to the fact that I have been unable to procure photographic reproductions of the MS. texts of this letter, in spite of repeated efforts on his own and my behalf by the late Dr Moore, I have been obliged to rely upon the collations of the MSS. printed by Boffito in the above-mentioned article. Of the printed texts I have made my own independent collations, except in the case of the Baruffaldi text, for the collation of which I am indebted to the kindness of my friend the Principal of Brasenose (Dr C. B. Heberden). A tentative sketch of the relationship of the six MSS. was published by V. Biagi in a review of Boffito's article in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. XVI, 21—37 (1909). In this scheme (p. 22) the two fifteenth century MSS. (A. = Ambrosian MS., and M. = Munich MS.) fall into one group, and the four sixteenth century MSS. (V. = Verona MS., Me. = Medicean MS., M^1., M^2. = the two Magliabechian MSS.) into another, probably somewhat as follows:—



The letter was first printed in full[1] at Venice in 1700, in a very corrupt text, by G. Baruffaldi, in *La Galleria di Minerva* (Vol. III, pp. 220–28). This text was several times reprinted, with slight variations, in the eighteenth century, viz. in the 1749 Verona edition of the *Divina Commedia* (Vol. I, pp. xxv—xxxviii), and in the two editions of *Le Opere di Dante con varie Annotazioni* issued by Antonio Zatta at Venice in 1757–58 (Vol. IV, pp. 400–8), and in 1760 (Vol. V, pp. 469–80). The first attempt at a critical text was that of Witte in his *Dantis Alligherii Epistolae quae exstant* (*Epist.* IX, pp. 73—102), printed at Padua in 1827. Witte's text was reprinted (with a few modifications) by Fraticelli at Florence in 1840, in *Dantis Alighierii Epistolae quae exstant* (*Epist.* VI, pp. 300–66); and by Torri (with sundry further modifications) at Leghorn in 1842, in *Epistole di Dante Allighieri edite e inedite* (*Epist.* XIV, pp. 108–40). In 1855 Witte printed at Halle, in honour of L. G. Blanc, an emended text of the first four sections of the letter from the Munich MS. (reprinted in *Dante-Forschungen*, Heilbronn, 1869, Vol. I, pp. 500–7). In 1857 Fraticelli published at Florence a revised text of the whole letter in *Dantis Alighierii Epistolae*, which was reprinted (with certain emendations) by Giuliani at Florence in 1861 in *Metodo di commentare La Commedia di Dante Allighieri* (pp. 14—40), and in 1882 in *Le Opere Latine di Dante Allighieri* (*Epist.* X, Vol. II, pp. 34—64). In 1890 Fraticelli's text was reprinted by Scartazzini at Leipzig in *Prolegomeni della Divina Commedia* (pp. 386–98)[2]. A seventh edition of the Fraticellian text, in which sundry of Giuliani's emendations were adopted, was issued in 1893 (*Epist.* XI, in *Opere Minori di Dante*); and this was reprinted (with a few trifling variations) at Oxford in 1894 (and again in 1897, and, with sundry emendations, in 1904) by Dr Moore in the *Oxford Dante* (*Epist.* X, pp. 414–20). In 1907 a critical text was printed at Turin by G. Boffito (*L'Epistola di Dante Alighieri a Cangrande della Scala: Saggio d' Edizione critica e di Commento*) in *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* (Serie ii, Tom. LVII), an important and informing review of which, by Vincenzo Biagi, was published two years later in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* (N. S. XVI, 21—37)[3]. In 1910 Passerini reprinted the letter

[1] For sundry extracts from the letter printed before this date, see Boffito, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[2] This text, which has no independent value, abounds in misprints; *e.g.* p. 386, in title, *vittorioso*; § 1, *vera* for *veri*; *latus* for *latius*; p. 388, § 7, *plurimum* for *plurium*; p. 389, § 9, *Rhytmus* for *rhytmos*; p. 390, § 10, *tragos* for *τράγος*; *comoediae* for *comoedia*; p. 391, § 17, *accendendum* for *accedendum*; p. 394, § 24, *proseguitur* for *prosequitur*; *illud caelum supremum* for *illud caelum est caelum supremum*.

[3] See above, p. 278, n. 2. To this review the present article is much indebted.

at Florence (for the most part after the text of the last edition of the *Oxford Dante*) in *Le Opere Minori di Dante Alighieri*, VI (*Epist.* X, pp. 102–52)[1]. The latest reprint is that of the anonymous editor (the late Arnaldo della Torre) of the new edition of *Le Opere di Dante Alighieri* in the 'Collezione Diamante' of Barberà, published at Florence in 1917 in the volume *De Monarchia e De Vulgari Eloquentia con le Epistolae e la Quaestio de Aqua et Terra* (*Epist.* XVII, pp. 285—308), and reprinted in *Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri* issued in 1919 by the same firm, the text[2] of the letter being that of the last edition of the *Oxford Dante* with sundry modifications adopted from Boffito's text.

The foregoing MSS. and editions[3] are represented in the *apparatus criticus* as follows: A. = *Cod. Ambrosiano C.* 145. *Inf.* at Milan (Cent. XV); M. = *Cod. Lat.* 78 at Munich (Cent. XV); M^1. = *Cod. Magliabechiano* VI, 164 at Florence (Cent. XVI); M^2. = the second text (incomplete) in the same MS. (Cent. XVI); Me. = *Cod. Mediceo* in Archivio di Stato at Florence (Cent. XVI); V. = *Cod.* 314 in the Capitular Library at Verona (Cent. XVI)[4]; B. = Baruffaldi (1700); W^1. = Witte (1827); F^1. = Fraticelli (1840); T. = Torri (1842); W^2. = Witte (1855); G^1. = Giuliani (1861); G^2. = Giuliani (1882); G. = do (both editions); F^2. = Fraticelli (1893); O^1. = *Oxford Dante* (1894); O^2. = do (1897); O^3. = do (1904); O. = do (all three editions); Bo. = Boffito (1907); P. = Passerini (1910); Ba. = Barberà (1917); B.—Ba. = B.W^1.F^1.T.W^2.G.F^2.O.Bo.P.Ba., it being understood that any edition mentioned independently in the same note is excluded[5].

[1] Passerini's text of this letter, as in the case of other letters in his edition (see *M.L.R.* VII, 223 n. 1; XI, 63 n. 2; XII, 38, 302 n. 3), is disfigured by a number of misprints; *e.g.* p. 104, l. 17, *auditu* for *ex auditu*; l. 35, *videtur* for *videretur*; p. 118, l. 201, *alate* for *elate*; p. 124, l. 257, *quoad* for *quod*; l. 278, *prolugum*; p. 126, l. 286, *proemium* for *prooemium*; p. 128, l. 317, *ex iis* for *ex iis quae*; p. 134, l. 380, *signatur* for *sequatur*; p. 136, l. 147, *auctem* for *autem*; p. 138, l. 427, *afiuentius* for *affluentius*; p. 146, l. 541, *Quantitale*; etc.

[2] This text also unfortunately is disfigured by numerous misprints, *e.g.* p. 287, § 2, *libertati* for *libertate*; p. 289, § 6, *variatur, a toto* for *variatur a toto*; p. 290, § 7, *medius* for *melius*; p. 293, § 10, *locuutio* for *locutio*; *alie* for *alia*; p. 294, § 12, *cantum* for *cantuum*; p. 296, § 17, *accendendum* for *accedendum*; § 18, *proemium* for *prooemium*; p. 298, § 20, *particus* for *partibus*; p. 299, § 21, *causatum et* for *causatum est*; p. 300, § 22, *descendere* for *descendero*; p. 301, § 24 *ab eo* for *ab ea*; p. 307, § 32, *faculta* for *facultas*; p. 308, § 33, *beatitudines* for *beatitudinis*—misprints which are reproduced in the reprint of 1919.

[3] With the exception of such as are mere reprints, or are reproduced in a later edition.

[4] The initials indicating the several MSS. are those adopted by Boffito, on whose collations of the MS. texts, as already stated (see p. 278, n. 2), I have been obliged to rely.

[5] In the *apparatus criticus* the initials of MSS. are separated from those of editions by a comma, so that the MS. support of any particular reading, as distinguished from that of the printed texts, may be seen at a glance. In Boffito's *apparatus criticus* the initials of MSS. and editions are mixed up indiscriminately, a most inconvenient arrangement, which adds greatly to the labour of ascertaining the MS. readings.

Emended Text[1].

Magnifico atque victoriosissimo[2] Domino, Domino Kani Grandi de la Scala[3], sacratissimi et Caesarei[4] principatus in urbe Verona et civitate Vicentiae[5] Vicario Generali[6], devotissimus suus Dantes Alagherii[7], Florentinus natione non moribus, vitam orat[8] per tempora diuturna[9] felicem, et gloriosi nominis perpetuum[10] incrementum.

[§ 1.] Inclyta[11] vestrae Magnificentiae laus, (2) quam fama vigil volitando[12] disseminat, sic (3) distrahit in diversa diversos, ut hos in (4) spem[13] suae prosperitatis[14] attollat, hos ex-(5)-terminii deiciat[15] in terrorem[16]. Huius[17] quidem (6) praeconium, facta[18] modernorum exsupe-(7)-rans[19], tanquam veri existentia[20] latius, (8) arbitrabar aliquando[21] superfluum. Verum (9) ne diuturna me nimis incertitudo[22] sus-(10)-penderet, velut Austri regina[23] Hierusalem (11) petiit, velut Pallas petiit Helicona[24], (12) Veronam petii fidis oculis discursurus[25] (13) audita. Ibique[26] magnalia vestra vidi, vidi (14) beneficia simul[27] et tetigi; et quemadmodum (15) prius dictorum ex parte[28] suspicabar excessum, sic (16) posterius ipsa facta excessiva cognovi. (17) Quo factum ut[29] ex auditu solo cum (18)

[1] For convenience of reference the numbering of the sections [in square brackets], and of the lines (in round brackets) of the text as printed in the *Oxford Dante* have been inserted in the emended text.

[2] So A.; M.M^1.M^2.Me.V., B—Ba. *victorioso.*

[3] So A.M.Me., W^2.F^2.Bo.; M^1.M^2.V., B.W^1.F^1.T.G.O.P.Ba. *de Scala.*

[4] So A.M.Me., Bo.; W^2.G.F^2.O.P.Ba. *sacratissimi Caesarei*; M^1.M^2.V., B.W^1.F^1.T. *s. et sereni.*

[5] So A.M., Bo.; W^2. *Vincentiae*; M^1.M^2.Me., B.—Ba. *Vicentia*; V. *Vicentina.*

[6] W^1. omits; F^1. inserts *Vicario* before *sacratissimi.*

[7] So F^2.Ba.; A.M., W^2. *Aligerius*; M^1.M^2.Me.V., B.T.G^1. *Allagherii*; W^1.G^2.Bo. *Allagherius*; F^1.O.P. *Aligherius.*

[8] So A.M.V., W^2.G.Bo.; M^1.M^2. *orat al optat*; Me., T. *orat ut optat*; B.W^1.F^1.F^2. O.P.Ba. *optat.*

[9] A. *diuturnam.*

[10] So A.M.M^1.M^2.V., B.W^1.F^1.W^2.G^2.Bo.; Me., T.G^1.F^2.O.P.Ba. *in perpetuum.*

[11] So M.M^1.M^2.Me.V., W^1.—Ba.; A., B. *Inclytae.*

[12] So A.M., W^2.G.Bo.Ba.; V.M^1.M^2., B.W^1.F^1. *volitanter*; Me., T.F^2.O.P. *volitans.*

[13] So A.M., W^1.—Ba.; Me.V., B. *in spe*; M^1.M^2. *in spei.*

[14] So A.M.Me.V., W^1.—Ba.; M^1.M^2., B. *posteritatis.*

[15] So M^2.Me.V., B.—Ba.; A. *deiecit*; M. *deicit*; M^1. *deuiat.*

[16] M^2 omits *in terrorem.*

[17] So A.M., W^2.; M^1.M^2.Me.V., B.—Ba. *hoc*; Bo. *huiusmodi*; this last reading has no MS. support, otherwise I should have been inclined to adopt it in the text as being probably what Dante wrote (cf. ll. 104, 540 of this same letter; and *Epist.* VIII, 177; the word occurs also frequently in the *De Monarchia* and *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, as well as in the *Quaestio*).

[18] A. *facto*; B. *et facta.*

[19] A.M. *exuberans.*

[20] So A.M.V., W^2.G.F^2.O.Bo.P.Ba.; M^1.M^2.Me., B.W^1.F^1.T. *essentia.*

[21] So A.M., W^2.G.F^2.O.Bo.P.Ba.; M^1.M^2.Me.V., B. *alii*; W^1.F^1.T. *ali.*

[22] A. *incertitudine.*

[23] A. *regiam.*

[24] So A.M.Me.V., W^2.G^2.Bo.; M^1.M^2., B.W^1.F^1.T.F^2.O.P.Ba. *Heliconam*; G^1. *Heliconem.*

[25] So M^1.M^2.Me.V., B.—Ba.; A.M., W^2.Bo. *discussurus.*

[26] So A.M., W^2.G.F^2.O.Bo.Ba.; M^1.M^2.Me.V., B.W^1.F^1.T. *Audita ubique.*

[27] So M^1.M^2.Me.V., B.—Ba.; A.M., W^2.Bo. *similiter.*

[28] So A.M., W^2.Bo.; M^1.M^2.Me.V., B.—Ba. omit *ex parte.*

[29] So A.M.V., W^2.G.Bo.; M^1.M^2.Me., B.—Ba. *factum est ut.*

quadam animi subiectione benevolus prius (19) exstiterim; sed ex visu primordii et[1] devo-(20)-tissimus[2] et amicus.

[§ 2.] (21) Nec reor, amici nomen assumens, (22) ut nonnulli forsitan obiectarent, reatum (23) praesumptionis incurrere[3], quum non (24) minus dispares connectantur quam (25) pares amicitiae sacramento. Nam si delecta-(26)-biles[4] et utiles amicitias inspicere libeat, (27) illis persaepius inspicienti patebit, praeemi-(28)-nentes inferioribus coniugari personas[5]. (29) Et si[6] ad veram ac per se amicitiam (30) torqueatur intuitus, nonne[7] illustrium (31) summorumque[8] principum[9] plerumque vi-(32)-ros fortuna obscuros, honestate praeclaros, (33) amicos fuisse constabit? Quidni? quum (34) etiam Dei et hominis amicitia nequaquam (35) impediatur excessu! Quod si cuiquam, (36) quod asseritur, videatur[10] indignum, Spi-(37)-ritum Sanctum audiat, amicitiae suae (38) participes[11] quosdam[12] homines[13] profitentem. (39) Nam in *Sapientia*[14] de sapientia legitur, (40) 'quoniam infinitus thesaurus est homi-(41)-nibus, quo[15] qui usi sunt, participes facti (42) sunt amicitiae[16] Dei.' Sed habet imperitia (43) vulgi sine discretione iudicium; et quem-(44)-admodum solem pedalis magnitudinis (45) arbitratur, sic circa mores, et circa unam vel alteram (46) rem vana credulitate decipitur[17]. Nos autem[18] (47) quibus optimum quod[19] est in nobis noscere (48) datum est, gregum[20] vestigia

[1] So Me.V., W¹.F¹.T. (W¹.F¹. omit *sed*); A.M., W².Bo. *sed ex usu postmodum*; M¹.M².,
B. *secundum ex visu primordii et*; F².O.P. *sic ex visu primordii et*; G. *sed ex visu post-*
modum; Ba. *sed ex visu primordii.*

[2] M. *devotissimis.*

[3] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.—Ba.; A.M., Bo. *mereri*; W². *merere.* (I am inclined to suspect
that the reading of A.M. is not *mereri* as given by Bo., but *merere* as W². has it.)

[4] So A.M., W².G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba.; M¹.M²., B.W¹.F¹.T. *nec non d.*; Me.V. *non d.*

[5] So M¹.M².Me.V.; A.M. *libeat illas p. i. patebit inferiores coniungat personas*; B.
libeat illis. Persaepius i. p., p. inferioribus coniugari personas; W¹.F¹. *libeat illas.*
P. i. p., p. i. c. personis; T. *libeat illas. P. i. p., p. i. c. personas*; W². *libeat, illas p. i.*
eas esse patebit, quae p. i. coniungant personis; F².O.P.Ba. *libeat, persaepius i. p., p.*
(P. *praeminentes*) *i. coniugari personis*; G. *libeat, illis p. i. p., p. i. coniugari personis*;
Bo. *libeat, illas p. i. p. quae p. i. coniungant personas.*

[6] So A.M.M¹.M².V., B.—Ba.; Me., Bo. *personas, si.*

[7] So B.—Ba.; Bo. *intuitus. Nonne.*

[8] So M.M¹.M².Me.V., B.—Ba.; A., Bo. *summorum illustriumque.*

[9] M². *principium.*

[10] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.T.; W².G.F².O.Bo.Ba. *videretur*; P. *videtur*; A.M. *quid*
(M. *quod*) *si cuiquam asserit nunc videret indignum.*

[11] V. omits *participes.* [12] Me.V. *quosque.* [13] A. *honores.*

[14] A. *insipientia*; M². *in Sapientiam.* [15] M²., B. *qua.*

[16] A.M. *usi sunt amicitie.*

[17] So Me., T.; M. *sic contra mores vana c. d.*; W².Bo. *sic circa mores vana c. d.*;
M¹.M²., B. *sic et circa unam vel imam rem c. d.*; V. *sic circa una vel ima c. d.*; W¹.F¹. *sic*
et circa unam vel alteram rem c. d.; G.F².O.P.Ba. *sic circa unam vel a. r. c. d.*; (it does
not appear from Bo.'s *apparatus criticus* what was the reading of A.).

[18] So A.M., W².Bo.; M¹.M².Me.V., B.T. *nos enim*; W¹. *vos enim*; F¹. *nos etiam*;
G.F².O.P.Ba. *Eos autem.*

[19] M. *quidem.*

[20] B. *Graecorum.*

sectari non (49) decet, quinimmo suis erroribus obviare (50) tenemur[1]. Nam intellectu ac ratione (51) vigentes[2], divina quadam libertate dotati[3], (52) nullis consuetudinibus adstringuntur[4]. (53) Nec mirum, quum non ipsi legibus, sed (54) ipsis leges potius[5] dirigantur. Liquet (55) igitur quod superius dixi, me scilicet (56) esse devotissimum et amicum, nullatenus (57) esse praesumptum[6].

[§ 3.] (58) Praeferens ergo amicitiam vestram (59) quasi thesaurum carissimum[7], providentia (60) diligenti et accurata sollicitudine illam (61) servare desidero[8]. Itaque, quum in[9] dog-(62)-matibus moralis negotii[10] amicitiam adae-(63)-quari et salvari[11] analogo doceatur, ad (64) retribuendum pro collatis beneficiis plus quam semel ana-(65)-logiam sequi[12] mihi votivum est; et propter (66) hoc[13] munuscula mea[14] saepe multum[15] (67) conspexi[16], et ab[17] invicem segregavi, nec (68) non segregata percensui[18], dignius (69) gratiusque[19] vobis inquirens. Neque ipsi[20] (70) praeeminentiae vestrae congruum com-(71)-peri magis, quam[21] Comoediae sublimem (72) canticam, quae decoratur titulo *Paradisi*; (73) et illam sub praesenti epistola, tamquam (74) sub epigrammate proprio dedicatam[22], vobis (75) adscribo, vobis offero, vobis denique re-(76)-commendo.

[§ 4.] (77) Illud quoque praeterire silentio (78) simpliciter inardescens non sinit affectus[23], (79) quod in hac donatione plus domino quam (80) dono[24] honoris et famae[25] potest conferri videri[26]; (81) quin-

[1] So A.M.M¹.M².Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.T.W².Bo.; G.F².O.P.Ba. *tenentur*.
[2] So G.F².O.P.Ba.; A.M.M¹.M².Me.V., B.T.W².Bo. *i. ac* (M. *atque*) *r. degentes*; W¹.F¹. omit *ac ratione degentes*.
[3] So A.M., T.W².G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba.; M¹.M²., B.W¹.F¹. *d. q. libertate et ratione d.*; Me. V. *d. q. ratione d.*
[4] So M¹.M².Me., W¹.F¹.T.G.F².O.P.Ba.; A.M. *astringitur*; (the reading of V. is illegible); B. *astringunt*?; W².Bo. *adstringimur*.
[5] V. *potius leges*.
[6] So A.M.M¹.M².Me., B.W¹.Bo.Ba.; V., F¹.T.W².G.F².O.P. *praesumptuosum*.
[7] B. *clarissimum*.
[8] A. *desiderio*.
[9] B. omits *in*.
[10] M. *moralis philosophiae negotii*.
[11] So A.M.M²., W².G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba.; M¹.Me.V., B.W¹. *ad quam et salvari*; F¹.T. *ad quam eo salvari*.
[12] So A.M.M²., Bo.Ba.; W². *b. analogiam plus quam semel sequi*; M¹.V., B. *b. qui semel analogia s.*; Me. *b. q. s. analogiam s.*; W¹.F¹.T.G.F².O. *b. analogiam s.*; P. *b. quiddam analogiam s.*
[13] B. *quod*.
[14] M. omits *mea*.
[15] So A.M.M¹.M².Me.V., B.Bo.; W¹.F¹.T.W².G.F².O.P.Ba. *multumque*.
[16] A.M. *aspexi*.
[17] G. *ad*.
[18] Bo. *percentui*.
[19] So A.M.M²., W².Bo.Ba.; G.F².O.P. *digniusque gratiusque*; M¹.V. *dignusque cuiusque*; Me. *dignus quam cuiusquam*; B. *dignumque cuiusque*; W¹.F¹.T. *dignum quid cuiusque*.
[20] So W¹.F¹.T.G.F².O.P.Ba.; M¹.Me.V., B. *neque ipsum*; A.M.M²., W².Bo. omit *ipsi*.
[21] So A.M¹.M².V., W¹.—Ba.; M. *c. magis comperi quam*; Me. *c. comperi quam*; B. *c. comperii magisque*.
[22] V. *dicata*.
[23] M. *illud quoque praeterire silentio non sinit a*.
[24] So A.M., W².G.F².O.Bo.Ba.; M¹.Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.T. *plus dono quam domino*.
[25] So A., W¹.—Ba.; Me. M. *et honoris et famae*; M¹.V., B. *et honoris famae*.
[26] A.M., W².G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba. *conferri videri potest*; M¹.Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.T. *ferri videri potest*.

immo[1], cum eius titulo[2] iam (82) praesagium[3] de gloria vestri nominis[4] am-(83)-plianda[5], satis attentis[6] videar[7] expressisse; (84) quod de proposito[8]. Sed zelus[9] gratiae[10] ve-(85)-strae, quam sitio, invidiam[11] parvipendens, (86) a primordio metam praefixam urgebit[12] (87) ulterius. Itaque, formula consummata (88) epistolae, ad introductionem oblati operis (89) aliquid[13] sub lectoris officio compendiose (90) aggrediar.

[§ 5.] (91) Sicut dicit[14] Philosophus in secundo (92) *Metaphysicorum*[15]: 'Sicut res se habet ad (93) esse, sic se habet ad veritatem'; cuius (94) ratio est, quia[16] veritas de re, quae in[17] (95) veritate consistit tanquam in subiecto, (96) est similitudo perfecta rei sicut est. (97) Eorum vero quae sunt, quaedam sic sunt, (98) ut habeant esse absolutum in se; quaedam (99) sunt ita[18], ut habeant esse dependens ab (100) alio per relationem quandam[19], ut eodem (101) tempore esse, et ad aliud se habere[20], ut (102) relativa, sicut pater et filius[21], dominus et servus, (103) duplum et[22] dimidium, totum et[23] pars, et (104) huiusmodi, in quantum talia. Propter-(105)-ea quod[24] esse talium dependet[25] ab alio, (106) consequens est quod eorum veritas ab (107) alio dependeat: ignorato enim dimidio, (108) nunquam cognoscitur duplum; et sic de (109) aliis.

[§ 6.] (110) Volentes igitur aliqualem introduc-(111)-tionem tradere[26] de parte operis alicuius, (112) oportet aliquam notitiam tradere de toto (113) cuius est pars. Quapropter et ego, volens (114) de parte supra nominata totius[27] Comoediae (115) aliquid tradere per modum

[1] So M[1].V., B.—Ba.; A.M., W[2].Bo. *quid mirum?*; Me. *quidni.*
[2] So M[1].Me., W[1].—Ba.; A.M.V., B.Bo. *titulum.*
[3] Me.V. *praesagia.*
[4] So A.M.M[1]., W[2].F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba.; Me.V., B.W[1].F[1].T.G. *de gloria nominis.*
[5] M. *ampliandum*; Me.V. *ampliandus.*
[6] So V.M[1].Me., W[1].F[1].T.W[2].G.F[2].O.P.Ba.; A.M., Bo. *satis hactenus*; B. *satis attentius.*
[7] A.M.V., W[2].G.F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba. *videbar*; M[1].Me., B. *mihi videbatur*; W[1].F[1].T. *mihi videbar.*
[8] So M[1].Me.V., B.—P.; A.M. *de proposito fui*; Bo.Ba. *de proposito fuit.*
[9] So M., W[2].O[3].Bo.P.Ba.; A. *gelus*; M[1].Me.V., B.W[1].F[1].T.G.F[2].O[1].O[2]. *tenellus.*
[10] So B.W[1].F[1].T.G.F[2].O[1].O[2].Bo., and (apparently) the MSS.; W[2].O[3].P.Ba. *gloriae.*
[11] A.M., W[2].O[3].Bo.P. *nostram*; M[1].Me.V., B.W[1].F[1].T.G.F[2].O[1].O[2].Ba. *vitam* (Me.V. *qui vitam*).
[12] So M., B.O[3].Bo.P.Ba.; M[1]., W[1].F[1].T.G.F[2].O[1].O[2]. *urgebo*; A. *urgē*; W[2]. *urgere facit*; Me.V. *arguet.*
[13] B. *aliquod.*
[14] So M[1].Me.V., Bo.Ba.; M., B.—P. *dixit.*
[15] V. *Metaphysices.*
[16] Me. *quod.*
[17] Me. omits *in.*
[18] V. omits *ita.*
[19] W[1]. *quendam*; F[1]. *quemdam*; Bo. *quamdam.*
[20] So G.F[2].O.P.; Me. *ut ea tempore esse est ad aliud se habere*; B.W[1].F[1].T. *ut ea tempore esse et a. a. s. h.*; M[1].V., Bo.Ba. *ut ea quorum esse est ad aliud se habere.*
[21] So M[1].Me.V., B.W[1].F[1].T.Bo.Ba.; F[2].O.P. *sicut relativa pater et f.*; G. *ut relativa p. et f.*
[22] Me. omits *et.*
[23] Me. omits *et.*
[24] So Me.V., Bo.; M[1]., W[1].F[1]. *propter quodque*; T.G[2]. *propterea quodque*; G[1].F[2].O.P. Ba. *propterea quodque.*
[25] W[1].F[1]. *dependent.*
[26] Me. omits *tradere.*
[27] So M[1].Me.V., B.W[1].T.G.Bo.; F[1].F[2].O.P.Ba. omit *totius.*

introductionis, (116) aliquid de toto opere praemittendum (117) existimavi[1], ut facilior et perfectior sit ad (118) partem[2] introitus. Sex igitur sunt quae (119) in principio cuiusque doctrinalis operis[3] (120) inquirenda sunt, videlicet *subiectum*[4], *agens*, (121) *forma*, *finis*, *libri titulus*, et *genus philoso*-(122)-*phiae*. De istis tria sunt in quibus pars (123) ista quam vobis destinare proposui, varia-(124)-tur a toto, scilicet *subiectum*, *forma* et (125) *titulus*; in aliis vero non variatur, sicut (126) apparet inspicienti; et ideo, circa con-(127)-siderationem de toto, ista tria inquirenda (128) seorsum[5] sunt: quo facto, satis patebit ad (129) introductionem partis. Deinde inquire-(130)-mus alia tria, non solum per respectum (131) ad totum, sed etiam per respectum ad (132) ipsam partem oblatam.

[§ 7.] (133) Ad evidentiam itaque dicendorum, (134) sciendum est quod istius operis non est (135) simplex sensus, immo dici potest *poly*-*se*-(136)-*mos*[6], hoc est plurium sensuum; nam primus[7] (137) sensus est qui habetur per literam, alius (138) est qui habetur per significata per literam. (139) Et primus dicitur *literalis*, secundus vero (140) *allegoricus*, sive *mysticus*[8]. Qui modus (141) tractandi, ut melius pateat, potest con-(142)-siderari in his[9] versibus: 'In exitu Israel (143) de Aegypto, domus Iacob de populo bar-(144)-baro, facta est Iudaea sanctificatio eius, (145) Israel potestas eius.' Nam si ad literam[10] (146) solam inspiciamus, significatur nobis (147) exitus filiorum Israel de Aegypto, tempore (148) Moysis; si ad allegoriam[11], nobis significatur[12] (149) nostra redemptio facta per Christum; si (150) ad moralem[13] sensum, significatur nobis con-(151)-versio animae de luctu et miseria peccati (152) ad statum gratiae; si ad anagogicum[14], signifi-(153)-catur exitus animae sanctae[15] ab huius (154) corruptionis servitute ad aeternae[16] gloriae (155) libertatem. Et quamvis[17] isti[18] sensus (156) mystici variis[19] appellentur[20] nominibus, (157) generaliter omnes dici[21] possunt allegorici, (158) quum

[1] M[1]. *existimavit.* [2] B. *partes.* [3] V. *operis doctrinalis.*
[4] M[1].V. *factum*; Me. *subiectum factum.*
[5] So V.Me., B.; M[1]., W[1].—Ba. *seorsim.*
[6] So Me., T.Bo.; M[1]., B.W[1].F[1]. *polysensuum*; V. *polysensum*; G.F[2].O.P.Ba. *polysemum.*
[7] So M[1].M[2].Me.V., B.W[1].F[1].T.G.Bo.Ba.; F[2].O.P. *alius.*
[8] So M[1].M[2].Me.V., F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba.; B.W[1].F[1].T. *moralis*; G. *moralis, sive anagogicus.*
[9] M[1].Me. *istis.* [10] So Me.V.; M[1].M[2]., B.—Ba. *si literam.*
[11] So M[1].Me.V.; M[2]., B.—Ba. *si allegoriam.*
[12] V. *significatur nobis.* [13] So M[1].Me.V.; M[2]., B.—Ba. *si moralem.*
[14] So M[1].Me.V.; M[2]., B.—Ba. *si anagogicum.*
[15] V. omits *sanctae.*
[16] So M[2]., F[1].T.G.F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba.; M[1].Me.V., B.W[1]. *aeternam.*
[17] So V., Bo.; M[1].M[2]., B.W[1].F[1]. *quomodo*; Me., T. *quoniam*; G.F[2].O.P.Ba. *quamquam.*
[18] B. *istis.* [19] V. omits *variis.*
[20] So M[1].M[2].Me.V., F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba.; B.W[1].F[1].T.G. *appellantur.*
[21] B. *decipi.*

sint a literali sive historiali diversi. (159) Nam allegoria dicitur ab *alleon*[1] graece[2], (160) quod in latinum dicitur alienum, sive[3] (161) diversum.

[§ 8.] (162) His visis, manifestum est quod (163) duplex oportet esse subiectum, circa quod (164) currant alterni sensus. Et ideo videndum (165) est de subiecto huius operis, prout ad (166) literam accipitur; deinde de subiecto, (167) prout allegorice sententiatur[4]. Est ergo (168) subiectum totius operis, literaliter tantum (169) accepti, status animarum post mortem (170) simpliciter sumptus. Nam de illo et (171) circa[5] illum totius operis versatur pro-(172)-cessus. Si vero accipiatur[6] opus allegorice, (173) subiectum est homo prout merendo et[7] (174) demerendo per arbitrii libertatem iustitiae (175) praemiandi et puniendi[8] obnoxius est.

[§ 9.] (176) Forma vero est duplex, forma trac-(177)-tatus et forma tractandi. Forma tractatus (178) est triplex, secundum triplicem divisio-(179)-nem. Prima divisio est, qua totum opus (180) dividitur in tres canticas. Secunda, qua (181) quaelibet cantica dividitur in cantus. (182) Tertia, qua quilibet cantus dividitur in (183) rithimos[9]. Forma sive modus tractandi (184) est poeticus, fictivus, descriptivus[10], digressi-(185)-vus[11], transumptivus[12]; et cum hoc definitivus[13], (186) divisivus, probativus[14], improbativus[15], et exem-(187)-plorum positivus.

[§ 10.] (188) Libri titulus est: 'Incipit Comoedia (189) Dantis Alagherii[16], Florentini natione, non (190) moribus.' Ad cuius notitiam sciendum (191) est, quod comoedia dicitur a *comos*[17] villa, (192) et *oda*[18] quod est cantus, unde comoedia (193) quasi villanus cantus. Et est comoedia (194) genus quoddam poeticae narrationis, ab (195) omnibus aliis differens. Differt[19] ergo (196) a tragoedia in materia per hoc, quod (197) tragoedia in principio est[20] admirabilis et (198) quieta, in fine sive[21] exitu est[22] foetida et[23] (199) horribilis[24]; et dicitur propter hoc a *tragos*[25] (200) quod est hircus, et *oda*[26], quasi cantus hir-(201)-cinus, id

[1] So V., G.O.; W[1].F[1].T.F[2].Bo.P. *ἀλλοῖος*; Ba. *alloios*; M[1].M[2].Me., B. omit.
[2] Me. omits; W[1].F[1]. *graeco.* [3] Me. *vel.*
[4] V. *consideratur.* [5] M[2]. *circam.*
[6] V. *accipitur.* [7] G. *aut.*
[8] So M[1].M[2].Me.V., B.W[1].F[1].T.Bo.; G.F[2].O.P.Ba. *praemianti aut punienti.*
[9] So O.Ba.; Me.V., B.W[1].G[1].Bo. *rhythmos*; M[1].M[2]., F[1].T.G[2].F[2].P. *rhytmos.*
[10] Me.V. *et descriptivus.* [11] This word is cancelled in V.
[12] V. omits *transumptivus*; T. *transitivus.* [13] Me., B. *diffinitivus.*
[14] Me. *probans.* [15] Me. *improbans.*
[16] So Me., F[2].Ba.; M[1].M[2].V., B.W[1].F[1].T.G.F[2].Bo. *Allagherii*; O.P. *Aligherii.*
[17] So M[1].M[2].Me.V., B.G.Bo.; O.Ba. *comus*; W[1].F[1].T.F[2].P. *κώμη.*
[18] So M[1].M[2].Me.V., B.G.O.Bo.Ba.; W[1].F[1].T.F[2].P. *ὠδή.*
[19] M[2]. *differet.* [20] V. *est in principio.* [21] M[2].Me.V. *seu.*
[22] V., W[1]. omit *est.* [23] Me.V. *sive.* [24] W[1]. omits *horribilis.*
[25] So M[1].M[2].Me.V., B.G.Bo.; O.Ba. *tragus*; W[1].F[1].T.F[2].P. *τράγος.*
[26] So M[1].M[2].Me.V., B.G.O.Bo.Ba.; W[1].F[1].T.F[2].P. *ὠδή.*

est foetidus[1] ad modum hirci, ut (202) patet per Senecam in suis tragoediis. (203) Comoedia vero inchoat asperitatem ali-(204)-cuius rei, sed eius materia prospere (205) terminatur, ut patet per Terentium in (206) suis comoediis. Et hinc consueverunt (207) dictatores quidam in suis salutationibus (208) dicere loco salutis, 'tragicum principium, (209) et comicum finem.' Similiter differunt (210) in modo loquendi: elate et sublime (211) tragoedia; comoedia vero remisse et (212) humiliter[2]; sicut vult Horatius in sua (213) *Poetria*[3], ubi licentiat[4] aliquando[5] comicos ut (214) tragoedos loqui, et sic e converso:

(215) Interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit,
(216) Iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore;
(217) Et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri
Telephus et Peleus etc.[6]

(218) Et per[7] hoc patet quod Comoedia dicitur (219) praesens opus. Nam si ad materiam (220) respiciamus[8], a principio horribilis et (221) foetida est, quia[9] Infernus; in fine prospera, (222) desiderabilis[10] et grata, quia Paradisus. (223) Ad modum[11] loquendi, remissus est modus (224) et humilis, quia locutio vulgaris, in qua (225) et mulierculae communicant. Et sic patet quare comoedia dicitur[12]. Sunt et (226) alia genera narrationum poeticarum, sci-(227)-licet[13] carmen bucolicum, elegia, satira, (228) et sententia votiva[14], ut etiam per Horatium (229) patere potest in sua *Poetria*[15]; sed de istis (230) ad praesens nil dicendum est.

[§ 11.] (231) Potest amodo[16] patere, quomodo as-(232)-signandum sit subiectum partis oblatae. (233) Nam si totius operis literaliter sumpti sic (234) est subiectum[17], status animarum post (235) mortem non contractus sed simpliciter[18] (236) acceptus, manifestum est quod hac in (237) parte talis status est subiectum, sed[19] con-(238)-tractus, scilicet status animarum bea-(239)-tarum post mortem. Et si totius operis (240) allegorice sumpti subiectum est homo (241) prout merendo et[20] demerendo per arbitrii (242) libertatem est iustitiae praemiandi et

[1] M². *fedidus*. [2] V. *humiliter et remisse*.
[3] So Me., Ba.; M¹.M².V., B.—P. *Poetica*. [4] B. *licentia*.
[5] So Me.V., T.G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba.; M¹.M²., B.W¹.F¹. *aliter*.
[6] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.Bo.Ba.; T.G.F².O.P. omit *Telephus et Peleus etc.*
[7] M¹.M². omit *et per*.
[8] B.W¹. *despiciamus*. [9] M². *fedida est qua*. [10] Me. *et desiderabilis*.
[11] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.; W¹.—Ba. *Si ad modum*.
[12] So M¹.M².Me.V. (Me. *quia*), B.W¹.F¹.T.Bo.Ba.; G.F².O.P. omit *Et sic patet quare comoedia dicitur*.
[13] V. omits *scilicet*; Me. *sicut*. [14] M². *votive*.
[15] So Me., Ba.; M¹.M².V., B.—P. *Poetica*. [16] Me. V. *admodo*.
[17] V. omits *partis oblatae. Nam...subiectum*. [18] B. *impliciter*.
[19] F¹. *non*; (Bo. erroneously gives T. also as reading *non* here). [20] Me. *vel*.

(243) puniendi[1] obnoxius, manifestum est in (244) hac parte hoc subiectum contrahi[2], et est (245) homo prout merendo[3] obnoxius est (246) iustitiae praemiandi[4].

[§ 12.] (247) Et sic patet[5] de forma partis per (248) formam assignatam[6] totius. Nam si forma (249) tractatus in toto est triplex, in hac parte (250) tantum[7] est duplex, scilicet divisio can-(251)-ticae et cantuum[8]. Non eius potest esse (252) propria forma divisio prima[9], quum ista (253) pars sit primae divisionis.

[§ 13.] (254) Patet etiam libri titulus[10]. Nam[11] (255) titulus totius[12] libri est: 'Incipit comoedia[13] (256) etc.,' ut supra[14]; titulus autem[15] huius partis (257) est[16]: 'Incipit cantica tertia comoediae (258) Dantis, quae[17] dicitur Paradisus.'

[§ 14.] (259) Inquisitis[18] his tribus in[19] quibus va-(260)-riatur pars a toto, videndum est de aliis (261) tribus in quibus variatio nulla[20] est a toto[21]. (262) Agens igitur totius et partis est ille qui (263) dictus est, et totaliter esse videtur[22].

[§ 15.] (264) Finis totius et partis esse posset[23] (265) multiplex[24], scilicet[25] propinquus et remotus. (266) Sed[26] omissa subtili investigatione, dicen-(267)-dum est breviter quod finis totius et (268) partis est, removere viventes in hac vita (269) de statu miseriae, et perducere ad statum (270) felicitatis.

[§ 16.] (271) Genus[27] philosophiae[28] sub quo hic (272) in toto et parte proceditur est (273) morale negotium, sive[29] ethica; quia non ad

[1] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.T.Bo.; G.F².O.P.Ba. *praemianti aut punienti.*
[2] B. *contrarii.*
[3] So M¹.M²., G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba.; Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.T. omit *merendo.*
[4] So M¹.M².V., B.W¹.F¹.Bo.; G.F².O.P.Ba. *praemianti*; Me., T. *praemiandi et puniendi.*
[5] B. *patebit.* [6] B. *obsignatam.* [7] Me. *tamen.*
[8] So M¹.M²., G.F².O.P.; Me.V., W¹.F¹.T.Bo. *cantuum et rhythmorum*; Ba. *cantum (sic) et rithimorum*; B. *canticum et r.*; (Bo. erroneously gives T. as reading *canticae et cantuum*).
[9] So G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba.; V. *esse propria prima divisio*; Me. *esse forma divisio prima*; M¹.M²., B.W¹.F¹. *esse pro firma*; T. *esse pro forma.*
[10] So W¹.—Ba.; M¹.M².Me.V., B.Bo. *titulus seu de libri titulo.*
[11] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.T.Bo.; G.F².O.P.Ba. *nam si.*
[12] G. omits *totius.* [13] M². *comoedia Dantis.*
[14] So M¹.M².Me., W¹.—Ba.; V., B. omit *etc. ut supra.* [15] G. *tantum.*
[16] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.T.Bo.; G.F².O.P.Ba. *erit.*
[17] So M¹.V., T.G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba.; M².Me., B.W¹.F¹. *Dantis etc. quae.*
[18] M². *inquisitus*; B. *inquisitios*; (Bo. erroneously gives *inquisitio* as the reading of B.).
[19] Me. omits *in.* [20] V. *nulla variatio.* [21] Me. *a toto et pp.*
[22] So M¹.M².Me., B.W¹.F¹.Bo.; V., T.G.F².O.P.Ba. *videtur esse.*
[23] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.—Bo.; F².O.P.Ba. *potest.*
[24] M¹.M². *et multiplex.*
[25] Me. *sed.* [26] V. *scilicet.*
[27] So M¹.M².Me., B.W¹.F¹.Bo.; V., T.G.F².O.P.Ba. *Genus vero.*
[28] B. *philosophicè*; (Bo. erroneously gives *philosophicae* as the reading of B.).
[29] So Me., T.G.F².O.P.; M¹.M².V., B.W¹.F¹.Bo.Ba. *seu.*

(274) speculandum, sed ad opus inventum[1] est (275) totum[2] et pars[3]. Nam si et[4] in aliquo loco vel passu[5] (276) pertractatur[6] ad modum speculativi ne-(277)-gotii, hoc non est gratia speculativi (278) negotii, sed gratia operis; quia ut[7] ait (279) Philosophus in secundo *Metaphysicorum*[8]: (280) 'ad aliquid et nunc[9] speculantur practici (281) aliquando[10].'

[§ 17.] (282) His itaque praemissis, ad exposi-(283)-tionem literae secundum quandam prae-(284)-libationem accedendum est; circa quod (285) praesciendum est quod expositio literae[11] (286) nil[12] aliud est quam formae operis mani-(287)-festatio. Dividitur ergo ista pars, seu (288) ista[13] tertia cantica quae Paradisus dicitur, (289) principaliter in duas partes, scilicet in (290) prologum et partem executivam[14]. Pars (291) secunda incipit ibi[15]: 'Surgit mortalibus per (292) diversas fauces.'

[§ 18.] (293) De parte prima sciendum est[16] quod (294) quamvis communi ratione posset dici (295) exordium[17], proprie autem loquendo non debet dici[18] (296) nisi prologus; quod Philosophus in tertio (297) *Rhetoricorum* videtur innuere[19], ubi dicit (298) quod 'prooemium est in[20] ora-(299)-tione rhetorica sicut prologus in poetica, (300) et praeludium in fistulatione[21].' Est etiam (301) praenotandum, quod praeviatio[22] ista, (302) quae communiter exordium dici potest, (303) aliter fit a poetis, aliter[23] a rhetoribus. (304) Rhetores enim consuevere[24] praelibare di-(305)-cenda, ut animum comparent auditoris. (306) Sed poetae non

[1] So $M^1.M^2.$Me.V., B.$W^1.F^1.$T.Bo.Ba.; G.$F^2.$O.P. *incoeptum*. [2] V. *et totum*.
[3] So $M^1.M^2.$Me.V., B.Bo.Ba.; $W^1.F^1.$T.G.$F^2.$O.P. omit *et pars*.
[4] So $M^1.M^2.$Me.V., B.$W^1.F^1.$T.Bo.; G.$F^2.$O.P.Ba. *Nam etsi*.
[5] Me. *passim*. [6] Me. V. *pertractamus*. [7] $M^1.M^2.$ omit *ut*.
[8] Me. *Metaphysices*; V. *Metaphysicae*.
[9] So $M^1.M^2.$Me.V., B.$W^1.F^1.$T.Bo.Ba.; G.$F^2.$O.P. *tunc*.
[10] V. *aliquando etiam speculantur practici*.
[11] So V., Bo.Ba.; $M^1.M^2.$, B.$W^1.F^1.$ *accedendum est. Quod de expositione literae* ($W^1.F^1.$ indicate a hiatus after *a. est*); Me., T. *a. est, et illud* (T. *et ad illud*) *pronunciandum, quod expositio literae*; G.$F^2.$O.P. *a. est*; *at illud praenunciandum, q. e. l.* ($G^2.$ *a. est. At*).
[12] Me. *nichil*.
[13] So $M^1.M^2.$V., B.$W^1.F^1.$Bo.; Me., T.G.$F^2.$O.P.Ba. omit *ista*.
[14] B. *excusativam*.
[15] So $M^1.M^2.$, B.—Ba.; Me.V., T.Bo. add *quasi in medio primi*, but the line in question is l. 37 of *Par.* i, which consists of 142 lines, so that it cannot be described as occurring 'nearly in the middle' of the canto.
[16] So V., B.$W^1.F^1.$; $M^1.M^2.$Me., T.G.$F^2.$O.Bo.P.Ba. *est sciendum*.
[17] So $M^2.$V., B.$W^1.F^1.$; Me. *dici posset exordium*; $M^1.$, T.G.$F^2.$O.Bo.P.Ba. *posset exordium dici*.
[18] Me. *dici debet*.
[19] So Me., $W^1.$—Ba.; $M^1.M^2.$, B. *quod P. in secundo R. v. i.*; V. *quod in primo Rhetorice v. i. Philosophus*.
[20] So $M^1.M^2.$Me.V., B.$W^1.F^1.$T.Bo.; G.$F^2.$O.P.Ba. *prooemium est principium in*.
[21] B. *festinatione*.
[22] So B.$W^1.F^1.$; $M^1.M^2.$ *praeiuratio*; V. *deviatio*; Me.T.G.$F^2.$O.Bo.P.Ba. *praenunciatio*.
[23] V., B. *aliter fit*. [24] So Me., B.—Ba.; $M^1.M^2.$V. *concessere*.

solum hoc faciunt, quin-(307)-immo post haec invocationem quandam (308) emittunt. Et hoc est eis conveniens, (309) quia[1] multa invocatione opus[2] est eis, quum[3] (310) aliquid contra[4] communem modum homi-(311)-num a superioribus substantiis petendum (312) sit[5], quasi divinum quoddam munus. Ergo (313) praesens prologus[6] dividitur in partes (314) duas: in[7] prima praemittitur quid dicen-(315)-dum sit, in secunda invocatur Apollo; et (316) incipit secunda pars ibi: 'O bone Apollo, (317) ad ultimum laborem,' etc.[8].

[§ 19.] (318) Propter primam partem notandum, (319) quod ad bene exordiendum tria requirun-(320)-tur, ut dicit Tullius in *Nova Rhetorica*, (321) scilicet ut benevolum et[9] attentum et (322) docilem reddat aliquis auditorem, et hoc (323) maxime in admirabili genere causae, ut (324) ipsemet[10] Tullius dicit. Quum ergo materia (325) circa quam versatur praesens [11] tractatus, (326) sit admirabilis, et[12] propterea ad admirabile (327) reducenda ista tria intenduntur in prin-(328)-cipio exordii sive prologi. Nam dicit se (329) dicturum ea, quae qui vidit in (330) primo coelo retinere potuit[13]. In quo dicto (331) omnia illa tria comprehenduntur; nam (332) in utilitate[14] dicendorum benevolentia (333) paratur; in admirabilitate[15] attentio; in (334) possibilitate docilitas. Utilitatem innuit, (335) quum[16] recitaturum se dicit ea quae maxime[17] (336) allectiva sunt desiderii humani, scilicet (337) gaudia Paradisi. Admirabilitatem tangit, (338) quum promittit se tam ardua, tam sublimia (339) dicere, scilicet conditiones regni coelestis (340). Possibilitatem ostendit, quum dicit se (341) dicturum ea[18] quae mente retinere potuit; (342) si enim ipse[19], et alii poterunt. Haec omnia (343) tanguntur in verbis illis ubi dicit se (344) fuisse in primo coelo, et quod dicere vult (345) de regno coelesti quidquid in mente sua, (346) quasi thesaurum, potuit retinere. Viso (347) igitur de bonitate ac perfectione primae (348) partis[20] prologi, ad literam accedatur.

[§ 20.] (349) Dicit ergo[21], quod 'gloria primi Motoris,' (350) qui Deus est, 'in omnibus partibus universi (351) resplendet,' sed ita ut 'in

[1] Me. *qua*. [2] V. omits *opus*. [3] Me. *quae cum*; V. *quae ceu*.
[4] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.T.Bo.; G.F².O.P.Ba. *supra*.
[5] So M¹., W¹.—Ba.; M².Me.V., B. *est*. [6] M¹.M². *opus*.
[7] So Me.V., T.G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba.; M¹.M²., B.W¹.F¹. *quia in*.
[8] Me.V., B.W¹.F¹. omit *etc*. [9] M²., B.W¹.F¹. omit *et*. [10] W¹.F¹. *ipse*.
[11] Me. *primus*. [12] So M².Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.Bo.; M¹., T.G.F².O.P.Ba. omit *et*.
[13] So M¹., W¹.F¹.T.Bo.; M²., B. *ea quae qui vidit in primo coelo retinere non potuit*; Me., V. *ea quae quae vidit retinere non potuit in primo coelo*; G.F².O.P.Ba. *ea quae ex iis quae vidit in primo coelo retinere potuit*.
[14] B. *utilitatem*. [15] Me. *admiratione*. [16] W¹. *quam*.
[17] M²., B. *maxima*.
[18] So M¹.M²., W¹.—Ba.; Me.V., B.Bo. omit *ea*.
[19] So M¹.M²., B.—Ba.; Me.V., T. *homo ipse*.
[20] B. *parti*. [21] V. *igitur*.

aliqua parte[1] (352) magis, et[2] in aliqua minus.' Quod autem (353) ubique resplendeat, ratio et auctoritas (354) manifestat. Ratio sic: Omne quod est, (355) aut[3] habet esse a se, aut ab alio[4]. Sed (356) constat, quod habere esse a se non con-(357)-venit nisi uni, scilicet primo, seu prin-(358)-cipio, qui Deus est, quum[5] habere esse (359) non[6] arguat per se necesse esse[7], et per (360) se necesse esse non competat nisi uni, (361) scilicet primo, seu principio[8], quod est (362) causa omnium; ergo omnia quae sunt, (363) praeter unum ipsum[9], habent esse ab alio[10]. (364) Si ergo[11] accipiatur ultimum in universo, (365) non[12] quodcumque, manifestum est quod id (366) habet esse ab aliquo[13]; et illud a quo (367) habet, a se vel ab aliquo[14]. Si a se (368), sic est primum; si ab aliquo[15], et illud (369) similiter vel a se, vel ab aliquo[16]. Et esset (370) sic procedere in infinitum in causis (371) agentibus, ut probatur in secundo[17] *Meta*-(372)-*physicorum*. Et sic (373) erit devenire[18] ad primum, qui Deus est. (374) Et sic, mediate vel immediate, omne (375) quod est, habet esse[19] ab eo; quia ex eo (376) quod causa secunda recipit[20] a prima, (377) influit super causatum ad modum re-(378)-cipientis et repercutientis[21] radium, propter (379) quod causa prima est magis causa[22]. Et (380) hoc[23] dicitur in libro *De Causis*, quod[24] (381) 'omnis causa primaria plus influit super (382) suum[25] causatum, quam causa universalis (383) secunda.' Sed hoc quantum ad esse.

[§ 21.] (384) Quantum vero ad essentiam, probo (385) sic: Omnis essentia, praeter primam, est (386) causata; aliter[26] essent[27] plura, quae[28] essent[29] (387) per se necesse esse, quod[30] est impossibile. (388) Quia[31]

[1] M¹., B.W¹.F¹. omit *parte*. [2] V., B.W¹.F¹. omit *et*. [3] B. *ut*.
[4] (Bo. erroneously gives *ab alios* as the reading of B.)
[5] So Me., B.W¹.F¹.T.G.Bo.; M¹.M².V., F².O.P.Ba. *et quum*. (Bo. erroneously gives G. as reading *et quum*.)
[6] Me. omits *non*. [7] M¹.M²., B. *arguat per se non necesse est*.
[8] V. omits *qui Deus est...seu principio*.
[9] So T.F².O.Bo.P.Ba.; M¹.M².V., B.W¹.F¹. *praeter ipsum*; Me., G. *praeter unum*.
[10] So M¹.M²., G.F².O.Bo.P.; Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.T. *ab aliis*.
[11] Bo. erroneously gives O³. as reading *enim*.
[12] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.; W¹.—Ba. *vel*. [13] G. *ab alio*.
[14] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.; T.G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba. *ab aliquo habet*.
[15] G. *alio*.
[16] So V., W¹.—Ba.; G. *ab alio*; M¹.M².Me., B. *ab aliquo et est naturaliter*.
[17] So G.F².O.P.; M¹.M².Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.T.Bo.Ba. *tertio*.
[18] So V., Bo.; M¹.M².Me., B.W¹.F¹.T. *Metaphysicorum erit devenire*; G.F².O.P.Ba. *Metaphysicorum. Quod quum sit impossibile, erit devenire*.
[19] So M¹.M²., W¹.—P.; Me.V. *omne quod habet esse, habet esse*; B. *omne quod habet esse*.
[20] So Me.V., B.W¹.F¹.Bo.; M¹.M²., T.G.F².O.P.Ba. *recepit*.
[21] M¹.M².Me.V., B.W¹.F¹. *respicientis*.; T.G. *rejicientis*; F².O.Bo.P.Ba. *respuentis* (see p. 301, n. 2).
[22] Me. V. *causa prima magis*. [23] G. *propter hoc*.
[24] (Bo. erroneously gives G. as omitting *quod*.) [25] B. *tuum*.
[26] Me. V. *alias*. [27] M¹., B. *esse*. [28] B. *qua*. [29] M². *esse*.
[30] So Me. V.; M¹., W¹.—Ba. *necesse quod*; M²., B. *necesse est quod*.
[31] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.; W¹.—Ba. *Quod*.

causatum[1] est[2], vel a natura[3] vel (389) ab intellectu; et quod[4] a natura est[5], per (390) consequens causatum est ab intellectu[6] (391) quum natura sit[7] opus intelligentiae. (392) Omne ergo[8] quod est causatum, est[9] causa-(393)-tum[10] ab aliquo intellectu[11] mediate[12] vel (394) immediate. Quum ergo virtus sequatur (395) essentiam cuius est virtus, si essentia (396) intellectiva, est tota et unius[13] quae[14] (397) causat. Et sic quemadmodum prius (398) devenire[15] erat ad primam causam ipsius (399) esse, sic nunc essentiae et virtutis. (400) Propter[16] quod patet quod omnis essentia (401) et virtus procedat[17] a prima, et intelligentiae (402) inferiores recipiant quasi a radiante, et (403) reddant radios superioris ad suum inferius, (404) ad modum speculorum. Quod satis aperte (405) tangere videtur[18] Dionysius de coelesti (406) hierarchia loquens. Et propter hoc (407) dicitur in libro *De Causis* quod 'omnis (408) intelligentia est plena formis.' Patet (409) ergo quomodo ratio manifestat divinum (410) lumen, id est divinam bonitatem, sapien-(411)-tiam et virtutem, resplendere ubique.

[§ 22.] (412) Similiter etiam ac scientius[19] facit (413) auctoritas. Dicit enim Spiritus Sanctus (414) per Hieremiam: 'Numquid non[20] coelum (415) et terram ego impleo?' et in *Psalmo*[21]: (416) 'Quo ibo a spiritu tuo[22]? et quo a facie (417) tua fugiam? Si ascendero in coelum, (418) tu illic es; si descendero in infernum, (419) ades. Si sumpsero pennas[23] meas' etc. (420) Et *Sapientia* dicit[24] quod 'Spiritus Domini[25] (421) replevit orbem terrarum.' Et *Ecclesiasticus*[26] (422) in quadragesimo[27] secundo: 'Gloria Domini (423) plenum est opus eius.' Quod etiam (424) scriptura paganorum contestatur; nam[28] (425) Lucanus in nono: 'Iuppiter est quod-(426)-cumque vides quocumque[29] moveris.'

[§ 23.] (427) Bene ergo dictum est, quum dicit (428) quod divinus

[1] Me. *causata.*
[2] M².Me.V. omit *est.* [3] F².O.P.Ba. *a natura est.* [4] M¹.M². *quo.*
[5] Me.V. omit *est.* [6] B.W¹.F¹. omit *et quod a n....ab intellectu.*
[7] W¹.F¹. *et quia natura est.* [8] W¹.F¹. omit *ergo.* [9] Me. omits *est.*
[10] Me. omits *causatum*; (Bo. erroneously gives W¹.F¹. as also omitting *causatum*).
[11] V. omits *quum natura sit opus...intellectu.* [12] Me. *vel mediate.*
[13] So M¹.M².Me.V., B. (B. *intellectivè*); W¹.F¹.T. *si essentia sit intellectiva est tota et unius*; G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba. *si essentia sit intellectiva, virtus tota est unius.*
[14] Me., B. *quo.*
[15] B. *deveniret.* [16] V. *per.* [17] Me.V., B. *procedit.*
[18] B. *viditur.*
[19] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.; W¹.—Ba. *scientia.*
[20] Me.V., B.W¹.F¹. omit *Numquid non.* [21] V. *psalmo CXXXVIII.*
[22] W¹.F¹. omit *tuo.* [23] B. *poenas.* [24] So M¹.Me.V., B.—Ba.; M². *dicitur.*
[25] B. *Domino.*
[26] So O³.P.; M¹.M²., B.W¹.F¹. *Ecclesiastici*; Me.V., T.G.F².O¹.O².Ba. *Ecclesiastes*; Bo. *Ecclesiast.*
[27] O³.P. *in quadragesimo.* [28] So M¹.M²., W¹.—Ba.; Me.V. *unde*; B. *cum.*
[29] So M¹.M².V., T.G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba.; Me., B.W¹.F¹. *quodcumque.*

radius[1], seu[2] divina gloria, (429) 'per universum penetrat et resplendet': (430) penetrat quantum ad essentiam; re-(431)-splendet[3] quantum ad esse. Quod autem (432) subicit[4] de magis et minus habet veritatem[5] (433) in manifesto, quoniam videmus in aliquo (434) excellentiori gradu essentiam aliquam, aliquam vero (435) in inferiori[6]; ut patet de coelo et ele-(436)-mentis, quorum quidem illud incorrupti-(437)-bile, illa vero corruptibilia sunt.

[§ 24.] (438) Et postquam[7] praemisit hanc veri-(439)-tatem, prosequitur ab ea, circumloquens (440) Paradisum; et dicit quod fuit in coelo illo (441) quod de gloria Dei[8], sive de luce, recipit (442) affluentius. Propter quod sciendum quod (443) illud coelum[9] est coelum supremum, con-(444)-tinens corpora universa, et a nullo con-(445)-tentum, intra quod omnia corpora[10] (446) moventur (ipso in sempiterna quieta (447) permanente), a[11] nulla corporali substantia (448) virtutem recipiens. Et dicitur[12] empyreum, (449) quod est idem quod coelum igne (450) sive ardore[13] flagrans; non quod in eo sit ignis (451) vel ardor materialis, sed spiritualis, qui[14] (452) est amor sanctus, sive caritas.

[§ 25.] (453) Quod autem de divina luce plus (454) recipiat, potest probari per duo. Primo (455) per suum omnia continere et a nullo (456) contineri; secundo per sempiternam (457) suam quietem[15] sive pacem. Quantum ad (458) primum probatur sic: Continens se habet (459) ad contentum in naturali situ, sicut (460) formativum[16] ad formabile, ut habetur in (461) quarto[17] *Physicorum*. Sed in naturali situ (462) totius universi primum coelum est omnia (463) continens; ergo se habet ad omnia sicut (464) formativum[18] ad formabile[19]; quod est se (465) habere per modum causae. Et quum (466) omnis vis causandi sit radius quidam

[1] So Me.V., T.G.F^2.O.Bo.P.Ba.; M^1.M^2., W^1.F^1. *dictum quod divinus radius*; B. *dictum quod dicimus*: *radius*.

[2] Me.V. *sive*. [3] V. omits *penetrat quantum ad essentiam, resplendet*.

[4] M^1.M^2. *subiici*; B. *subiicit*. [5] B. *de veritate*.

[6] M^1. *videmus in aliquo excellentiori gradu essentiam aliquam aliqua vero in inferiori*; M^2.Me.V. *v. in a. e. g. essentiam aliquam vero in i.*; B. *v. in a. e. g. esse aliquam aliquid v. in i.*; W^1.—Ba. *videmus aliquid in excellentiori gradu esse, aliquid vero in i.*

[7] M^1.M^2., B. *priusquam*. [8] V. *Domini*. [9] V. omits *coelum*.

[10] V. omits *corpora*.

[11] So G.F^2.O.Bo.P.Ba.; V. *m. in prima s. q. p. a*; B. *moventur, in primo s. q. permanentur vitas, et omnia sua contenta et a*; M^1.M^2. *m. ipso in s. q. permanente vita* (M^2. *vitas*) *et omnia sua contenta et a*; Me. *m. in primo s. q. p. vitas et o. sua c. et a*; T. *m.* (*in primo s. q. p.*) *a*; W^1.F^1. *moventur, a* (*ipso...permanente* being omitted; Bo. erroneously gives B. as reading the same as W^1.F^1.).

[12] Me. *dicit*.

[13] So M^2., T.G.F^2.O.Bo.P.Ba.; M^1., B.W^1.F^1. *seu ardore*; Me.V. *sui ardoris*.

[14] Me.V., B. *quod*.

[15] So Me.V., T.G.F^2.O.Bo.P.Ba.; M^1.M^2., B.W^1. *sempiternam quietem*; F^1. *s. quietam*.

[16] So W^1.—P.; M^1.M^2.Me.V., B. *formatum*. [17] M^1.M^2.Me.V. *quarto*.

[18] So M^1.Me., B.—Ba.; M^2.V. *formatum*.

[19] Witte notes that one of the Magliabechi texts omits *ut habetur quarto Physicorum... ad formabile*, a fact of which Bo. makes no mention.

(467) profluens[1] a prima causa, quae Deus est, (468) manifestum est quod illud coelum quod (469) magis habet rationem causae, magis de (470) luce divina recipit.

[§ 26.] (471) Quantum ad secundum probatur (472) sic: Omne quod movetur, movetur propter (473) aliquid quod non habet, quod est termi-(474)-nus[2] sui motus; sicut coelum lunae move-(475)-tur propter aliquam partem sui, quae non (476) habet illud ubi ad quod movetur; et quia sui (477) pars quaelibet non adepto quolibet[3] (478) ubi (quod[4] est impossibile[5]) movetur[6] ad (479) aliud, inde est quod semper movetur et (480) numquam quiescit, et[7] est eius appetitus. (481) Et quod dico de coelo lunae, intelligendum (482) est de omnibus praeter primum. Omne (483) ergo quod movetur, est in aliquo defectu, (484) et non habet totum suum esse simul. (485) Illud igitur[8] coelum quod a nullo movetur, (486) in se et[9] in qualibet sui parte habet quid-(487)-quid potest modo perfecto, ita quod[10] motu (488) non indiget ad suam perfectionem. Et (489) quum omnis perfectio sit radius Primi, (490) quod est in summo gradu perfectionis, (491) manifestum est quod coelum primum[11] (492) magis recipit de luce Primi, qui est Deus. (493) Ista[12] tamen ratio videtur arguere ad (494) destructionem antecedentis, ita quod[13] sim-(495)-pliciter et secundum formam arguendi (496) non probat. Sed si consideremus materiam (497) eius, bene probat[14], quia de quodam sempi-(498)-terno, in quo posset[15] defectus sempiternari: (499) ita quod[16], si Deus non dedit sibi[17] motum, (500) patet quod non dedit sibi[18] materiam[19] in (501) aliquo egentem[20]. Et per hanc[21] supposi-(502)-tionem tenet argumentum ratione ma-(503)-teriae; et similis modus arguendi est[22] ac (504) si dicerem[23]: si homo est, est risibile[24]; nam

[1] So M[1].M[2]., F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba.; Me.V., B.W[1].F[1].T.G. *influens*: (Bo. erroneously gives G. as reading *profluens*).
[2] V. *terminum*.
[3] So M[1].M[2]., W[1].F[1].; Me. *et q. s. p. quaelibet eius pars adepto*; V. *quamlibet eius partem ademptam esse quolibet*; T.G.F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba. *et quia pars quaelibet eius non adepto quolibet*; B. *et q. sui pars quolibet non a. q.*
[4] Me. omits *quod*. [5] V. *impossibile est*. [6] V. *ideo movetur*.
[7] So M[1].M[2].Me.V., B.W[1].F[1].T.; G.F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba. *ut*.
[8] Me. *ergo*. [9] Me.V., B. omit *et*.
[10] So M[1].M[2].Me., B.W[1].F[1].T.Bo.Ba.; V. *itaque*; G.F[2].O.P. *eo quod*.
[11] B. *primam*; (Bo. erroneously gives *prima* as the reading of B.). [12] M[2]. *ita*.
[13] So M[1].M[2].Me., B.W[1].F[1].T.Bo.Ba.; V. *itaque*; F[2].O.P. *eo quod*; G. *quae ita*.
[14] G[2]. omits *sed si...probat*.
[15] So M[1].M[2].V., G.F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba.; Me., B.W[1].F[1].T. *potest*; (Bo. erroneously gives T. as reading *posset*).
[16] So M[1].M[2].Me.V., B.W[1].F[1].T.Bo.; G.F[2].O.P.Ba. *itaque*.
[17] So M[1].M[2].Me.V., B.W[1].F[1].T.Bo.; G.F[2].O.P.Ba. *illi*.
[18] So M[1].M[2].Me.V., B.W[1].F[1].T.Bo.; G.F[2].O.P.Ba. *illi*.
[19] So Me., G.F[2].O.Bo.P.; M[1].M[2].V., B.W[1].F[1].T. *naturam*.
[20] B. *agentem*; (Bo. omits this variant). [21] M[2]. *et hanc*.
[22] Me.V., *et est similis modus arguendi*. [23] V. *diceremus*.
[24] So Me., B.; M[1].M[2]., W[1].F[1].T. *visibile*; V., G.F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba. *risibilis*.

(505) in omnibus convertibilibus tenet similis (506) ratio gratia materiae. Sic ergo patet (507) quod[1] quum dicit, 'in illo coelo quod plus (508) de luce Dei[2] recipit,' intelligit circumloqui (509) Paradisum, sive coelum empireum.

[§ 27.] (510) Praemissis quoque rationibus con-(511)-sequenter[3] dicit Philosophus in primo *De* (512) *Coelo*, quod[4] coelum 'tanto[5] habet hono-(513)-rabiliorem[6] materiam[7] istis[8] inferioribus, (514) quanto magis elongatum est ab his quae (515) hic[9].' Adhuc etiam[10] posset adduci (516) quod dicit Apostolus ad Ephesios de (517) Christo: 'Qui ascendit super omnes coe-(518)-los, ut impleret[11] omnia.' Hoc est coelum (519) deliciarum Domini; de quibus deliciis (520) dicitur contra Luciferum per Ezechielem: (521) 'Tu signaculum similitudinis, sapientia (522) plenus et perfectione decorus[12], in[13] deliciis (523) Paradisi Dei[14] fuisti.'

[§ 28.] (524) Et postquam dixit quod fuit in loco (525) illo Paradisi per suam circumlocutionem, (526) prosequitur dicens se vidisse aliqua[15] quae (527) recitare non potest qui descendit. Et reddit (528) causam, dicens quod 'intellectus in tantum (529) profundat se' in ipsum desiderium suum, (530) quod est Deus[16], 'quod memoria sequi non (531) potest.' Ad quae intelligenda sciendum (532) est, quod intellectus humanus in hac (533) vita, propter connaturalitatem et affini-(534)-tatem quam habet ad substantiam intel-(535)-lectualem separatam, quando elevatur, (536) in tantum elevatur ut memoria post (537) reditum deficiat, propter transcendisse (538) humanum modum. Et hoc[17] insinuatur (539) nobis per Apostolum ad Corinthios lo-(540)-quentem, ubi dicit: 'Scio (541) hominem[18] (sive in corpore[19], sive extra cor-(542)-pus, nescio, Deus scit), raptum (543) usque ad tertium coelum[20], et audivit arcana verba[21], (544) quae non licet homini loqui.' Ecce, post-(545)-quam[22] humanam rationem intellectus (546) ascensione[23] transierat, quae[24] extra se age-(547)-rentur[25] non recordabatur. Hoc etiam[26] est

[1] M².Me.V., B. omit *quod*. [2] M¹. *rei*.
[3] So M¹.M².V., B.W¹.F¹.Bo.; Me., T. *consonanter vel consequenter*; G.F².O.P.Ba. *consonanter*.
[4] Me.V. *ubi dicit quod*. [5] V. *tantum*. [6] W¹.F¹. *honoratiorem*.
[7] V. *materiam honorabiliorem*. [8] F².Q.P.Ba. *suis*.
[9] So M¹.M².V.; Me., B.—Ba. *quae hic sunt*.
[10] So Me.V., T.G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba.; M¹.M²., B.W¹.F¹. *et*. [11] Me.V., B. *adimpleret*.
[12] So M¹.M².Me.V., B.; Vulg. and W¹.—Ba. *perfectus decore*. [13] B. *et in*.
[14] Me. *Dei Paradisi*. [15] B. *aliena*.
[16] V. omits *in ipsum...quod est Deus*. [17] M¹., B.W¹.F¹. omit *hoc*.
[18] So M¹.Me.V., B.; Vulg. and W¹.—Ba. *huiusmodi hominem*. [19] V. *corpus*.
[20] So M¹.Me.V., B.; Vulg. and W¹.—Ba. *quoniam raptus est in Paradisum*.
[21] So Vulg. and W¹.—Ba.; Me.V. *vidit arcana verba*; M¹., B. *vidit arcana Dei*.
[22] So Me., T.—Ba.; V. *per quam*; M¹., B.W¹.F¹. *per quem*.
[23] So G.F².O.Bo.P.Ba.; M¹.V., B. *ascensionem*; Me., W¹.F¹.T. *ascensio*.
[24] Me.V., B. *qui*. [25] Me.V., B. *ageretur*. [26] Me. *et hoc*.

(548) insinuatum[1] nobis in Matthaeo, ubi tres (549) discipuli ceciderunt in faciem suam, nihil (550) postea recitantes, quasi obliti. Et in (551) Ezechiele scribitur: 'Vidi et cecidi in (552) faciem meam.' Et ubi ista invidis non (553) sufficiant, legant Richardum[2] de sancto (554) Victore in libro *De Contemplatione*; legant (555) Bernardum in libro *De Consideratione*; (556) legant Augustinum in libro *De Quantitate* (557) *Animae*, et non invidebunt[3]. Si vero in (558) dispositionem elevationis tantae propter[4] (559) peccatum loquentis oblatrarent[5], legant (560) Danielem, ubi et Nabuchodonosor in-(561)-venient contra peccatores aliqua vidisse (562) divinitus, oblivionique mandasse. Nam (563) 'Qui oriri solem suum facit super bonos (564) et malos, et pluit super iustos et iniustos[6],' (565) aliquando misericorditer[7] ad conversio-(566)-nem[8], aliquando severe ad punitionem[9], (567) plus et minus, ut vult, gloriam suam (568) quantumcumque male viventibus mani-(569)-festat.

[§ 29.] (570) Vidit ergo, ut dicit, aliqua 'quae (571) referre nescit et nequit rediens.' Diligenter (572) quippe notandum est quod dicit, 'nescit (573) et nequit.' Nescit quia[10] oblitus, nequit (574) quia, si[11] recordatur[12] et contentum[13] tenet, (575) sermo tamen deficit. Multa namque per (576) intellectum videmus[14] quibus signa vocalia (577) desunt; quod satis Plato insinuat in suis (578) libris per assumptionem metaphorismo-(579)-rum, multa enim per lumen intellectuale (580) vidit quae[15] sermone proprio nequivit[16] ex-(581)-primere.

[§ 30.] (582) Postea dicit se dicturum illa quae (583) de regno coelesti retinere potuit; et hoc (584) dicit esse materiam sui operis; quae qualia (585) sint et quanta, in parte executiva patebit.

[§ 31.] (586) Deinde quum dicit: 'O bone Apollo,' (587) etc.[17], facit invocationem suam. Et dividi-(588)-tur ista pars in partes duas: in prima (589) invocando petit; in secunda suadet Apol-(590)-lini petitionem factam[18], remunerationem (591) quandam praenuntians[19]; et incipit se-(592)-cunda pars ibi: 'O divina virtus.' Prima (593) pars dividitur in partes duas: in prima (594) petit divinum auxilium; in

[1] So Me., T.G.F^2.O.Bo.P.Ba.; M^1.V., B.W^1.F^1. *insinuatur.*
[2] So M^1.Me.V., Bo.; B. *Ricchardum*; W^1.—Ba. *Ricardum.*
[3] Me. *et non invideant alias et non invidebunt.*
[4] So Me.V., T.G.F^2.O.Bo.P.Ba.; M^1., B.W^1.F^1. *per.*
[5] Me., T. *oblaterent.*
[6] B. *iniustus.*
[7] Me. *misericorditus.*
[8] V. omits *ad conversionem.*
[9] B. *punitatem.*
[10] Me. *qui.*
[11] V. *et si.*
[12] Me. *recordatus.*'
[13] V. *conceptum.*
[14] V. *videmus per intellectum.*
[15] B. *viditque, quae.*
[16] B.W^1.F^1. *nequit*; (Bo. erroneously gives W^1. as reading *nequivit*).
[17] Me., B. omit *etc.*
[18] B. *factum*; (Bo. erroneously gives *factu* as the reading of B.).
[19] Me. *pronuntians.*

secunda tan-(595)-git necessitatem suae petitionis, quod est (596) iustificare ipsam ibi[1]: 'Hucus-(597)-que alterum iugum Parnassi,' etc.[2]

[§ 32.] (598) Haec est sententia secundae partis (599) prologi in generali: in speciali vero non (600) exponam[3] ad praesens. Urget[4] enim me (601) rei familiaris[5] angustia, ut[6] haec et alia (602) utilia rei publicae derelinquere[7] oporteat. (603) Sed spero de Magnificentia vestra, ut[8] (604) alias[9] habeatur[10] procedendi ad utilem ex-(605)-positionem facultas.

[§ 33.] (606) De[11] parte vero[12] executiva, quae fuit (607) divisa iuxta[13] totum prologum, nec divi-(608)-dendo nec sententiando quidquam[14] dicetur (609) ad praesens; nisi hoc, quod ibi[15] proce-(610)-detur ascendendo de coelo in coelum, et (611) recitabitur[16] de[17] animabus beatis inventis (612) in[18] quolibet orbe, et quod[19] vera illa[20] beati-(613)-tudo in sentiendo[21] veritatis principium[22] (614) consistit; ut patet per Iohannem ibi: (615) 'Haec est vita aeterna[23], ut cognoscant (616) te Deum verum,' etc.; et per Boëtium in (617) tertio *De Consolatione* ibi: 'Te cernere (618) finis[24].' Inde est quod ad ostendendum[25] (619) gloriam beatitudinis in illis animabus, ab (620) eis, tamquam videntibus omnem verita-(621)-tem, multa quaerentur[26] quae magnam (622) habent utilitatem et delectationem. Et (623) quia, invento principio seu primo, vide-(624)-licet Deo, nihil est quod ulterius quae-(625)-ratur, quum sit Alpha et O[27], idest principium (626) et finis, ut visio Iohannis designat, in (627) ipso Deo terminatur tractatus, qui est (628) benedictus in saecula saeculorum[28].

[1] So M[1].Me.V.; B. *iustificare ipsam sibi*; W[1].—Ba. *iustificare ipsam, et incipit ibi.*
[2] Me., B.W[1].F[1]. omit *etc.* [3] B. *exponat.*
[4] Me. *urguit*; B. *viget.* [5] B. *famaliaris.* [6] V. *ita ut.*
[7] V. *omittere.* [8] M[1]., B. *ita ut.*
[9] So Me.V., T.G.F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba.; M[1]., B.W[1].F[1]. *aliter.* [10] M[1]. *habetur.*
[11] M[1].V., B.W[1]. *In.* [12] V. omits *vero.*
[13] So M[2].V., T.G.F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba.; M[1].Me., B.W[1].F[1]. *contra.*
[14] Me. *quocq̄.* [15] M[1].V., B. *ubi*; Me. *ubique.*
[16] So M[2]., W[1].—Ba.; M[1].Me.V., B. *recitatur*; (Bo. erroneously gives B. as reading *recitabitur*).
[17] So M[2]., W[1].—Ba.; M[1].Me.V., B. *in.* [18] V., B. *et.*
[19] So M[2]., W[1].—Ba.; M[1].V., B. *qua*; Me. *quia.* [20] Me.V. *illa vera.*
[21] So M[2]., T.G.F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba.; M[1].Me.V., B.W[1].F[1]. *sententiae*; (Bo. erroneously gives B. as reading *sententia*).
[22] So M[2]., T.G.F[2].O.Bo.P.Ba.; M[1].Me.V., B.W[1].F[1]. *principio.*
[23] So Vulg. and M[1].Me.V., B.; M[2]., W[1].—Ba. *vera beatitudo.*
[24] B. *Ibi te cernere finis.*
[25] V. *ostendendam.*
[26] So M[2].V., W[1].—Ba.; M[1].Me., B. *quaeruntur.*
[27] V., G. *Alpha et Omega*; M[1].M[2]. *A O*; Me. A *et* ω; B. A. ω; (Bo. erroneously gives B. as reading A O); W[1].F[1].T.F[2]. α *et* ω; Bo.P. A *et* Ω; O.Ba. *A et O*; (Bo. erroneously gives O. as reading A *et* Ω).
[28] M[1].M[2].V. add *Explicit Epistola Dantis.*

List of passages in which the present text (T.) differs from that of the third edition (1904) of the *Oxford Dante* (O³.).

	O³.	T.
Title, l. 1	*victorioso domino*	*victoriosissimo domino*[1]
l. 2	*de Scala*	*de la Scala*[2]
l. 2	*sacratissimi Caesarei*	*sacratissimi et Caesarei*
ll. 3–4	*civitate Vicentia*	*civitate Vicentiae*[3]
l. 5	*Dantes Aligherius*	*Dantes Alagherii*[4]
l. 6	*optat*	*orat*[5]
l. 7	*in perpetuum*	*perpetuum*[6]
§ 1, l. 2	*volitans*	*volitando*[7]
l. 5	*Hoc quidem*	*Huius quidem*
l. 11	*Heliconam*	*Helicona*[8]
l. 15	*dictorum suspicabar*	*dictorum ex parte suspicabar*
l. 17	*Quo factum est, ut*	*Quo factum, ut*
l. 19	*sic*[9] *ex visu*	*sed ex visu*
§ 2, ll. 26–8	*libeat, persaepius inspicienti patebit, praeeminentes inferioribus coniugari personis*	*libeat, illis persaepius inspicienti patebit, praeeminentes inferioribus coniugari personas*
l. 36	*videretur*	*videatur*
ll. 45–6	*arbitratur; sic circa unam vel alteram rem credulitate decipitur*	*arbitratur, sic circa mores*[10]*, et circa unam vel alteram rem vana credulitate decipitur*

[1] This is the reading of A. The superlative is more in keeping with Dante's style (cf. the titles of *Epist.* I, VI, VII, and of the three Battifolle letters), and further it rectifies the *cursus*, giving a form of *tardus*: (victorio)sissimo dómino (t^3).

[2] This, which is the form used by the author (writing in 1317) of the Latin commentary on the *Ecerinis* of Albertino Mussato ('Cani Grandi de la Scala'), by Pietro di Dante in his comment on *Par.* XVII, 46 ('illos de la Scala de Verona'), by Filippo Villani in his *Expositio* of the first canto of the *Inferno* (§ 3, 'ad dominum Canem de la Scala'), and by Benvenuto da Imola in his *Comentum* (on *Purg.* XVIII, 121: 'Mastinus de la Scala,' 'insula de la Scala,' 'Albertus de la Scala'; on *Par.* XVII, 70: 'Bartholomaeus de la Scala'), appears to have been the regular Latin form of the name; and no doubt *de la Scala* should be read in § 24, l. 3 of the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*. In the *Statuto dello Spedale di Santa Maria di Siena* the hospital is frequently referred to as 'Hospitale Sancte Marie de la Scala de Senis' (see *Statuti Senesi*, ed. L. Banchi, vol. III, pp. 128, 130, 132, 194, 212). Torraca, in his *Studi Danteschi* (p. 255 n.), quotes from Cipolla's *Compendio della Storia Politica di Verona* two documents (dated 1317, and 1323) in which Can Grande's name occurs as 'Canemgrandem de la Scala.'

[3] The medieval formula was not *civitas Vicentia, civitas Bononia, civitas Florentia*, etc. but *civitas Vicentiae, c. Bononiae, c. Florentiae*, etc., or (less commonly) *civitas Vicentina, c. Bononiensis, c. Florentina*. For examples of the former usage, see Del Lungo, *Dell' Esilio di Dante*, pp. 75, 80, 91, 92, etc. ('civitas Florentiae'); pp. 101, 141, 158 ('c. Pistorii'); p. 141 ('c. Aretii'); and *Statuti Senesi*, vol. II, pp. 279, 321, 328 ('c. Senarum'); for examples of the latter, see Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum*, Nos. 10872 ('c. Alexandrina'), 11020 ('c. Firmana'), 11059 ('c. Faventina'), 22426 ('c. Florentina,' 'c. Aretina,' 'c. Pistoriensis'); Del Lungo, *op. cit.*, p. 177 ('c. Ravennas'); *Statuti Senesi*, vol. III, pp. 158, 159 ('c. Senensis'); etc., etc.

[4] See *M.L.R.* VII, 12 n. 7.

[5] Cf. 'orat pacem,' in title of *Epist.* V.

[6] Cf. 'per tempora diuturna salutem et perpetuae caritatis ardorem,' in title of *Epist.* IV.

[7] This correction, which is the reading of A. and M., restores the *cursus*—(voli)tándo disséminat (*tardus*).

[8] This, the reading of A.M.Me.V., is assured by the 'Helicona petit' of Ovid, *Metam.* V, 254, to which Dante is here referring (as well as by *Aen.* VII, 641; X, 163).

[9] There is no MS. authority whatever for *sic*; A.M.Me.V. read *sed*; and $M^1.M^2$. *secundum* (the abbreviation of which in MSS. is sometimes confounded by copyists with that of *sed*).

[10] It is difficult to account for the presence of *mores* in M. and Me. (that is, in representatives of both of the MS. groups) unless the word was in the archetype from which they were derived.

	O[3].	T.
l. 46	*Eos autem*	*Nos autem*
l. 50	*tenentur : nam*	*tenemur. Nam*
l. 57	*praesumptuosum*	*praesumptum*[1]
§ 3, ll. 64–5	*beneficiis analogiam sequi*	*beneficiis plus quam semel analogiam sequi*
ll. 66–7	*saepe multumque conspexi*	*saepe multum conspexi*
ll. 68–9	*digniusque gratiusque*	*dignius gratiusque*
§ 4, l. 78	*simpliciter, inardescens*	*simpliciter inardescens*[2]
l. 80	*conferri videri potest*	*potest conferri videri*[3]
l. 83	*videbar*	*videar*[4]
l. 84	*gloriae*	*gratiae*
l. 85	*nostram*	*invidiam*[5]
§ 5, l. 91	*dixit*	*dicit*
ll. 101–2	*sicut relativa pater et filius*	*ut relativa, sicut pater et filius*
ll. 104–5	*Proptereaquodque esse*	*Propterea quod esse*
§ 6, l. 114	*Comoediae*	*totius Comoediae*
l. 128	*seorsim*	*seorsum*[6]
§ 7, ll. 135–6	*polysemum*	*polysemos*[7]
ll. 136–7	*alius sensus est*	*primus sensus est*
l. 145	*si literam*	*si ad literam*
l. 148	*si allegoriam*	*si ad allegoriam*
l. 150	*si moralem sensum*	*si ad moralem sensum*
l. 152	*si anagogicum*	*si ad anagogicum*
l. 155	*quamquam*	*quamvis*
§ 8, l. 175	*iustitiae praemianti aut punienti obnoxius*	*iustitiae praemiandi et puniendi obnoxius*[8]
§ 10, l. 189	*Alighérii*	*Alagherii*[9]
l. 191	*comus*	*comos*[10]
l. 199	*tragus*	*tragos*[11]
l. 213	*Poetica*	*Poetria*[12]

[1] This, the reading of five out of the six MSS., rectifies the *cursus*—ésse praesúmptum (*planus*).

[2] See Parodi in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* N.S. XIX, 273–4.

[3] The order of the words in the *textus receptus* violates the *cursus*, which is rectified—conférri vidéri (*planus*)—by the proposed transposition.

[4] This emendation, which follows a suggestion of Böhmer (*Dante-Jahrbuch*, I, 398), rectifies the *cursus*—vídear èxpressísse (*velox*). Parodi (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* N.S. XIX, 274) suggests *videor*.

[5] This emendation, also a suggestion of Böhmer (*loc. cit.*), which commends itself to Biagi and Parodi (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* N.S. XVI, 24 n.; XIX, 274), rectifies the *cursus*—invídiam pàrvipéndens (*velox*).

[6] This, not *seorsim* (which appears to have been unknown in classical Latin), is the form registered by Papias, Uguccione da Pisa, Giovanni da Genova, and the *Gemma Gemmarum*.

[7] This is the reading of one out of the three MSS.

[8] This is the reading of all four MSS., as well as of Guido da Pisa in his commentary (see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* N.S. VIII, 152); and it was evidently the reading of the text which Boccaccio utilised in his *Comento*, where he translates: 'come l'uomo per lo libero arbitrio meritando e dismeritando, è alla giustizia di guiderdonare e di punire obbligato' (ed. Milanesi, I, 82).

[9] This is the regular Latin form of Dante's surname (see *M.L.R.* VII, 12 n. 7).

[10] Apart from the fact that this is the reading of all four MSS., this form is assured by its occurrence in the passage of the *Magnae Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa from which Dante is here (without acknowledgment) quoting (see my *Dante Studies and Researches*, p. 103), as well as in the commentaries of Pietro di Dante (p. 9), the Anonimo Fiorentino (vol. I, p. 9), Villani (§ 10), and Buti (vol. II, p. 533).

[11] See previous note.

[12] This (which has the support of Me.) is the form in which Dante quotes the *Ars Poetica* in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (II, 4, l. 35), as well as in the *Vita Nuova* (§ 25, l. 92) and

	O³.	T.
l. 217	*Et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri*	*Et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri Telephus et Peleus etc.*
ll. 222–3	*Si ad modum*	*Ad modum*
l. 225	*communicant. Sunt et*	*communicant. Et sic patet quare comoedia dicitur. Sunt et*
l. 229	*Poetica*	*Poetria*[1]
§ 11, ll. 242–3	*praemianti aut punienti*	*praemiandi et puniendi*
l. 246	*praemianti*	*praemiandi*
§ 13, ll. 254–5	*Nam si titulus*	*Nam titulus*
ll. 256–7	*partis erit*	*partis est*
§ 14, l. 263	*videtur esse*	*esse videtur*[2]
§ 15, l. 264	*esse potest*	*esse posset*
§ 16, l. 271	*Genus vero philosophiae*	*Genus philosophiae*
l. 274	*incoeptum est*	*inventum est*
l. 275	*totum*	*totum et pars*
l. 275	*Nam etsi*	*Nam si et*
l. 280	*et tunc*	*et nunc*[3]
§ 17, ll. 284–5	*accedendum est; at illud praenunciandum, quod*	*accedendum est; circa quod praesciendum est quod*
ll. 287–8	*seu tertia*	*seu ista tertia*
§ 18, l. 293	*est sciendum*	*sciendum est*[4]
ll. 294–5	*exordium dici*	*dici exordium*[5]
ll. 298–9	*prooemium est principium in oratione*	*prooemium est in oratione*
l. 301	*praenunciatio*	*praeviatio*[6]
l. 310	*supra communem modum*	*contra communem modum*
§ 19, l. 326	*admirabilis; propterea*	*admirabilis, et propterea*
l. 329	*ea, quae ex iis quae vidit*	*ea quae qui vidit*
§ 20, l. 358	*Deus est. Et quum*	*Deus est, quum*[7]
l. 365	*vel quodcunque*	*non quodcunque*[8]

Convivio (II, 14, l. 88); it was the title by which the work was commonly quoted by medieval writers; cf., for instance, Uguccione da Pisa, and Giovanni da Genova (s.v. *poeta*): 'a poeta...*hec poetria -trie*, ars poetica'; and the commentaries of the *Ottimo* and Boccaccio on *Inf.* IV, 89; and of Pietro di Dante (p. 5), Villani (§ 10), Buti (vol. I, pp. 4, 487; vol. II, pp. 577, 814; vol. III, p. 13), and Benvenuto da Imola (vol. I, pp. 9, 79, 453; vol. II, p. 489; vol. V, pp. 133, 384).

[1] See previous note.

[2] The fact that the majority of the section endings, even in the didactic portion of the letter, conform to the *cursus*, makes it probable that Dante wrote (as in M¹.M².Me.) 'ésse vidétur' (*planus*), rather than 'videtur esse'; cf. § 6 'pártem oblátam' (*planus*); § 7 'síve divérsum' (*pl.*); § 11 'iustítiae pràemiándi' (*velox*); § 13 'dícitur Pàradísus' (*vel.*); § 16 'práctici àliquándo' (*vel.*); § 19 'lítteram àccedátur' (*vel.*); § 20 'quántum ad ésse' (*pl.*); § 21 'resplendére ubíque' (*pl.*); § 22 'quocúmque movéris' (*pl.*); § 26 'cóelum empíreum' (*tardus*); § 27 'Déi fuísti' (*pl.*); § 28 'vivéntibus mànifféstat' (*vel.*); § 29 'nequívit exprimere' (*tard.*); § 30 'executiva patébit' (*pl.*); § 32 'expositiónem facúltas' (*pl.*); § 33 'saecula saeculorum' (*vel.*).

[3] This, the reading of all four MSS., is confirmed by a reference to the *Antiqua Translatio* of the *Metaphysics*, from which Dante is here quoting ('ad aliquid et nunc speculantur practici,' which is the form in which the passage is quoted by Guido da Pisa in his commentary—see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* N.S. VIII, 154).

[4] This (the reading of V.) gives a *cursus* ending—'príma sciéndum est' (*tardus*) (see above, n. 2).

[5] This (the reading of M².V.) gives a *cursus* ending—'dici exórdium' (*tardus*) (see previous note).

[6] The MS. authority (M¹.M². *praeiuratio*; V. *deuiatio*) points to *praeviatio* as the true reading as against the 'facilior lectio' *praenunciatio* of Me.

[7] See V. Biagi in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* N.S. XVI, 35.

[8] This is the reading of all four MSS.—See V. Biagi, *loc. cit.*

	O[3].	T.
l. 367	*ab aliquo habet*	*ab aliquo*
ll. 371–3	*Metaphysicorum. Quod quum sit impossibile*[1], *erit devenire*	*Metaphysicorum. Et sic erit devenire*
l. 376	*recepit*	*recipit*
l. 378	*respuentis radium*	*repercutientis radium*[2]
§ 21, l. 387	*per se necesse, quod*	*per se necesse esse, quod*
l. 388	*Quod causatum est, vel a natura est, vel*	*Quia causatum est vel a natura, vel*[3]
ll. 395–6	*si essentia sit intellectiva, virtus tota est unius*	*si essentia intellectiva, est tota et unius*[4]
§ 22, l. 412	*scientia*	*scientius*[5]
§ 23, ll. 433–5	*videmus aliquid in excellentiori gradu esse, aliquid vero in inferiori*	*videmus in aliquo excellentiori gradu essentiam aliquam, aliquam vero in inferiori*
§ 26, ll. 476–7	*et quia pars quaelibet eius*	*et quia sui pars quaelibet*
l. 480	*ut est*	*et est*
l. 487	*eo quod*	*ita quod*
l. 494	*eo quod*	*ita quod*
l. 499	*itaque*	*ita quod*
ll. 499–500	*illi...illi*	*sibi...sibi*
l. 504	*dicerem...risibilis*	*diceremus...risibile*[6]
§ 27, l. 510	*consonanter*	*consequenter*
l. 513	*suis inferioribus*	*istis inferioribus*
ll. 514–16	*ab his quae hic sunt*	*ab his quae hic*[7]
l. 522	*perfectus decore*	*perfectione decorus*[8]
§ 28, ll. 540–3	*Scio huiusmodi hominem (sive in corpore, sive extra corpus, nescio; Deus scit), quoniam raptus est in Paradisum, et audivit arcana verba*	*Scio hominem (sive in corpore, sive extra corpus, nescio, Deus scit) raptum usque ad tertium coelum, et audivit arcana verba*[9]

[1] There is no MS. authority for the words *Quod quum sit impossibile*, which are an interpolation of Giuliani.

[2] The reading of all four MSS. is *respicientis*, for which Fraticelli substituted *respuentis*. I have little doubt that *repercutientis* (in MSS. *reꝑcutiētis*) is the right reading; Dante frequently uses *ripercuotere* of reflected light; cf. *Conv.* II, 14, l. 75; 15, l. 57; III, 14, ll. 36, 48; IV, 20, l. 78; cf. also Virg. *Aen.* VIII, 23: 'lumen repercussum'; and Ovid, *Metam.* II, 110: 'repercusso Phoebo.' The passage in *Conv.* III, 14, ll. 35–7, is especially to the point, as Dante is there dealing with the same question as here, viz. of the transmission of the divine influence to the celestial Intelligences, and by them to the inferior bodies: 'È da sapere che 'l primo Agente, cioè Dio, pinge la sua virtù in cose per modo di diritto raggio, e in cose per modo di splendore riverberato. Onde nelle Intelligenze raggia la divina luce senza mezzo, nell' altre si ripercuote da queste Intelligenze prima illuminate.'

[3] See V. Biagi, *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* N.S. XVI, 24.

[4] See V. Biagi, *loc. cit.*; there is no MS. authority for the interpolated *virtus* in O., which is due to Giuliani.

[5] See V. Biagi, *loc. cit.*

[6] See *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* N.S. XVI, 25. The MS. authority is in favour of the neuter (see p. 294, n. 24).

[7] This, the reading of M[1].M[2].V., is confirmed by the text of the *Antiqua Translatio* of the *De Coelo* from which Dante is here quoting: '...tanto honorabiliorem habens naturam, quanto quidem plus elongatum est ab his quae hic.'

[8] This, the reading of all four MSS., has been altered by the editors so as to make the quotation conform to the text of the Vulgate as we have it.

[9] Here again the text of the Vulgate has been substituted for the MS. reading by the editors. If the MS. reading (with the correction of *audivit* for *vidit*) represents what Dante wrote, he must have been quoting from memory, several of the phrases of the original being transposed in the quotation; the actual Vulgate text of 2 *Cor.* xii, 2—4, is: 'Scio hominem in Cristo ante annos quatuordecim (sive in corpore nescio, sive extra corpus nescio, Deus

	O^3.	T.
§ 28, l. 553	*Ricardum*	*Richardum*
§ 31, l. 596	*iustificare ipsam; et incipit ibi:*	*iustificare ipsam ibi:*
§ 33, l. 615	*Haec est vera beatitudo*	*Haec est vita aeterna*[1]
l. 625	*A et O*	*Alpha et O*[2]

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.
July, 1917.

*** Owing to the length of this letter the translation is omitted from the present article.

scit), raptum huiusmodi usque ad tertium coelum. Et scio huiusmodi hominem (sive in corpore, sive extra corpus, nescio, Deus scit), quoniam raptus est in paradisum: et audivit arcana verba, quae non licet homini loqui.'

[1] This is the reading of the Vulgate and of the three MSS. M[1].Me. and V.

[2] Dante, though he was probably ignorant of the Greek characters, certainly was acquainted with the name *alpha*, as is proved by *Par.* xxvi. 17; but there is no evidence that he was acquainted with the word *omega*, though (if the editors are to be trusted) it occurs in some of the early commentaries on the *Commedia* (*e.g.* in Jacopo della Lana, Ottimo Comento, Pietro di Dante, Benvenuto da Imola, Buti, and Anonimo Fiorentino). Of three MSS. of the Vulgate consulted in the Bodleian two (viz. *Laud Lat.* 8, of Cent. xii; and *Laud Lat.* 9, of Cent. xiii) have 'alpha et ω' in *Rev.* i, 8; xxi, 6; xxii, 13; while the third (*Laud Lat.* 10, of Cent. xiii) has 'α et ω.' The word was unknown to Evrard de Béthune, who in the *Graecismus* (written in 1124) registers not *omicron* and *omega*, but *otomicron* and *otomega* (i.e. ὁ τὸ μικρόν and ὁ τὸ μέγα): 'Quodque *micros* breve sit comprobat *otomicron*' (viii, 211); 'Quartaque vocalis *oto* sit, fit ab hoc *otomega*' (viii, 232). Similarly Giovanni da Genova in the *Catholicon* says (s.v. *Otomega*): '*Micros* interpretatur brevis sive minor. Et componitur cum *oto* quod est apud grecos nomen istius elementi *o*; et dicitur *otomicron*, quasi minor *o*, quo nomine vocant hoc elementum *o* quum breviatur, et figuram illius representativam sic factam *o*; quum vero producitur vocant illud elementum, et illius representativam figuram sic factam *ω*, *otomega*, quasi *o* longa, ab *oto* quod est *o*, et *mega* vel *megalon* quod est longum.' It is noticeable that under *Alpha* Giovanni da Genova, in quoting *Rev.* i, 8, writes 'Ego sum alpha et o, principium et finis'; and that Dante himself in *Par.* xxvi, 17, writes not 'alfa ed omega,' but 'alfa ed O.'

A THEORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE.

II.

In an earlier article (*Modern Language Review*, XII. 1) the view was presented that in seeking to determine the principles which govern the development of language it is essential to look rather to the inner spirit of language than to the outer grammatical form; to interpret language as an instrument for the rendering of living and changing thought rather than as a mere conglomeration of sounds, the unconscious and mechanical changes of which are potent to transform the whole language. We propose in this second article to develop that theory and whilst pointing out its direct bearing on *significant* change in language, or change in meaning, at the same time to attempt to show that mere sound-change may also be explained in this way.

Our original thesis was that all change in language which is not significant change,—by which we mean any change which is not sound-change—is in its origin due to a conscious and creative effort of the mind, and differs in this most important respect from sound-change, which is always unconscious and unintentional. But although we hold that this thesis as it stands is justified, yet it may be well before proceeding to examine the evidence to amplify to some extent some of its terms.

In the first place, then, when we speak of the individual mind we mean a mind which is the product of all the forces in the civilisation which have gone to the forming of that mind. We must assume that these forces are everywhere active, as indeed they are. Thus if we take a recent addition to the English language, the word 'airship,' it is evident that such a word could never have been coined in the absence of the particular type of civilisation of which it is a product. And not only that. It could not have been coined without the existence of an even earlier type of civilisation which had produced ships. But not only for the actual coinage of the word must we assume such antecedent conditions, but also for its perpetuation. In other words, the particular civilisation that has moulded the creative mind which

coins the word 'airship' must also have created a mental atmosphere in the rest of the community which is capable of absorbing that word into its ordinary vocabulary. Where this mental—or moral or emotional—sympathy does not exist between the parent and the foster parents of a linguistic innovation it cannot possibly survive. One does not need to point to those innumerable experimental innovations made by poets and others, which have not survived, as evidence of this fact.

In the second place, when we speak of a conscious and deliberate effort of the mind we mean conscious and deliberate only in the sense that the speaker or writer is consciously and deliberately seeking to interpret his thoughts in words. We do not mean that he is necessarily seeking to add something new to the language which he speaks, though without doubt this is very often the case. It very often happens, indeed, that a new meaning or a new construction arises from a misapprehension which is so general that that meaning or that construction passes into general use. All that is consciously and deliberately creative in such a case is the original desire to translate from thought into words. The innovation may be the result of ignorance, but it is none the less the product of an (ignorant) mind seeking expression, and that ignorance is shared by others of the community and is in its turn the result of the various forces at work in that community. The motives for such changes may be innumerable, but so long as a sentence expresses a thought each part of the sentence and the whole of it is the result of a conscious and deliberate act of the mind and the will.

Subject to these interpretations our thesis may therefore be restated in these terms: every significant change in language is the result of a conscious and deliberate effort in the mind of the speaker accompanied by a state of mind in the rest of the community sufficiently resembling the state of mind which produced that change to be able to understand, appraise and adopt it. Or, differently expressed, every innovation represents a focussing in the mind of an individual of the various forces of the society in which he lives and a similar focussing in the minds of those members of the community who perpetuate that innovation.

Significant change in language occurs in one or more of the following ways:

(1) by the change of grammatical function in words, as where a noun is used as a verb, an adverb as a preposition, etc.;

(2) by the coinage of new words, either by derivation, by composition, or by borrowing from another language;

(3) by the adaptation of existing material, as where words change their meaning;

(4) by change of word order or by other syntactic change;

(5) by stress or tone.

That all these changes, with the possible exception of the last, are immediately due to the operation of the laws of thought will appear best, perhaps by a consideration of what happens when we actually make use of language. We may best observe the processes in the written language, because in the written language there is a stronger obligation for clearness and a more marked struggle between the mind and its instrument, language. There is the further advantage that one can also trace the innovations of the written language to their source and not infrequently divine the psychology which underlies them.

A writer who seeks to give expression to his thought must first analyse that thought and have it clear in his own mind before he can express it in words. The process is notoriously difficult. Some thoughts readily crystallise into a particular form of expression in which the meanings attaching to words or combinations of words are the meanings which ordinarily attach to them. In such cases the linguistic material at the disposal of the mind is sufficient, and there is no occasion for any innovation. Other thoughts, on the contrary, will not yield themselves captive to any available form of words and here one of two things may happen: the writer will sacrifice some nuance of his thought or change its content so that he may more easily express it with the material at his disposal; or he will keep his thought intact and create the instrument for the expression of it. It is in this last case that a real addition is made to the material of language and that the creative faculty—using the word creative in a narrower sense—is most clearly seen at work. The innovation which arises in this way may be of any one of the first four kinds mentioned above. The literature of every people is full of examples of such changes, some of which have survived and some of which have not.

It would seem almost superfluous to cite examples, but one or two may not be out of place. Shakespeare's 'but me no buts' is a supreme example of thought triumphant over grammatical form and grammatical categories, and does not stand alone in this respect. Or again, to take an example from Modern English, Mr C. E. Montague, in describing the passage of a river through an industrial town, winding between high warehouses, says of it that it flowed between a hundred feet of 'steep.' What the pressure of thought was which urged this use of an

adjective as a noun we do not know, but at least there cannot be any doubt that in thus flying in the face of grammatical orthodoxy the writer was acting deliberately and seeking to render that which he thought it was impossible to render without such an innovation. Whether the motive for such a construction was economy or brevity of expression, or whether the writer was of opinion that it conjured up vision better than a paraphrase would have done we need not inquire. What is beyond doubt is that here as in Shakespeare the innovation is deliberate, conscious and creative.

The second class of significant change in language is that of newly coined words. Here the operation of the laws of thought is seen just as clearly as in the transference of function just discussed. We may take examples both from the older and from the more recent periods of English. The earliest Christian ministers in England were confronted with the necessity of explaining to the pagan English the forms and ceremonies of the Christian religion, and one of these was the ceremony of baptism. How were they to name it to a people entirely ignorant of Latin? They might either think of the physical act of the ceremony or they might think of its symbolical significance. From the survival of the two words used in Old English, *fulwian* and *dyppan*, we may perhaps be justified in supposing that those ministers, true to the mental habits of their vocation, though with no very profound feeling for the mentality of the English, gave expression to the symbolical significance of the ceremony in the word *fulwian*, while the people, much impressed by the act of immersion, promptly called it *dyppan*. But in both cases the psychology, the temperament and the education of the coiners of these two words were clearly at work. Exactly the same is true of the coining of words by composition or by derivation. Every compound is the very obvious result of a deliberate selection of the connotations of one word in order to link them with the connotations of another. So much may be seen on the face of compounds. But frequently they reveal something more than is thus openly displayed. If we return to a consideration of the word 'airship' and compare it with the French word 'dirigible' this will become more clear. Is it mere accident, the operation of blind chance, which makes the English call this new thing an 'airship' and the French a 'dirigible'? Or are we not justified in seeing in these two words something of national psychology. It is certainly in full accord with the English temperament that the English name is based upon an observation of the material external properties of the thing: that it is, like a ship, driven by a

screw, steered by a rudder, and floats. It is true that this word may be merely a translation of the German (it is not quoted in the *Oxford Dictionary*, 1888), but its immediate acclimatisation may nevertheless be due to the causes advanced. Is it not, again, peculiarly characteristic of the French word that it seizes with compelling logic on the function of the thing, and proclaims the successful solution of a long standing problem ?

Similarly in the case of all compounds and derivatives there is actively at work a creative mind comparing one thing with another with reference to certain properties or qualities. A word like 'henhouse' is almost as much the expression of clear thought as is the sentence: this is a kind of house for hens to live in. Hence if, as is commonly supposed, grammatical inflections are merely worn down independent words, it would appear that the highly inflected languages such as Sanskrit owe the development even of their inflections to such an active and conscious mental effort as we have been describing, and the same must be true of the agglutinative languages. It may be permitted to emphasise this point because those who would attribute the changes of grammatical forms and categories to sound change must find themselves in difficulty with regard to the development of inflectional languages.

The third class of significant change referred to above is that which is due to the change of meaning of existing words. Here not less clearly than in the two preceding cases the change is due exclusively to the operations of the mind. Semasiologists have established various kinds of change in the meaning of words, which they call 'specialisation,' 'radiation,' 'restriction,' 'expansion,' etc. But however many the types of change, there is one feature common to them all. Every change of meaning in words is possible only owing to the fact that every name of a thing or of a relation, be it concrete or abstract, has one or more connotations and that in so far as words are never used alone (except in exclamations and commands) it is always the context which determines which of these meanings or connotations is implied in a particular case. The meaning of a word depends, then, upon its function in a completed thought. It is here, in fact, more than anywhere else that the genius of a language displays itself, for all the fineness and subtlety of expression of which a language is capable, all its qualities of strength and force, of clearness and precision, are mirrored here. It is because words have so many connotations and because any one of these may associate with any of the connotations of any other word that there is

such an infinite possibility of association of ideas and the possibility of infinite growth and infinite adaptability to new needs. The greatest writers, the greatest creators of language, will always be, and have always been, those who know how to make use of these wonderful affinities of words for the expression of their thoughts. Other means they have, as we have seen, but none so potent as this one. And its exercise is entirely a function of the mind, the imagination and the emotions.

The fourth class of significant change is that which is due to a change of word order, or syntactic change, and in this case the operation of mind in causing change is perhaps not so easy to indicate. Word order is either free or fixed according as a language is analytic or inflectional in structure. By the fact of the order being free not much significant meaning can attach to it. But even here we note a tendency to utilise word order to convey meaning. In Latin *Romulus condidit Romam* and *Romam Romulus condidit*, though grammatically equivalent, nevertheless do not mean quite the same thing, there is a difference of emphasis between the two. Where on the other hand word order has become fixed, word order may be utilised to a greater extent to convey meaning, if only on the broad principle that the unusual order is striking and therefore emphatic. The so-called balanced and periodic sentences, again, make use of word order for stylistic purposes. But the fixing of the word order is primarily due to the development of the analytic mode of expression with the consequent loss of inflections; and if we are to discover any special operations of the mind in the determination of word order they must be sought in the general tendencies of an analytic language. These we will leave until we have examined certain other syntactical changes.

If one wished to demonstrate the close relation between the syntax of a language and the mental development of the people which speaks it, one could scarcely do so better than by a comparison of the older Germanic languages and Latin. In comparison with the developed syntax of Latin, able to show clearly and precisely the various kinds of coordination and subordination, the syntax of Old English is singularly defective. Subordinating conjunctions especially are rare and the coordinating conjunctions have many functions, so that it is not always clear what kind of coordination is intended. On the whole one gathers the impression that the syntax is framed only for elementary needs and not at all for the delicate shades of abstract thought or complicated reasoning. What in a more developed tongue would be a sub-

ordinate clause is there principal, and principal clauses are heaped up by means of the conjunction *and*, just as they are in the first essays of a schoolboy who has not yet learnt to analyse his thoughts. It is a syntax sufficient, no doubt, for daily needs, and indeed bears all the marks of being the syntax of the spoken language. But it was not until writers came into contact with Latin prose and had grown accustomed to the exposition of abstract thought that the finer shades of expression could be adequately rendered.

We may now proceed to enquire in what way changes of syntax are due to an operation of the mind. In a highly inflected language such as Sanskrit the syntactical concords are shown clearly by the inflections, and the word order is free. There is no special class of prepositions, and where the eight cases of the substantive are not sufficient adverbs are employed, but they still preserve their adverbial function. Nor is there any special class of conjunctions. But by degrees the impulse towards analysis led to the development of prepositions and conjunctions from adverbs in order that the relation between one noun and another or between one sentence and another might be more clearly indicated. The eight cases sufficed to show that a thing was *in, of, on, at*, but they could not express *round, through, across*. But once it was found necessary to give expression to these relations adverbs were used to supplement the cases, and these adverbs became prepositions. In exactly the same way conjunctions developed. They were the necessary consequence of the development of thought. But when these prepositions had developed, the need for the inflections to indicate syntactic concords disappeared. We find, in consequence, through the history of Greek, Latin and the Germanic languages a gradual disappearance of inflections of case. In some languages the development has gone further than in others, but there are traces of it everywhere. The eight cases of Sanskrit are represented by five in Old English, with traces of a sixth. But they are no longer distinct, and the inflections of the adjectives, for the same reasons, have suffered still more. It is not true to say that the prepositions developed as a consequence of the loss of inflections, for they are found whilst the inflections were still intact; they are found in Greek; they become more and more common in Latin, and they are frequent in Old English long before the inflections had disappeared. In Old English, as in Modern German, the adverbial function of prepositions is still visible, as in *he him spræc to*, which is the equivalent of *he him tospræc*. But from the point of view of the present discussion what is of importance is that

the development of these prepositions—and conjunctions—was the result of certain tendencies of thought. The consequence was the loss of inflections, seen in the Romance languages as well as in English. After the loss of inflections, however, the only means of showing concord, or even of showing the word with which a preposition is to be constructed, is word order.

It would appear, then, that what was originally a mental process of analysis has as its immediate consequences (1) the loss of inflections, (2) the fixing of the word order and the consequent syntactic modifications, and (3) possibly, the disappearance of grammatical gender, though this point will be discussed later. It is frequently said that the order of these changes was just the reverse. But this is demonstrably not the case, for in Old English prepositions were used whilst the inflections were still fully preserved. There is, too, a second objection to this theory which seems to have been overlooked. The theory which attributes these changes to the loss of inflections attributes the loss of inflections to gradual and unconscious change of the sounds of which the inflections are composed. But if we are to believe that this purely unconscious change of the sounds of inflections, and their ultimate disappearance, is a cause of the other changes, how is it that the loss of these inflections in final unstressed syllables is restricted to inflections? If we compare two Old English words such as *heofon* and *dagum* with their Modern English equivalents *heaven* and *day(s)*, how comes it that in one case the uninflected syllable is lost entirely and in the other it is not lost? If the process of change by which the syllable *-um* is lost in *dagum* is really quite unconscious and not in any way affected by other causes, why is the last syllable of *heofon* not similarly lost? And why are the final unstressed syllables of words like *mægden, often, ǣfen, lengre, ofen, tā̆cen, wǣpen, byrðen,* and many more not similarly lost. There is nothing in the phonetic condition of these words to distinguish them from words like *dagum, hierdon, guman, godra,* etc., in which the last syllable is an inflection. We are confronted with a choice between two explanations. Either the weakening and loss of the sounds of the final unstressed syllable *was* unconscious and not dependent on any ulterior cause, in which case it should apply to all words in which the identical conditions are present. Or the weakening only took place in unstressed final inflectional syllables, in which case we must assume either that the change was conscious—since there is a distinction made between final inflectional and non-inflectional syllables—or if it was unconscious it must have had some

particular cause. The proper explanation is no doubt that only final inflectional syllables were thus weakened and lost because they were superfluous, their place having been taken by prepositions in the case of nominal inflections, and by pronouns in the case of verbal inflections. In other words the change does not occur.

Here then is a case in which a definite sound change may with good reason be attributed to an antecedent operation of the mind. But the above example does not stand alone. The same process may be observed in the development of the Romance languages and elsewhere. Another example was suggested above: that of the disappearance of natural gender. Unfortunately there is not complete agreement as to the origin of grammatical gender, but whatever its origin, there can be no doubt that it originally corresponded to some mental classification, for it would be quite unique in language to find such an elaborate distinction as that of gender with its numerous syntactic consequences, without some important and significant reason. From our present point of view what is of supreme interest is that the modern languages, with the exception of English, have entirely lost all consciousness of what that original reason was. Many views have been held as to what the original cause was. It has been thought that gender was based upon personification; that it represents a primitive conception of relative values, or of comparative strength. We may safely assume that it was based upon some purely psychological distinction. But whatever its origin, the type of mind which created it and the type of civilisation whose requirements it satisfied have passed away, and in the modern languages of Europe no trace of that original mentality is preserved. This may be easily shown. If one says 'le main' to the Frenchman, 'das Hand' to the German, or 'handet' to the Swede, the false gender does not excite opposition on the ground that it suggests a wrong meaning, but only on the ground that it offends the sense of what is correct. The reaction is the same as when one says in English 'I is.' But how different would be the reaction in English if anybody were to say, 'Do you remember the house we saw yesterday? She will be sold by auction.' Here the mind is shocked not only by the violation of a rule of grammar, as in 'I is,' but also by the fact that a false meaning is suggested, because gender in English has meaning as well as grammatical form. In other languages the sense of gender is lost, though the conservatism of language has preserved its forms.

It is possible to account for the development of natural gender in English on the principles which have been developed above, because

natural gender represents an entirely new and transparently clear mental classification of things. This unique phenomenon may be explained in two ways. We may assume that in Old English the sense of gender was dead, though its forms remained, just as in modern German, and that after inflections had been lost, for the reasons already advanced, the only forms remaining by which it was possible to indicate gender were the pronouns *he, she* and *it*. At this stage *he* and *she* were restricted in meaning to male and female and all other considerations of gender abandoned. Or, as an alternative, we might assume that already in the Old English period there was a tendency to distinguish between living and lifeless things, and between male and female in the former class. There is, in fact, a good deal of evidence in support of this latter view, for we find that already in O.E. words like *wīf*, originally neuters, are used as feminines, especially in the relative or personal pronoun with which they are constructed. In the same way the nouns which have fluctuating gender in Old English are the names of lifeless things originally masculine or feminine which take neuter as their second gender.

It is commonly held that the cause of the development of natural gender in English was the loss of inflections in nouns and the articles, producing a confusion which somehow or other had to be cleared up. But here, as in the case of the prepositions, the first signs of the change are already visible long before any of the inflections had been lost or were even weakened. Nor is there any compelling reason why English should not have preserved its old grammatical gender if it wished to do so. We might still use the pronoun *she* in reference to *hand*, or *it* in reference to *wife*, if we were so minded, without any fear of the alleged confusion. But we are not so minded and probably for that reason we have developed natural gender.

The fifth class of significant change which we mentioned above was that which is due to change of accent. What the exact and precise relation of accent to meaning and thought is we do not as yet know, but that there is a very intimate connection can be easily demonstrated by a simple experiment. If we read aloud a passage of prose or verse without any accent, in a perfectly even monotone, without raising or lowering the voice on any sound or syllable or word, and in a perfectly uniform tempo, such a passage would be unintelligible. In fact the spoken language is meaningless if deprived of rhythm. That rhythm, tone and stress are intimately associated with the mental and emotional state of the speaker is beyond all doubt; the difference of

rhythm between a marching song and an elegy is sufficient proof of it. So too we can tell by tone whether a speaker is grave or gay, whether he is old or young, fresh or tired. Frequently the only difference between a question and an affirmation is a difference of tone, and approval or disapproval may be indicated by that means alone. In Danish again and elsewhere, the very meaning of a word may depend exclusively upon the tone with which it is pronounced. Tone, stress and rhythm, then, are clearly dependent on meaning or thought or emotion. Tone and stress, on the other hand, are of the very greatest importance in their effects upon sound change, so that it is not without reason that we emphasise here the fact that they have their origin also in the mind.

We have now surveyed the various kinds of change to which language is subject on the side of meaning, and it has appeared that in all cases the direct cause of such change is the operation of the mind, whether in the origination of a change in the mind of a particular speaker or in the adoption and perpetuation in the sympathetic minds of the rest of the community. These five classes of change on the side of meaning are the essential ones everywhere visible. They are the effects of the normal vital forces operating in the development of language. There are indeed changes in meaning of other kinds, but they are not essential to the development of language, in so far as language may very well develop without them. Thus, for example, a language may be enriched by borrowings from a foreign language, or it may enter into an even closer union with other languages, as where a people is bilingual or adopts the language of a conqueror. But such developments are accidental and not essential. If all such influences were rigidly excluded a language would still develop on the lines already indicated.

When we pass to the changes in language which are not direct and immediate effects of mental processes the connection between such processes and such changes is not so obvious. In passing from changes which affect the meaning of words or sentences to changes which affect only their form and their sounds we pass from changes which are conscious to changes which are unconscious.

Some sound changes, as we have seen, are the immediate effects of the processes of thought. Such are the loss of inflections and, not improbably, the loss of grammatical gender and the inflections which mark it. Other changes again are the immediate effect of the position of the accent, and here too the difference of development of stressed

and unstressed sounds may be directly attributed to the mental processes. But others can only indirectly be attributed to them and it is to these that we must now turn our attention.

The usual explanation of the cause of sound change is this. The child when learning to speak hears a sound in a particular word and retains a memory picture in the mind of the acoustic qualities of that sound. Later when it is able to use its organs of speech it endeavours to imitate that sound. It makes many such efforts, and is frequently corrected, until at last it is able to produce the sound correctly. When this stage has been reached the child has a second memory picture, a memory of the precise movements of the organs of speech which are necessary to the production of a given sound. In this way all words and all the sounds of words are learnt, so that they may be repeated at will. But in this process of hearing, imitating and correcting there is room for a good deal of inaccuracy in the transmission of sounds from parent to child. The child may not hear accurately, and the parent when correcting may not hear accurately either. Moreover it is always possible that the imitation of the child differs so little from the sound which it imitates that to an ordinary ear the difference is not appreciable. In other words, the possible varieties of the vowel sound between, say, *a* and *æ* are so numerous and merge so finely one into another that it is not possible to say where one sound begins and another ends. For the purpose of our further argument it may be helpful to represent this process by a diagram:

u i
o e
ɔ æ
a

The stages between *a* and *æ* may be represented by *a*1, *a*2, *a*3, *a*4, *a*5, *a*6, etc. A child in imitating the sound *a* of the parent may the first time produce the sound *a*6. It will be corrected and at a second attempt produce perhaps the sound *a*4. This is still felt to be wrong and is again corrected. The next effort may yield the sound *a*1 which is so near *a* that the difference cannot be heard by the parent and therefore the sound *a*1 becomes the normal *a* sound of that child, the sound which it introduces into every word containing that sound which it may subsequently learn. Thus the original sound *a* by an unconscious process has started on the road to *æ*. The next generation may advance it still further in the same direction, or may divert it in some other direction. But the change is rendered possible by the defective

hearing of parent and child. This explanation of the method of sound change is generally accepted and seems to be unobjectionable as an account of the process, but it gives us no help whatever in determining the real cause of sound change. What we really want to discover is not the conditions under which a sound may conceivably travel from *a* in the direction of *æ* through the stages of *a* 1, *a* 2, *a* 3, etc., but why it travels in that direction at all. Why, for example, does it not travel in the direction of *o*, or in any other direction? Until we know that, we have not discovered the cause of sound change.

The problem may be best approached from the standpoint of phonetics and sound laws. The phonetician and the philologist distinguish between those sound changes which are spontaneous and unconditional, and those which are combinatory or conditional upon the presence of other sounds. The combinatory sound changes are generally agreed to be due to an economy of effort which manifests itself in the organs of speech taking up a position intermediate between the two sounds which are concerned in any combinatory change. In *i*-mutation the sounds between the *i* and the mutated vowel are said to be palatalised: that is to say, the intermediate sounds tend to be pronounced with a tongue position which approximates to that of the *i* and hence the tongue position of the mutated vowel is raised also. In other cases, as in Breaking in Old English, a glide between two sounds is developed to such an extent that it becomes an independent sound. And similarly with other combinatory sound changes the change would appear to be due to some sort of working compromise between the articulations of the various sounds concerned. The same forces are at work in all sound changes which come under the head of assimilation, whether partial or total, progressive or regressive.

But when we pass from the combinatory sound changes to the isolative changes current theory would have us believe that these are unaffected by neighbouring sounds; that they are spontaneous and for that reason are dissociated from the combinatory sound changes. But this, surely, is a mere blinking of the facts. How is it possible to say that in the change from *cuning-* to *cyning-* the *i* of *-ing* has influenced the *u*, but in the change from *ham* to *home* the vowel has developed independently of the neighbouring sounds? It so happens that we are able to discover the particular influence at work in *cyning*, but are we justified on that account in denying the possibility of a similar, though undiscovered, influence in the case of *ham* and *home*? In fact, as every phonetician knows, every single sound in a word varies somewhat in

quality according to the sounds which are its neighbours, only the variation is not so great, nor so marked as in the changes usually called combinatory.

But when we examine carefully the pronunciation of such a word as *clean* or *glean* in English, is it not a fact that the pronunciation of the *c* and the *g* is very powerfully influenced by the following *l*, so powerfully indeed that it is extremely difficult to pronounce a *c* or a *g* under these conditions? the actual sound produced is as near to a *t* or a *d* as it is to a *c* or a *g*. And yet there is no sound law which states that a velar explosive when followed by *l* tends to become, in English, a dental explosive. The fact is that the so-called combinatory sound changes are purely empirical: they consist of just those changes which are most marked in their operation and have therefore been classified. Even those who formulate the laws concerning them would not deny that in the isolative changes the phonetic context does exert an influence, though since in practice they cannot define it, they prefer—and rightly so for all practical purposes—to lump such changes together under the general name of isolative changes.

But the fact that even in isolative changes sounds may be, and are, influenced by neighbouring sounds is of the utmost importance to the enquiry upon which we are now engaged, for once it is admitted that the distinction between combinatory and isolative sound changes is merely one of practical convenience, and not based upon any essential difference, then it follows that every sound change is based upon the phonetic context: in other words, it is not the sound which changes but the whole word in which a particular sound occurs. In fact nobody denies the influence of contiguous sounds in the operation of isolative changes, and the chief support of the theory that there are no exceptions to sound laws is that apparent exceptions are due to varying conditions, such as phonetic context, which have not been discovered.

Every sound change is, then, a word change. Or, looked at from a different point of view, every sound change is determined by the word in which it occurs; by the quality of the stress which falls upon that word and by the nature of the surrounding sounds. The importance of this fact is supreme. Suppose, for the sake of discussion, that a child in learning to speak, learns the pronunciation of the sound *l* in a word like *clean*; suppose further that of the words in which it hears the sound *l* 50 contain the combination *cl-* + palatal vowel. In such a case the tendency would be for the sound *c* to gravitate towards *t*, and similarly for *g* to gravitate towards *d*. Or let us suppose, again for the

sake of discussion, that in the words in which a child heard the sound *l*, 5 °/₀ contained the combination *cl-* and the other 95°/₀ contained various combinations (in none of which the neighbouring consonant affected the pronunciation of the *l* as strongly as in the combination *cl-*), but the words with the combination *cl-* were words in very common use. Let us suppose that in ordinary life the child uses these words in *cl-* 5 or 10 times as often as it uses the words with any other combination. Then the result would be:

words in *cl-* = 5 °/₀ used 10 times as often (5 × 10) = 50 °/₀.

That is to say, words in which the pronunciation of *c* tends towards *t* considerably outnumber the words in which *c* has a normal pronunciation, and therefore the development of *c* might be towards *t*.

Or let us assume that in the vocabulary of the child the words in which a low vowel is followed by a dental stand in relation to those in which it is followed by velar in the proportion of 5 to 5, but that the dental group is twice as common in speech, i.e. comes into use more often than those of the other group. Then the proportion would be altered to 10 to 5 instead of 5 to 5. Or it might happen that the original proportions were, say, 7 to 3 and that the 7 group was used four times to once that the 3 group was used. In this case the difference would be still more marked: 7 × 4 = 28 as against 3. All these cases are, of course, imaginary, but it is clear that the sound which would impress itself on the mind of the child in the form of a memory picture would be the sound which it heard or pronounced most often, and the sound which it heard and pronounced most often would be, not necessarily the sound which occurred in the greatest number of words, but the sound in the particular word or words which it had most frequent occasion to use. This sound, determined entirely by the context in which it was first learned by the child, would become the standard sound and would be pronounced in all other words, even though the context in those words should be different. Needless to say it would be modified in pronunciation in words with a different sound context, but it would be an unconscious modification and the starting point would be different. In this way, then, the direction of the change would be determined, and here we find the answer to the query raised above; what determines whether the tendency of change of the sound *a* shall be in the direction of *æ* through the stages *a* 1, *a* 2, *a* 3, etc. or in the direction of the sound *o*?

There is in reality nothing forced in the assumption that it is the context of sounds in the words first learned by the child which determines

the direction of sound change, for the number of words actually used by a child during the time that it is learning the common sounds of a language is very small indeed, and it would be nothing short of a miracle if the phonetic conditions under which such sounds were learned were such that there would be no marked tendency to modify sounds in some particular direction. It has been widely held that sound change does occur in the transmission from one generation to another, but the contrary view has also been held, that change occurs in the speech of adults. If the view here put forward is correct there is no reason why both these theories should not hold good, for even though the normal sounds are learned and modified in childhood, it still remains possible that under the same conditions and for identical reasons changes should subsequently occur in the speech of adults.

The sound changes we have been discussing need not, however, be the result of the phonetic context in the word alone. They may equally well arise, though not so much in the speech of the child, as the result of 'Satzphonetik.' Examples such as *nickname, Noll, adder*, etc. are examples of one kind, the difference between *my* and *mine* of another. But there are innumerable cases of a less clearly defined type, as, for example, in the pronunciation of final *d* in sentences where it is followed by initial *b* of the next word: *good bye, good business*, etc.

It only remains to connect this last stage of language development, sound change, with the other changes, changes of meaning, which we have discussed above. We have already attempted to show that changes of syntax, of word meaning and of stress are directly due to mental processes, as are also those sound changes which are primarily due to stress or to the loss of inflections. In so far as the governing factor in all sound change is stress, it may be said that sound change is also an effect of mental processes. But is it possible to connect sound change more closely with mental processes? We think it is. For if it is the words which a child first learns which determine the character of its speech, then those words themselves are the outcome of conditions under which the child grows up. It is those conditions which determine the words which it hears, the objects which it sees. It is those conditions which determine the tones and accent with which words are spoken and the meaning which attaches to them. It is again those conditions which determine the associations of ideas which are made in the mind of the child, and finally it is those conditions which have also determined the whole character of the speech of the parent. Hence from the highest creative effort of the poet right down to the

humblest unconscious variation of a single sound in the broken speech of the child every change in language would seem to be the direct result of the living active principle of language—the expression of thought.

The immediate practical consequences of regarding the development of language, and even of the sounds of language, as merely one phase of the development of the human mind are not for the present very great, but the ultimate consequences must have considerable influence upon our methods and conceptions of linguistic research. In the first place, if we are to consider sound change as a final effect instead of a first cause, we must look more closely at the development of syntax and the principles of style in order to find an interpretation of the development of any particular language. The study of language would then be linked in a closer and more human sense with the study of literature than has hitherto been the case. While literature must always give us the broader picture of individual aspirations, language will afford us an insight into the workings of the mind of the mass of the people and into the national consciousness. It will reflect for us minute details and obscure workings of the mind which are denied to us by literature, and the evidence thus afforded will be the more valuable because it is spontaneously given, without any thought of art. But for all practical purposes present methods must continue. Comparative phonology will have much to do, even if it is only to substitute a combinatory sound law for every existing isolative sound law. The semasiologist and the historian of syntax, too, have much to discover, and it is not until their work is done that the real work of the philologist begins: to determine the laws of development of each particular language; to interpret its material and to profit by the light which it throws on the history of human thought.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

On Richard Rolle's Lyrics.

It is a sign of the modern interest in mediaeval English mysticism that two recent anthologies of English verse, the *New Golden Treasury*, edited by Mr Ernest Rhys, and the *Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse*, edited by Messrs Nicholson and Lee, both include parts of a poem of the fourteenth century ascribed to Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole. This is the lyric beginning:

Luf es lyf þat lastes ay, þar it in Criste es feste,

which has been edited by Horstman in his *Yorkshire Writers* (London, 1895, I, 76 ff.) and by Dr Furnivall, in his *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ* (E.E.T.S., No. 34, pp. 22 f.). I wish to point out that the first sixty lines of this lyric closely translate scattered sentences from Chapters XL and XLI of Rolle's Latin *Incendium Amoris* (see the edition by Miss Deanesley for the Manchester University Press, 1914, pp. 267–75, *passim*). The original of the first lines is as follows: 'Est enim amor uita sine fine permanens, ubi in Christo figitur et solidatur.'

It would appear that the relation of the lyric to the *Incendium* somewhat decreases the chance of Rolle's authorship of the former. It must be pointed out, however, that both in his prose and verse he was constantly repeating both sentiments and phrases. A certain amount of repetition is probably bound up in the mystic's habit of concentration on a few subjects of thought, and some of the repetition found in Rolle's writing is doubtless more or less subconscious echoing of past expressions. Occasionally, however, he repeats whole passages with a verbal completeness that must have been deliberate. For example, parts of Chapters XI and XII of his Latin *Emendatio Vitae* appear bodily in the Latin *Liber De Amore Dei Contra Amatores Mundi*, and in the Latin Comment on the Canticles (which is of undoubted authenticity, since the author calls himself 'Ricardus heremita').

It should perhaps be noted that there is another case in which a portion of the Latin *Incendium Amoris* is translated into Middle-English

verse. In Addit. MS. 37,049 of the British Museum, a lyric compounded of elements from the lyrics found in Rolle's epistles (some of which also occur in Dr Furnivall's text of the poem first under consideration) is headed by six lines of verse beginning:

Whils I satte in a chapel in my prayere—

which paraphrases Rolle's very popular account of his first attainment of the mystical ecstasy (*Incendium*, Chapter XV, p. 189):

Cum enim in eadem capella sederem, et in nocte ante cenam psalmos prout potui decantarem.

The poem, like most of the contents of the book, is anonymous, but the manuscript contains, in its text of the *Desert of Religion* (see Herrig's *Archiv*, CXXVI, 58 ff.), a portrait inscribed with Rolle's name. Possibly this book (like so many containing the works of Middle-English mystics) was owned by a Carthusian (see Professor Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious Poetry*, Oxford, 1916, p. 415).

Whatever the origin of the paraphrases under discussion, they are of distinct interest in showing the circulation, in an English form, of parts of Rolle's Latin work. The Latin productions probably contained his most characteristic utterances, as they certainly formed the bulk of his writings; and the English translations, therefore, that have come down to us of some of these works are an interesting indication that the popular influence of the hermit's writings did not emanate only from the comparatively few works which he wrote in English. Translations and compilations spread his doctrine among a wide public—a medium by which some of his most characteristic passages were current in an English translation was the immensely popular compilation known as the 'Poor Caitiff,' which included anonymous translations from several of Rolle's writings. It was perhaps inevitable, considering the devotional use to which mystical literature was put, that the texts of mystical writings both in prose and verse should suffer more metamorphoses than were common in the case of other works, even though every sort of mediaeval writing suffered changes during circulation. I have pointed out elsewhere (*Romanic Review*, IX, 154 ff.) that Anglo-Norman mystical lyrics exhibit the same transmutations of text as Middle-English. The paraphrase now under discussion—whether due to Rolle himself or not—is in any case interesting evidence of what may be called the vulgar popularity of his work.

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'Titus Andronicus.'

In the course of an interesting article (*M. L. Q.*, xiv, 19 Jan. 1919) Mr Parrott mentions and dismisses in a footnote a theory regarding the theatrical history of this much debated play which I advanced eleven years ago in my edition of Henslowe's Diary.

I am not particularly concerned to defend the theory I then advanced, which is very possibly quite beside the mark, but I should be glad of an opportunity of clearing up any obscurity of which I may have been guilty, since it is evident that Mr Parrott has entirely misunderstood my meaning and consequently quite unintentionally misrepresented my view. That this is so is shown by his adducing against me the argument that since Q1 agrees substantially with F1, Q1 must contain the revised text. But the whole object of my theory was to show how it might happen that both Q1 and F1 should represent in the main an unrevised text.

Into the vexed question whether the hand of Shakespeare can be traced in the extant play I do not wish to enter. Mr Parrott seems to me to make out quite a good, but hardly a completely convincing, case in favour of a Shakespearian revision. If he is correct my theory is quite uncalled-for, and nobody need worry further about it. Indeed, in seeking to prove Shakespeare's participation Mr Parrott is in no way bound to consider my argument, which is wholly irrelevant to his thesis except in so far as I seek to show that the external evidence is not in this instance conclusive.

When writing in 1908, I took as fundamental two propositions which appeared to meet with general acceptance among those whose opinion weighed most with me. These were (i) that the testimony of Meres and the Folio editors proved that Shakespeare had at least revised the play, and (ii) that no trace of his hand was discoverable in the extant text. To meet this contradiction I interpreted the very intricate theatrical history of the play in the following manner. There were, to begin with, two versions extant, for the most part closely similar, but differing in the presence or absence of at least one scene. One of these manuscripts was purchased by Henslowe from Pembroke's men and sent to Alleyn, who was then with Derby's men in the country. This was the one that was revised by Shakespeare and became the stock piece of the Chamberlain's men. The other version came into the hands of Sussex' men, was acted by them at the Rose and sold to the printer who published it (unrevised) in 1594. In 1613 the revised

manuscript belonging to the King's men was burned in the fire at the Globe and the company was left with no prompt copy. They therefore bought the latest edition (1611) of the (unrevised) printed text, and, noticing the absence of one scene which was a favourite on the stage, succeeded in reconstructing it from memory, but did not trouble themselves about the minor differences. The tradition of Shakespeare's revision, however, continued, and when his works were collected two years later, the prompt quarto, with the one scene added, was sent to press with the rest.

This hypothetical account, whether true or not, is I think perfectly reasonable and consistent, and involves none of the improbabilities with which Mr Parrott charges it. For I must say at once that Henslowe's marking Sussex' men's performance with his mysterious 'ne' by no means proves revision, but is amply accounted for if it was the first time that company had performed the piece, and that the statement on the quarto that it contained the play 'As it was Plaide by' various companies does not in the least imply that they all acted the same version.

I should like to take this opportunity slightly to elaborate my former theory in view of certain recent developments of bibliographical theory, it being understood that I start again from my former premises, which I quite admit may prove mistaken. I would now suggest that *Titus* was originally a Pembroke's men's play and that when they went on tour they followed the usual custom and caused a somewhat shortened version to be prepared for provincial acting (differing mainly in the omission of a few unessential scenes); that this was the origin of the two manuscripts which I have postulated as most in accordance with the theatrical evidence; that Pembroke's men sold the original manuscript to Henslowe for Alleyn, whence it passed to the Chamberlain's men; and that they sold the shortened version (either directly or through Henslowe) to Sussex' men, who after three performances sold it to Danter, whence our printed text.

I should be interested to know whether Mr Dover Wilson could find any evidence of provincial adaptation in the extant play, for I would pretty confidently assert that if this can be shown to bear traces of shortening for a touring company it is idle to look for Shakespeare's hand in it, except possibly in a single scene.

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The Date of 'The Return from Parnassus, Part II.'

Because of the baffling reference in the play to the drastic purge given by Shakespeare to Ben Jonson, anything which helps to a determination of the date of composition (rather than the date of production) of *The Return from Parnassus, Part II* is of importance. One contributory item of internal evidence has hitherto escaped observation. It is afforded us in Act IV, sc. 3, the very scene where the famous Shakespeare-Jonson crux is to be found.

Burbage and Will Kemp are introduced as boon companions and Kemp is made to speak of 'our fellow Shakespeare.' Furthermore, in laying emphasis on the money made by the players, while addressing Philomusus and Studioso, he says 'they come north and south to bring it to *our playhouse;* and for honours, who of more report than Dick Burbage, and Will Kemp; he is not counted a gentleman, that knows not Dick Burbage, and Will Kemp; there's not a country wench that can dance "Sillenger's Round," but can talk of Dick Burbage, and Will Kemp.'

Clearly Burbage and Kemp are here represented as belonging to the one company: 'our playhouse' can have no other reference but to the Globe. Herein lies a strict limitation of date. Early in 1602 Kemp seceded from the Chamberlain's company, parted with his housekeeper's share in the Globe, in accordance with the articles of joint tenancy, and joined the reconstructed Worcester's company, with whom we find him acting at the Rose in August (cf. J. Tucker Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, I, 52–4; II, 125–6).

In his Kiel dissertation *Die drei Cambridger Spiele von Parnass* published in 1900, W. Lühr maintains in dealing with the last of the trilogy that the references in III. 1, to the Dominical letter C and the 'new moone' fix the intended date of production at January 5, 1601–2. But from Momus's statement in the prologue that what was about to be presented was 'an old musty show that hath lain this twelvemonth in the bottom of a coal-house' and other evidence he is inclined to believe that the performance of the play was postponed until Christmas 1602–3. Even if that were so, however, we cannot take anything in IV. 3 as a later interpolation, the whole scene (since Kemp was no longer Burbage and Shakespeare's associate) being glaringly inapposite. Whether or not, then, the play was acted as originally intended in January 1601–2, none of the Burbage-Kemp dialogue was written after that date.

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The Text of Shelley's Translation of the 'Symposium' of Plato.

Shelley made many blunders in his translations. But in the text of his version of the *Symposium* there are several mistakes evidently to be ascribed to the maker of the transcript for publication from Shelley's MS. The text of Shelley's original works has been thoroughly canvassed in recent years. But with the exception of Swinburne's discussion of the text of the *Cyclops*, which involved some reference to the Greek, his translations would appear to have escaped attention. It is true that Buxton Forman in his edition of the Prose Works quotes once or twice from the Greek of the *Symposium*. But he cannot have made any close comparison between Shelley's version and the original. This task the present writer has attempted to perform, and, as result, suggests the following corrections in the text as at present printed. No discussion is here attempted of Shelley's mistranslations. That is quite another matter. The references are given to the universally accepted paging of the Greek.

176 B. The proper name Acumenus is spelt Acumenius. Elsewhere it is correctly given.

187 C. *καὶ ἔστιν αὖ μουσικὴ περὶ ἁρμονίαν καὶ ῥυθμὸν ἐρωτικῶν ἐπιστήμη.* The translation runs: 'Music is then the knowledge of that which relates to love in harmony and system.'

The last word should be 'rhythm,' translating *ῥυθμόν*. *ῥυθμόν* occurs again in the next line and is correctly translated 'rhythm.' But two lines farther on the rendering 'system' again appears. Shelley may have misspelt it 'rythm,' which would make the resemblance to 'system' very close in his MS.

190 C. *μόγις δὴ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐννοήσας λέγει....* The English version here is flat nonsense: 'Juppiter with some difficulty having desired silence, at length spoke.' It was the absurdity of this sentence which first sent the present writer to the Greek. Obviously Shelley wrote 'having *devised a scheme*.' The words 'scheme' and 'silence' would be readily confused in Shelley's script.

191 D. *ὥσπερ αἱ ψῆτται.* Shelley intended merely to transliterate this word. But it is printed 'pselta' in his version, which is not a word at all.

208 A. *ὃ γὰρ καλεῖται μελετᾶν, ὡς ἐξιούσης ἐστὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης.* Shelley has: 'That which is called meditation, or the exercise of memory,

is the science of the escape or departure of memory.' The last word should be 'knowledge,' translating *ἐπιστήμης*.

209 C. *ἅτε καλλιόνων καὶ ἀθανατωτέρων παίδων κεκοινωνηκότες.* The English version runs: 'As being the common parents of a lovelier and more endearing progeny.' For 'endearing' read 'enduring,' translating *ἀθανατωτέρων*.

222 E. *οἴεταί μου δεῖν πανταχῇ περιεῖναι.* The English runs: 'He thinks to subdue every way.' Insert 'me' after 'subdue.'

It is not an easy matter to decide to what extent Mrs Shelley and her literary advisers retouched the text of Shelley's translations. But in the above instances it is clear that Shelley's version has been made to suffer for blemishes for which he was either not responsible, or which more efficient editing would have removed.

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Some Dante Notes.

I.

De Mon. II, 5, Romanum Imperium de fonte nascitur pietatis. Cp. *Ep.* V, 3, et maiestas eius de fonte defluat pietatis.

Dr Toynbee (*Studies*, pp. 297 sq.) has pointed out that the words occur in the legend of S. Silvester contained in the *Legenda Aurea* of J. de Voragine: adding 'It is, of course, possible that both Dante and J. de Voragine drew the expression from a common source, but prolonged research has so far failed to discover such a source.'

The ultimate source of the words is the *Actus beati Silvestri*. These Acts are mentioned in the pseudo-Gelasian index of *libri recipiendi* (Mansi, *Concilia*, VIII, 153 sqq.), and were one of the sources of the Donation of Constantine (*ib.* II, 603 sqq.). They were printed at Milan in about 1480 in the *Sanctuarium* of Mombritius, II, ff. 279^{r} sqq. (reprinted by the Benedictines of Solesmes, Paris, 1910). The origin of the Acts is discussed by Mgr Duchesne in *Liber Pontificalis*, I, pp. cix sqq.; and he concludes that the nucleus was written in the East and was worked up in Rome late in the fifth century.

Now these *Actus* were read for the Matins Lessons of the feast of S. Silvester, Dec. 31, and were therefore included in the *Passionale* or *Legenda Sanctorum*. But they are of considerable length; and consequently when the *Breviarium* was compiled, so as to include the whole Divine Service for the year in a single volume, they, like the other

legends, had to be curtailed, so that in some Breviaries (e.g. the Dominican) only comparatively few lines remain. And it is possible or probable that, as in other cases in the *Legenda Aurea*, the legend of S. Silvester, which is an abbreviation of the *Actus*, is a set of lessons from the Breviary of some church (Genoa?). But, at the same time, the complete *Passionale* continued to be copied, and presumably to be used in some churches. E.g. of four copies in the Bodleian, one (*Canon. Misc.* 230) is of the thirteenth century, two (*ib.* 244, *Laud. Misc.* 183) of the fourteenth, and one (*Laud. Misc.* 163) of the fifteenth. The thirteenth-century copy was written in 1204 by one Matthew the Florentine.

It is quite possible therefore that Dante may have known the legend of S. Silvester either from a *Passionale*, or from a Breviary which retained the passage in question—quite apart from the *Legenda Aurea*.

II.

Inf. I, 60, dove il sol tace.
Cp. V, 28, in loco d'ogni luce muto.

1. Milton, *S.A.* 86 sq.:

> The sun to me is dark
> And silent as the moon—

is commonly quoted as illustrating, if not derived from, Dante. But it is to be noted that the 'silence' of the moon is here treated as intelligible and familiar, and that of the sun is equated with it. And of course Milton was familiar with the phrase *luna silenti* (Cato, *de Re Rustica*, 29, 40, 50: Columella, *de Re Rustica*, II, 10 § 12: Pliny, *H. N.* XVI, 190; XVIII, 34) of the moon during the *interlunium*—'hid in her vacant interlunar cave.' The Latin dictionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries notice it: Sir Thomas Elyot's (2nd edition, 1545, Cooper's edition, 1552), Cooper's own Dictionary, 1578, and Coles's small Dictionary of 1679; while John Minshew in his polyglot lexicon, *Ductor in linguas*, 1617, s.v. 'Moone,' has a paragraph on the subject, in which he gives a string of synonyms, 'Lunae silentium, luna silens, intermenstruum, intermenstris luna, luna tacita.' And Milton's contemporary, Dr John Gregory, in *Posthuma*, 1671, p. 202, uses 'the new and silent moon' without comment, as though it were quite familiar in English.

2. In the eighteenth century the phrase was apparently no longer so familiar, even to Gray (T. H. Warren, *Essays*, p. 231). Johnson in the *Dictionary*, s.v. 'silent,' has a heading 'Wanting efficacy' under which he quotes Raleigh's 'Causes...silent, virtueless, and dead,' and

the *Samson Agonistes*, with the remark 'I think an Hebraism'; and Newton on *Daniel* is quoted in the *New English Dictionary* for 'The Jews referred all the time of the silent moon, *as they phrased it*, that is, of the moon's disappearing, to the old moon.' I cannot discover that 'the silent moon' is a Hebrew or rabbinic phrase; but 'the sun was silent' does occur in the Old Testament.

Joshua's familiar apostrophe (Josh. x, 12 sq.), rendered literally, is

> Sun be silent (דּוֹם) upon Gibeon
> And thou Moon in the valley of Aijalon.
> And the sun was silent (יִדֹּם) and the moon stayed (עָמַד)...

This, which is in metre, is expressly quoted by the compiler of the Book of Joshua from the *Book of Jashar*, the heroic song-book of the Hebrews; and whatever the application made of it, and whatever the compiler means precisely to convey by his comment on it, it is quite possible that it originally meant that the sun and the moon 'ceased to function,' i.e. they ceased to shine, being overclouded during the storm.

[1 Sam. xiv, 9, 'tarry' is the only other passage in which דמם is taken to mean 'stand still'; but this is unnecessary: דֹּמּוּ may just as well mean 'be quiet,' 'stop shouting.' The parallel עמד, of the moon, like the English 'stop,' means either to stop still or to cease doing what one is doing. Cp. Hab. iii, 11, 'the sun and the moon stopped (עָמַד) in their habitation,' viz. during the storm of the theophany.]

3. But (*a*) unless he learnt it from Immanuel the Jew, Dante was not likely to know that 'ne movearis,' 'stetit' of the Vulgate represented 'be silent' and 'was silent' of the Hebrew; for it is not apparently noted by S. Jerome, nor, so far as I can find, did anyone give the literal rendering till Arias Montano, who has *sile, siluit*, in his interlinear translation in the Antwerp Polyglot of 1572, which probably suggested the marginal note 'Heb. *bee silent*' in the A.V. of 1611; and (*b*) if he had known it, he would still have understood it in the traditional sense of 'stand still.'

4. If then Dante had any source for his phrase, it might be, either (*a*) 'luna silenti' or *Aen.* II, 255, tacitae per amica silentia lunae. Dr Moore is inclined to reject this latter as Dante's source, apparently on the ground that it is very questionable whether Virgil means that the moon was not shining. But it is clear from Cooper's and Mashew's dictionaries that the passage was, by some at least, so understood in the sixteenth century; and though according to Conington this sense was first proposed by Politian, it does not follow that Dante would not have taken this to be Virgil's meaning: or (*b*) parallel uses of 'to be silent' in the

O.T. in the sense of 'ceasing to function,' where S. Jerome has rendered the Hebrew literally, viz.:

Lam. ii, 18: neque taceat pupilla oculi tui (תִּדֹּם, *σιωπήσαιτο*; O.L. sileat; A.V. cease).

Jer. xlvii, 6: O mucro Domini, usquequo non quiesces (תִּשְׁקֹטִי, *ἡσυχάσεις*, be quiet)...refrigerare et sile (דֹּמִי, be still).

Cp. Columella, IV, 30, dum silent virgae, 'while the rods are not in blossom,' and other like uses; and modern English examples quoted in *N.E.D.* s.v. 'silent.'

III.

Par. I, 113, lo gran mar dell' essere.

S. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* XLV (XLII), 3 (Migne, *P.G.* XXXVI, 63), *οἷόν τι πέλαγος οὐσίας ἄπειρον καὶ ἀόριστον* (of God).

This homily of S. Gregory is not included among those translated by Rufinus; but Mr Webb (*Joan. Sarisb. Policraticus*, I, p. xxviii) has pointed out that versions of other of Gregory's works were current in the twelfth century. Besides, the passage is quoted in S. John of Damascus, *de Fide Orthod.* I, 9, which was translated into Latin in the middle of the twelfth century.

IV.

Par. III, 14, perla in bianca fronte.

Cp. the Kosovo cycle of the Serbian 'National Songs' (Stojković, *Lazarica*, Geneva, 1917, p. 88).

Lije suze niz bijelo lice
Kano biser niz bijelo platno.
'She shed tears down her white face
Like a pearl down a white napkin.'

V.

Par. XXI, 86, mi leva sopra mi.
XVI, 18, voi mi levate sì ch' io son più ch' io.
Cp. XVIII, 11 sq.

In Lam. iii, 28, the Vulgate, following the LXX *ἦρεν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ*, has *levavit super se*, which the A.V. reproduces with 'he hath borne *it* upon him,' sc. the yoke of ver. 27. R.V. corrects 'He hath laid it upon him.'

But the medieval reading in the Vulgate was 'levavit se super se.' This occurs at least as early as Hrabanus Maurus and the *Glossa Ordinaria*

and persists down to the sixteenth century (when it is corrected, e.g. by the Complutensian Polyglot of 1517, Stephanus's Vulgate of 1528, and finally by the Sixtine of 1590); and it is uniformly interpreted by the commentators of rising above self by contemplation, by humility, by mortification of the flesh, and so on.

It is very frequently used by S. Bernard: *de Consid.* II, 14: *Vita S. Malachiae*, II, 5: *Serm.* I *in SS. Pet. et Paul.* 5: *in Dom.* 1 *Nov.* V, 4: *in Ascens.* IV, 12. The last of these may be specially noticed for the sake of the context. S. Bernard is treating of the several ascensions of our Lord—on to the Mountain of the Transfiguration, on to the Mount of the Sermon, on to the beast on Palm Sunday, on to the Cross, and into Heaven. Having said that a man ascends with Him on to the ass, if 'he raises himself above himself' by suppressing his animal nature, 'by trampling on the desires of the flesh'—he passes to the Cross on which our Lord was 'lifted up from the earth,' and we must follow Him there, 'ut non solum super te sed et super omnem quoque mundum mentis fastigio colloceris, universa quae in terris sunt deorsum aspiciens et despiciens, sicut scriptum est: *Cernent terram de longe*' (Is. xxxiii, 17). This may perhaps be set alongside of Mr Gardner's quotation from the *Dialogus* of S. Gregory, as interpreting Dante's retrospect of *il vil sembiante* of the *aiuola* in *Par.* XXII, 127 sqq.

Cp. Wordsworth, *Excursion*, IV, ll. 330 sq. (quoting from Samuel Daniel)

> 'unless above himself he can
> Erect himself, how poor a thing is man!'

F. E. Brightman.

Magdalen College, Oxford.
Nov. 1918.

A Letter from Ottilie von Goethe to Sarah Austin.

Sarah Austin seems to have made the acquaintance of Goethe's daughter-in-law during her first visit to Germany in 1827. She travelled in the company of her husband John Austin who, having been appointed Professor of Law in University College, London, wished to study some aspects of his subject abroad before entering upon the duties of his Chair. After visiting Heidelberg and other places in Germany they settled for six months in Bonn where they made many friends, including such distinguished scholars and men of letters as

E. M. Arndt, Niebuhr, and A. W. von Schlegel. While her husband was reading law, Sarah Austin collected materials for her *Sketches of Germany from* 1760 *to* 1814, a survey of German institutions and social conditions during the classical period of German literature[1].

After her return to London in 1828 she began to contribute short articles on German literature to the *Athenæum* and other periodicals and was soon busy with the translation of Prince Pückler-Muskau's *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, to which her attention had been drawn by Goethe's favourable review in the *Berliner Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*[2]. In 1833 she published the work by which she is probably best known, the *Characteristics of Goethe* (3 vols.). The nucleus of it is formed by translations of Johann Falk's *Goethe aus näherem persönlichen Umgange dargestellt* and Friedrich von Müller's *Goethe in seiner praktischen Wirksamkeit*, to which original notes and translated extracts from French and German appreciations of Goethe have been added.

It was only natural that the author should have sent a copy of her work to Ottilie von Goethe, and the letter printed below, which has recently come into my possession, was written as a belated acknowledgment of the gift.

It is dated from Frankfurt-on-the-Main, where in the middle of September 1833 Ottilie made a short stay on her way back to Weimar after a tour on the Rhine in the company of an English party including Mrs Anna Jameson, the author of *Visits and Sketches*, who had become warmly attached to her[3].

I print the letter with all its characteristic inconsistencies in spelling and punctuation. It is written in a bold Roman hand and was folded up without envelope, the broken seal still clearly showing the well-known crest adopted by Goethe.

[1] See *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, by Mrs Janet Ross, London, 1888.

[2] Both the German original and the English translation appeared anonymously: *Briefe eines Verstorbenen. Ein fragmentarisches Tagebuch aus England, Wales, Irland und Frankreich, geschrieben in den Jahren* 1828 *und* 1829. 4 Bände. Stuttgart 1831.— *Tour in England, Ireland, and France, in the years* 1828 *and* 1829*; with remarks on the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and anecdotes of distinguished public characters. In a series of letters by a German Prince.* 4 vols. London, 1832. In her preface Sarah Austin prints a translation of nearly the whole of Goethe's review.

[3] See Mrs Jameson's letter of June 27, 1833 to Mr Noel (who had introduced her to Ottilie during his visit to Weimar in the spring of 1833) printed in *Memoirs of the Life of Anna Jameson* by her niece Gerardine Macpherson, London, 1878, p. 79: 'I am on the point of leaving Weimar, although I have not yet spent a week here. The fact is Mme de Goethe has persuaded me to accompany her on a tour to Frankfurt and the Rhine. There is a pleasant party arranged, and many reasons to determine me. The opportunity of improving my acquaintance with Mme de Goethe is one, and my sister's gratification is another. She will be obliged to return to England before I do, and I have promised to show her the Rhine.'

To Mrs Sarah Austin.

FRANKFURTH *den 14ten Sept.* 1833.

Wollte ich der Wahrheit gemäss meine anscheinende Undankbarkeit entschuldigen, Ihnen auf Ihre zwei gütigen Briefe nicht geantwortet zu haben, so müsste ich Ihnen nicht nur einen Catalog körperlicher und moralischer Schmerzen senden, sondern auch eine Schilderung eines zersplitterten, unruhigen Gesellschaftsleben, und dazu vielfache Beweise der grössten Indolenz und einer unüberwindlichen Faulheit anführen;—dies würde aber eine Art von Biographie von mir bilden, und da diese Sie unmöglich interressieren könnte, so kann ich nur sagen vergeben Sie mir, und glauben Sie, das ich volkommen gefühlt was Sie für mich gethaen. Ich sage *für mich* gethaen, nicht nur indem ich Ihrer zwei Briefe gedenke, sondern indem ich Ihnen für Ihr Interesse an dem Leben und den Werken meines Schwiegervaters danke, und wie Sie Alles zu seiner Anerkennung in Ihrem Vaterlande aufgeboten. Sie sind gewiss meiner Meinung, das man für uns Frauen, unserem Gefühl nach am Meisten thut, wenn man für den Gegenstand unserer Liebe und Bewunderung wirkt.

Auch für Ihre Verzeihung habe ich Ihnen zu danken, denn mich dünkt sie ist volkommen durch die Uebersendung Ihres Werkes, über mich ausgesprochen. Herr Hayward (1) hat durch seine Schilderung von Ihnen mich mein Unrecht noch tiefer empfinden lassen, und ich kann nicht sagen das er die geringste Grossmuth darin gezeigt, sondern muss eingestehen, das er alles mögliche angewendet, meine Reue noch zu erhöen. Ich würde wahrhaft in Verlegenheit sein, sollte ich entscheiden, ob ich Herrn Hayward als einen alten oder neuen Bekannten betrachten soll,—die Zeit war uns so kurz zugemessen, das wir uns entweder ganz fremd bleiben mussten, oder uns im Gespräch gleich zu Gegenständen wenden, wo sich die Ansichten bestimter aussprechen;—wir wählten das Letzere und ich kann jetzt nur bedauern, das sein Aufenthalt hier so kurz war.

Noch einen Punkt Ihres Briefes habe ich zu beantworten,—Sie fragen mich was ich am geeignetsten zu einer Uebersetzung halte, und ich glaube das Egmont durch die Verhältnisse mit Irland, und dem ächt irländischen Charakter des Helden, am allgemeinsten verstanden werden könnte,—doch muss ich hinzufügen, das ich schon früher einem Freund denselben Vorschlag gemacht, und Sie mir also erlauben müssen, ihn erst darüber zu befragen (2). Nein gewiss kann ich Ihnen nicht rathen, durch eine Uebertragung der Wahlverwandschaften, die Fahne des Aufruhrs gegen Sich erheben zu sehen,—mein englisches Selbst erstarrte vor diesem kühnen Gedanken, obgleich mein deutsches Selbst den Zweck des Buches als moralisch anerkennt.

Leben Sie wohl, und vergeben Sie
Ihrer Ergebenen
OTTILIE VON GOETHE.

Only two passages in this letter require further comment.

(1) 'Herr Hayward' is of course Abraham Hayward, the translator of *Faust*, who revisited Germany in the autumn of 1833, mainly in order 'to talk over the puzzling parts of the poem with German writers and Goethe's most intimate friends and connections.' Amongst those he met during his visit and from whom he obtained suggestions for the second edition of his translation he mentions Mme de Goethe[1].

(2) 'The friend' to whom Ottilie suggested *Egmont* for translation was most likely Samuel Naylor (1809—65), who during a week's

[1] See p. vi of the Preface to the 2nd edition of Hayward's translation of *Faust* (1834), and H. E. Carlisle, *Selection from the Correspondence of A. Hayward.* 2 vols. London, 1886; vol. I, p. 18.

residence in Weimar in the autumn of 1830 had become infatuated with Ottilie. He translated a number of poems from the German, was an occasional contributor to Ottilie's periodical *Chaos*, and for many years kept up a correspondence with her. One might also think of Charles Des Voeux, the author of the first English translation of Goethe's *Tasso*, for though he died on August 9, 1833, it is conceivable that Ottilie had not heard of his death on September 14, particularly as she had been away from Weimar for several weeks. The second edition of Des Voeux' *Tasso*-translation was printed and published 1833 in Weimar[1], Ottilie seeing it through the press. In a prefatory note she refers to his death, but the note is undated and may have been written after our letter[2].

Whoever the friend was to whom Ottilie made the suggestion, he did not carry it out. Sarah Austin, however, went on with her plan, and in 1841 printed two scenes of her translation of *Egmont* (Act I, 2 and Act III, 2) in *Fragments from German Prose Writers*, adding the following note: 'I have ventured on two scenes from Goethe's noble tragedy of Egmont: the one for its sagacity and calm wisdom, the other for its grace, pathos and passion....I had thought of attempting a translation of the whole play, and indeed have partly completed it.'

A few passages from the letter printed above have been quoted in an article (in the *Neue Freie Presse* of January 12, 1895) on *Briefe Ottilie Goethes und anderer an Sarah Austin* by Dr S. Münz who had seen it at Florence in the house of Mrs Janet Ross, Sarah Austin's granddaughter and biographer.

There are still a number of Ottilie's letters to her English friends lying unpublished in the *Goethe-Schiller-Archiv* at Weimar. A selection of those written between 1822 and 1832 has been published by Wolfgang von Oettingen in vol. 28 of the *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*[3], an edition of the rest has been promised by Dr H. Mutschmann.

H. G. Fiedler.

Oxford.

[1] The first edition appeared in London 1827.

[2] On Naylor and Des Voeux see L. A. Willoughby, *Samuel Naylor and 'Reynard the Fox,'* Oxford, 1914; and *Modern Language Review*, vol. IX (1914), p. 223.

[3] *Aus Ottilie von Goethes Nachlass, Briefe und Tagebücher von ihr und an sie bis* 1832. Weimar, 1913.

REVIEWS.

Voltaire on the English Stage. By Harold Lawton Bruce. University of California Press. 8vo. 1918. 152 pp. $1.50.

The contrast between the tragedies highest in popular favour when Dryden first commenced dramatic author and those which began to hold the stage at the end of his career is so marked that it is almost impossible to exaggerate it. From 1663 until 1675 when the great laureate confessed himself 'weary of his long-lov'd Mistress, Rhyme,' the vogue of the heroic play was at its zenith, a school of drama which has perhaps its most perfect exemplar in the two parts of *The Conquest of Granada,* ten acts of bewildering beauty, but interlarded well nigh to excess with drums and trumpets, representations of battles, sallies, assaults, mutinies, and alarums. In 1700, the year of Dryden's death, was produced Southern's *The Fate of Capua,* which in spite of its comic prose scenes clearly foreshadows the imminent rhetoric of Nicholas Rowe, whence the transition to such a piece of wearisome and insipid correctness as *Cato* is easy if not logically inevitable. Voltaire indeed praised *Cato* as the first reasonable English tragedy, whilst Smith, Ambrose Philips, Hughes, and James Thomson all too slavishly imitated Addison's lifeless scenes. It is not to be surprised at that audiences accustomed to the chilly verbiage of *The Distrest Mother,* the uninspired oratory of *The Siege of Damascus,* the passionless monotony of *Tancred and Sigismunda,* should have welcomed with delight English versions of *Zaïre, Le Fanatisme, Mérope,* and *L'Orphelin de la Chine.* And yet, as Dr Lawton Bruce has very pertinently pointed out in the excellent and scholarly monograph before us, it was necessary for the English playwrights, Aaron Hill, Murphy, Miller, and Francklin, to remould their material to some extent, to break up long speeches of reflection and narration by violent interruptions and abrupt exclamations; to let Zara die on the open stage, not as at Paris in the wings—'selon les règles classiques'; to insure a sensational curtain by exhibiting the bier of Alcanor with his dead son on the one side and his expiring daughter on the other; to pepper last acts with tolling bells, thunder and lightning, spectres, vaults and tombs. But it must be remembered that although these features were emphasized on the English stage they did not wholly originate in London, for, as M. Lanson has remarked, Voltaire himself 'held to external inventions which did not change the traditional basis of tragedy. In *Brutus,* the red robes of the senators; in *Adélaïde,* the firing of a cannon; in *L'Orphelin de la Chine,* the costuming of Lekain as a Tartar, with a great bow in his hand and hideous feathers waving on an impossible helmet...such were the inventions by which Voltaire remedied the coldness of tragedy.'

For many decades, as Dr Lawton Bruce has shown us in ample detail, Voltaire had an extraordinary influence upon the English drama, an influence which was confirmed by the frequency of English adaptations of his plays. But when to-day we read Hill's *Zara*, Miller's *Mahomet the Impostor*, Murphy's *The Orphan of China*, we are left cold and uninterested; there is much declamation but little warmth; occasional gleams of poetry overwhelmed with rhetoric that is without grandeur or pathos; portentous speeches; valueless philosophizing; and at length we ask in momentary amaze how could these threadbare sentiments, these uneventful scenes have held the interest of a crowded theatre, have stirred emotions and compelled applause? The answer is not far to seek. Voltaire's tragedies are pre-eminently dramas for the actor. Those verses which now seem so stereotyped and pale thrilled with vigour and fire when they fell from the lips of Henri Louis Lekain, of Dumesnil, of Garrick, of Mrs Cibber. Diderot describes the greatness of Hippolyte Clairon as Aménaïde in *Tancrède*. 'Ah, mon cher maître,' he wrote to the author, 'if you could see her crossing the stage half leaning upon the executioners present, her knees threatening to give way, her eyes closed, and her arms hanging down—as though in death—if, too, you could hear her cry on recognizing Tancrède—you would be convinced more than ever that acting sometimes has a pathos beyond all the resources of oratory.' So too at Drury Lane Mrs Yates as Mandane nightly 'melted the audience into tears.' To many an English reader Racine's *Phèdre* may perhaps appear cold and statuesque, but to anyone who has ever seen Sarah Bernhardt in that tragedy it will always be a thing of passion, of electric vitality and almost intolerable power. As Mr Arthur Symons has so admirably written in his study of Madame Bernhardt in this rôle: 'Her nerves are in it, as well as her intelligence; but everything is coloured by the poetry, everything is subordinate to beauty.'

It were to be wished that Dr Bruce had dealt with and elaborated this important point which has seemingly escaped his attention. He has however assiduously garnered facts from many quarters, and his work remains an important and valuable addition to the history of the English stage in the eighteenth century.

Montague Summers.

London.

The Method of Henry James. By Joseph Warren Beach. Newhaven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 8vo. vi + 279 pp.

Although Henry James himself subjected his own point of view as a novelist to leisurely examination in the prefaces to the definitive edition of his works, he cannot be said to have interpreted it fully to any but a small company of the elect. The involved style which was the natural outcome of his preoccupation with minute shades of thought

and temperament needs a more patient attention than the ordinary reader of fiction is prepared to sacrifice. For half a century he maintained an attitude towards his chosen art in striking contrast to that 'fatal competence' which, as one of its most popular practitioners has said, is characteristic of present-day fiction. It is true that the early tales and novels which assured his reputation are remarkable for their easy competence of tone, the accent of an accomplished observer of the contact between the old world and the new who was never tired of chronicling the phases of that contact. While this remained his favourite study till the last, he nevertheless pursued an ideal of the artistic presentation of his material which cannot be said to have taken definite shape until some thirty years after he had begun to write. His progress from the old-fashioned *rôle* of the omniscient narrator who assumes the privilege of explaining everything to his readers to that of the discriminating artist who leaves the reader to find out everything for himself was marked by inconsistencies and relapses. It is difficult to realise that *The Bostonians,* with its elaborate portraiture of social types and direct method of narrative which leaves nothing open to doubt, is contemporary with *The Princess Casamassima,* in which anything like complete revelation is carefully avoided until the reader can judge the finished picture independently of external help from the painter. Of the two books *The Bostonians,* which James rejected from the canonical edition of his novels, is doubtless the more popular. No effort is required to follow the development of the antipathy between the two main combatants of the story, while the central interest of *The Princess Casamassima,* not introduced until the book is well on its way, is an enigma, the solution of which depends upon the spectator's imagination.

In tracing James' pictorial conception of his art, Mr Beach has undertaken a task which is worth the trouble, and inquirers who have been stimulated but somewhat mystified by such esoteric productions as *The Awkward Age* and *The Wings of the Dove* will return to them with some enlightenment. Mr Beach is lavish of exposition and devotes much pains to the examination of characteristics which occasionally overlap each other, and might have been satisfactorily treated with equal illumination in a smaller compass. His work is in no small degree an explanation and justification of James' own critical position with regard to his own novels. Apart from a modest regret for the exclusion of *The Last of the Valerii* and *Washington Square* from James' rigorous canon, he is at one with the master. *The Golden Bowl* and *The Ambassadors* represent a final point of achievement which he considers secure against attack. Progress towards this point is reduced to a series of experiments. Foothold is gained in *Roderick Hudson* and improved in *The Portrait of a Lady,* for which Mr Beach has a just enthusiasm. *The Princess Casamassima* and *The Tragic Muse* are landmarks alternatively of further advance and retrogression, until *The Spoils of Poynton* marks the definite arrival at the finished method. It was just at this point that James began to cause the bewilderment which, if we remember right, led one critic of the book to describe it as 'too thin, too subtle and too precious.'

Of these ambiguous qualities, subtlety certainly held the chief place in the novels which succeeded it and are rightly characterised by Mr Beach as technical exercises. *The Golden Bowl* and *The Ambassadors* are nothing if not subtle, but in them the mastery of a peculiar technique is attained, and the flavour of the mere exercise, which is so apparent, for example, in *The Awkward Age*, is absent.

It would be hard to deny that in these later novels James sacrificed forcible presentation of dramatic character to the minute analysis of situations which depend upon the most delicate intellectual relations between the actors. Isabel Archer and Christina Light, on their own merits, are more prominent contributions to fiction than the personages whose complicated domestic drama is the theme of *The Golden Bowl* or those who are the factors in the problem of *The Ambassadors*. To emphasise this, however, would be to disregard the fact that James in his latest work accomplished the success of the limited method towards which he was gradually drawn from a looser and less individual conception of fiction. He must be estimated by his own deliberate aims, not by exceptional achievements, and the value of Mr Beach's book is that he conducts his inquiry from this standpoint. It is unquestionable, however, that, in confining detailed criticism to James' longer novels, he has left one side of his art too much in the cold. More than once he calls attention to the fact that James' shorter stories are really novels in miniature. Further, he points out that the germ of the method under consideration is to be found in the short story and in the work of compression and elimination which it entailed. At the same time, his allusions to such stories are little more than incidental, and examination of them is almost confined to the immature group reprinted as *Stories Revived*. It is not to be expected that the critic of a very prolific author is bound to mention all his books, and we can forgive the omission of such a book as *The Reverberator*, which, diverting though it is, does little more than repeat the situation of *The American* with a re-arrangement of the leading characters in a lighter atmosphere. There is, however, little distinction to be made between James' novels and stories on the ground of comparative length ; and, while Mr Beach necessarily touches lightly on the famous *Daisy Miller*, there are several other tales which take an equally prominent place in the development of his fiction. *The Aspern Papers*, *The Private Life*, and *The Liar*, to mention only three, are referred to in illustration of points which are merely incidents in their structure. *A London Life*, which, as a narrative in the third person from the point of view of the deeply interested spectator of a drama who is called to play a part in it against her will, anticipates *The Spoils of Poynton*, is not mentioned at all. *In the Cage*, which, originally published in a volume by itself, might fairly be counted among the novels and is a striking experiment in continuation of the method of *The Spoils of Poynton* and *What Maisie Knew*, occurs only in a foot-note. Further, the stories collected in *Terminations* and *Embarrassments* form so interesting a prelude to James' final manner and are so characteristic of the transition from his period of experiment to

that of achievement that no study of his work can be quite complete without some detailed allusion to them.

It is from one of these stories, however, that Mr Beach takes the title for the intermediate chapter between his exposition of the method and his sketch of its growth. Every reader of James must have applied himself to discover the 'figure in the carpet,' the unifying secret which to the author himself, if he spoke through the imaginary Hugh Vereker, was legible in every line. Whether the figure in question was purely an artistic conception, independent of any ethical purpose, it is difficult to decide. No author, to all appearance, could be less open to the charge of desiring to inculcate any standard of life and character, and he has even been blamed for an impartiality of tone in dealing with situations which involve a sharp distinction between conventional ideals of right and wrong. Mr Beach, however, observes his constant inclination to give prominence to a type of character which finds satisfaction and peace in the renunciation of ambition and apparent happiness, and suggests that in this may be found the key to the true meaning of his work. If this is the case, and if Henry James thus takes his place with Browning as a teacher of the blessedness of unfulfilled performance, it is at any rate certain that no teacher could be less obtrusive. He studiously refrained from applying moral terms to artistic questions: as he says in one of his books of travel, he was not in the habit of talking about a 'sincere portico.' If the figure in his carpet was an ethical idea, he contrived successfully to divert attention from the thing woven to the process of weaving.

Of James' style, which, as fully developed in his later novels, is a stumbling-block to many and is noticeably a contrast to the easy urbanity of his earlier narratives, Mr Beach offers no analysis, although he indulges in an elaborate dissection, illustrated by putting significant clauses in italics and capital letters, of his method of revealing character by dialogue. Mr Beach's own style is somewhat affected by the difficulty of dealing clearly with a singularly elusive subject; but, if he sometimes reaches his point circuitously, he leaves us in no doubt as to his meaning. His evident enthusiasm for his author occasionally finds refuge in doubtful epithets, as where he speaks of the 'velvety transitions' of *The Princess Casamassima.* It cannot be denied that James, in that extremely clever novel, was very skilful in bringing his story to the verge of critical incidents, passing on to new points of interest and gradually revealing what had happened in the interval. Such transitions are well managed, but they are one of the most obvious features of the book, and their agility has little of the stealthiness which the epithet is probably intended to convey. As the considered judgment, however, of a critic who has entered into the spirit of James' idiosyncrasies with unusual sympathy and understanding, Mr Beach's book deserves to be studied by all thoughtful readers of fiction.

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A History of American Literature, Supplementary to the Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. II. Cambridge: University Press; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919. x + 658 pp. 17*s.* 6*d.* net.

The second volume of this history has not taken long in following the first, and it is pleasant news that the third, which is to complete the work, 'is expected to appear shortly.' If it was true of the period treated in the first volume that some of the authors belong as much to English as to American literature, it is perhaps even more true of the period covered in the second. To take names of authors and works at random, *Walden* and *The Jumping Frog*, Hawthorne and Longfellow, Uncle Remus, Lowell, Walt Whitman, Motley—*are* they American and not our own? We think along lines they have laid down and in language they have taught us, and we know (and like) them a great deal better than many of their more strictly English contemporaries.

The second volume deals with an age much more intelligible to English readers. Cotton Mather and Timothy Dwight are very far away from us. So is Jonathan Edwards. In that eighteenth century England and America, still politically united, wrote and thought on different lines, at least so far as we remember; for much of our own eighteenth century literature is long since dead. When we think of eighteenth century England, we forget the rest and remember Swift and Horace Walpole, Boswell and Cowper's Letters. But eighteenth century America was in letters, as Barrett Wendell pointed out, hardly distinguishable from seventeenth century America,—a land and a people too new to the soil and too much embattled with forest and with red man to blaze new paths in literature.

In the nineteenth century all that is altered. We freely exchange novelists great and small, give Dickens and Thackeray and get Wister and Churchill and Henry James, trade Kipling and Bret Harte, and in the lower walks of letters possibly the exchanges have been even more remunerative to the publishers. The *Wide Wide World* was probably balanced by something we have forgotten. On the other hand America has given us new types of life in Mary Wilkins, *Life on the Mississippi*, Uncle Remus, and *The Grandissimes*—all immensely interesting. And if we don't care for what *is*, there are Thoreau and *Leaves of Grass* to take us into regions of thought that have offered an ideal world, and a very real haven of escape, to men and women sick of European convention and paralysis—real and inspiriting as Tolstoy himself in their own ways. Copyright laws, or the absence of them, made it easy for English readers to get ahold of Prescott and Motley. It is not a bad thing for a great author to be pirated now and then. If Parkman had been less protected, England would have gained another fascinating historian, whom alas! she hardly knows.

Most of these authors come into the volume before us—not Mark Twain, except by way of allusion, and Parkman not at all—but the rest, and many, many more. Again there are chapters which we are glad

somebody wrote, on condition that we have not to read them more than once—useful compendia of secondary authors, chapters e.g. on American history and its sources from 'Parson' Weems, who is said to have given Washington the only little hatchet he ever had, to Jared Sparks who is not much read in England; on the early humorists who have other points of contact, or had, or who survive only as 'Petroleum V. Nasby' does in the story of Lincoln; on magazines and giftbooks, better dead; and the poets of the South, some of whom have like Tabb and Lanier a little reputation on this side of the Atlantic, too, with people who do not care for the best. On the other hand at least two of these survey chapters are really interesting and contributive—those on Newspapers, and on the Short Story, especially the former with its curious hints of the reactions on national life and thought that the cheapening of mechanical contrivances may effect. The chapter on Dialect Writers reaches a greater height of joy; it is largely about Joel Chandler Harris, in whom it shows us historical and linguistic merits almost commensurate with the contributions he has made in character and story to the happiness of mankind; and it passes on to negro dialects generally, and the evolution of a new American speech, like our English of today the product of a meeting of two other speeches, in this case those of New England and the South, meeting in the Middle West.

When we turn to the chapters on the greater men, the conclusion is that the editors were happily served by the writers of their choice. Not much can be made in such a history of Whittier perhaps, and the treatment of Hawthorne is, if interesting, a little inaccessible now and then to an ordinary intelligence; but on Thoreau, Poe, Webster (who does not promise very much to *us*), on Prescott, Motley, and Wendell Holmes, one reads here with interest and illumination. Of Lowell and Whitman it is harder to speak. Whitman is an author of whom few of us think quietly; he is either a prophet or very like a quack; and my own opinion is not much altered by the chapter upon him—that perhaps is enough to say. Lowell lives in various ways; some of us count him one of our real poets and seem to make little of Hosea Biglow; others go elsewhere for the great things of poetry but have Hosea in their hearts; the letters are good reading, the essays too if you do not wish to range to fresh woods; he is a great figure in national life, but further from the Kingdom of Heaven (if one may give the phrase one's own meaning) than some who were much less successful.

Broad and long, the volume has been enjoyable and stimulating in the reading; it keeps, like the rest, certain heavy anchors on our shelves in its bibliographies; and it has had some surprises, e.g. on the great lawyers and the growth of the New York press; and it leaves one looking forward to the volume that is to follow. Few perhaps of the volumes of the English literature have been so uniformly bright and attractive, and few have left so vivid a sense with the reader of having gained new insight into the life and mind of a great people.

T. R. Glover.

Cambridge.

The Place-Names of Wiltshire. By Einar Ekblom. Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktrykkeri. 1917. 8vo. xviii + 187 pp.

Swedish scholars have already done yeoman service in the cause of English place- and personal-name study and now we have one for the first time undertaking a dissertation on the place-names of an English county. The result is a book of excellent scholarship, making a definite contribution to the rapidly developing study of our place-names. It has three cardinal virtues: (1) it shows thorough and critical knowledge of the charters in Birch and Kemble which are concerned with this county—and the work of identification, it may be added, is no light task, for Kemble is recklessly inaccurate and Birch is by no means impeccable, (2) the study has been carried out with constant reference to maps and topographical books which may throw light on the problems under consideration, (3) it finally settles certain general problems, e.g. the origin and mutual relation of *-stock* and *-stoke* in place-names.

The book is intended to cover all names found in Bartholomew's *Gazetteer* (with the 1-inch Ordnance Map as an additional source) and occurring in documents earlier than 1500. Such a selection, even if carried through, would leave a large number of valuable names untouched and it may be suggested that in books on place-names which are frankly not exhaustive it would be well to go a step further and omit, except for a brief and summary note, all place-names (e.g. Kingston, Longford) which are obvious even to the lay mind and whose obviousness has only been confirmed by investigation. This would leave ample room for the discussion of others commonly omitted simply because they are not in the Gazetteer. It is clear that the claims of a place-name to investigation by a student are quite different from its claims to be entered in a work of general reference.

Some of Ekblom's etymologies are open to correction or to supplementary discussion: *Abbotston* was held by the Abbess of Wilton and such forms as *Abbodeston* go back to fem. *abbodisse* and not to *abbod*. *Brinkworth* need not contain the (here unlikely) Scand. *brink*: there is an O.E. personal name *Brynca*, which at the same time better explains the *y*, *u* and *e* of the M.E. forms. *Burbage* cannot have as its second element O.E. *bēce*, beech. The form *burgbeces* quoted from Birch is preceded by *andlang*, showing that it is O.E. *bece*, stream. You cannot go 'along' a beech and *beces* is not the gen. sg. of *bēce*. Ekblom says a brook is out of the question for topographical reasons, but every *bece* does not find its record on the map. *Dean* is pretty certainly to be identified with *Deone* in King Alfred's will: that would explain the extraordinary fluctuation of vowels (*ue*, *u*, *e*, *eo*, *oe*) in the forms better than a confusion of *dūn* and *dene* not found elsewhere when these words are in independent use. *Gore* is much more probably O.E. *gāra*, M.E. *gore* = wedge-shaped piece of land, than *gār* = spear. *Quidhampton*, M.E. forms vary between *Qued-* and *Quid-*. May not the solution of this crux lie in association with M.E. *quede* = bad? *Semington* is probably a bogus *-ing* name. Birch no. 1127 gives *Semnit* as the name of

a stream which seems to be identical with the modern Semington Brook. If so the village is named from the river. *Semley* is by the river Sem. As this river is found as *semene* in Kemble no. 641 it is probable that the place is named from the river and there is no need to suggest a hypothetical personal name *Sema* for these places. *Woodhill* is represented by D.B. *Wadhulle* and three examples of *Wodhulle* (1300–1400), 1178 Brit. Mus. *Wadhellai*, 1247 Ch. *Wahull*, *Wahill*, 1269 *Wadhull*, make it clear that this is not 'wood-hill' but 'woad-hill,' cf. *wādbeorh* (Birch no. 225) and Odell or Woodhill, Beds. which Skeat showed to have just the same history as that here proposed.

Some identifications in Birch have not been traced. From the Gazetteer we have the following: Biss, R. *Bis* (no. 1127), Ewen in Kemble, *Aewilme* (671), Nadder, R. *Noodr* (114), Moredon and Rodbourne Cheney, *mordun*, *hreodburna* (788); from the map, Foscote in Grittleton, *foxcotone* (750), Henley in Ham, *hennaleah* (677), Peckingell in Langley Burrell, *peginhullis* (757), Mannington in Lydiard Tregoze, *mehhandun* (B.C.S. 585). Biddesden, Cumberwell and Melchet in the map correspond to Domesday *Bedesdene*, *Cumbrewelle*, *Mylchete* with other later forms that might be added. Iford (Gaz.) is found in a charter of 987 (Earle) as *igford*. Other names from later documents might have been traced in the Gazetteer or on the map: e.g. Hildrop in Ramsbury, Lopshill al. Lobsell, Netton, Plaitford, Widhill, Whitsbury.

Two phonological developments, taken as exceptional by Ekblom and explained as due to popular etymology in the first case and the influence of the neighbouring *Laverstock* in the second, probably represent regular sound-changes. The first is in Stitchcombe earlier *Stutescumb*, where *ts* > *ch*. This is found in Pytchley, Northants, D.B. *Pihteslea*, Stuchbury in the same county (as mentioned by Ekblom). This development has in its turn led to certain cases of *ts* being found where we might expect *ch*: Pitsea, Ess., D.B. *Piceseia*, Titsey, Surr., D.B. *Ticesei*, Whitsbury, Wilts. (not mentioned by Ekblom), 1157 *Wicheberia*. There is an exactly similar development of voiced *ds* to *dg* in Bridgemere, Chesh., Ridgewell, Dors., Quedgeley, Glouc., Edgefield, Norf., Hedgeley, Nthb., Edgeley, Salop, Edgeland, Staffs., Chidgley and Mudgley, Som. The second is in Baverstock, where medial *b* becomes, at quite a late date, *v*. This has its parallel in Bavington, Nthb. which had *b* until the nineteenth century, and Abberwick, ib. which in the seventeenth century was spelled *Averwick* though later the *b* was restored.

At times Ekblom is inclined to pay too much attention to Domesday and venture on some unjustified etymology in order to satisfy some strange form in its notoriously whimsical spelling. Bincknoll is *Bechenhalle* in D.B.; after that we have uniformly *Ben(e)*- or *Bien*- and *Byng*- (once) as the first element and *cnoll* (*knoll*) as the second. This seems clearly to be *bēan-cnoll* = bean-knoll (cf. Beanacre, Wilts.) with the Domesday scribe making his usual frantic endeavours to tackle O.E. *cn*. Ekblom prefers to begin with O.E. *Beccanheall* and then on the basis of elaborate phonological developments to explain the later form. Similarly with Heytesbury, D.B. has *Hestrebe*, later forms show *Hehtred*, *Hegtred*,

Hectred, H(c)ic(h)tred, Hegtrete, Hettrede, Hecghtride, Hegstred and many others, only once without initial *h*. Surely it is a perversion of evidence to say that the first form can hardly contain anything but Scand. **Estrið*, a name found occasionally in England and to say that all the others are perversions of it due to a reversal of the process by which *ht* often becomes *st* in A.N. documents. The first element is rather some name beginning with *Heah-* and for the second element we may suggest *-þryð*. Both elements are freely used in O.E. names. The compound would be a woman's name, but as the genitive *s* first appears in 1183 this need not trouble us.

In two cases the suggestions seem entirely inadequate. *Melksham* from Domesday onwards always has an *s* and one cannot say it is O.E. **meolcham* = milk farm. We clearly have a personal name found also in Melkington, Nthb. earlier *Milkindune* and possibly allied to the Frisian *Milcke*. So also Roundway, earlier *Ryndewey, Ryndway, Ryngewey, Rundewey*: this cannot be O.E. **Hringanweg* which would leave the *d* unexplained. Landford, D.B. *Langeford*, is not a parallel case as forms with *d* are not found before the sixteenth century.

In conclusion let it be said once again that the book as a whole is one of real scholarship and sound learning. Until at least some preliminary survey has been made of the whole field of English place-names and the evidence of the Old English charters exhaustively and critically treated each new book on any particular county must inevitably be open to criticism in many points.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

Historia da Litteratura Classica (1502–1580). Por FIDELINO DE FIGUEIREDO. Lisboa: Livraria Teixeira. 1917. 432 pp.

Senhor Figueiredo is to be congratulated on being old-fashioned. In this work written in 1917 he does not assert that Bernardim Ribeiro is Christovam Falcão (although an excellent case can be made out for the former's authorship of the *Trovas* commonly attributed to the latter). He does not affirm absolutely that Ribeiro wrote the second part of *Menina e moça*, although he is open to conviction on this matter. On the other hand he wisely identifies the two Gil Vicentes and accepts the theory that Fernam Lopez wrote the *Cronica do Condestabre*, since the *ignorado autor* of p. 44 becomes *anonimo autor* on p. 253, where this is expressly explained in a note not to mean *desconhecido autor*. As to the authorship of *A Egipciaca Santa Maria* he remains in doubt. This long poem has been very strangely neglected since its publication in 1913, and Senhor Figueiredo is one of the first to point out its remarkable merits, as is also the case with the great work of Usque (pp. 340–8). The treatment of the subject is that of Sá de Miranda, but the *quintilhas* have an easy flow alien to that laborious craftsman. Senhor Figueiredo's work is to be welcomed also for its quality of sincerity; it does not

follow along the common grooves of criticism, but gives the author's independent opinions. For this reason it is valuable and must excite discussion and opposition. To begin with a few trifling errors, Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos died, in all probability, over twenty years before the date (1585) here assigned (p. 167); the second edition of Bishop Arraez' *Dialogos* appeared in 1604 not 1600 (p. 359): the date for Sá de Miranda's birth (1490) cannot be given without a query (p. 109); his poems were published in a splendid critical edition by D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos in 1885 not 1886 (p. 120); to the Infante D. Pedro must not be attributed the sole or principal part in the writing of *O Livro da Virtuosa Benfeitoria* (pp. 46–7); it were better to quote the later (1913) edition of Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *Littérature Espagnole*, instead of that of 1904 (p. 147), since the former is not a translation but the original work of the author; Padua is a slip on p. 269; Zurara (p. 277) is, on the high authority of Dr Esteves Pereira, less correct than Azurara (p. 250); the word *lenda* included by Correa in the title of his history of India (p. 318) meant not legend but life-story; all mention of the second part of Frei Heitor's *Imagem* is unaccountably omitted (p. 358); Gil Vicente's familiarity with Beira (p. 67) was first emphasised by Dr Leite de Vasconcellos in *Gil Vicente e a linguagem popular* (1902) which is unfortunately out of print. And here one may regret parenthetically that critics such as Dr Leite de Vasconcellos and D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos who frequently publish valuable review-articles and pamphlets do not re-edit them from time to time in book-form. Finally the book, although it has a useful chronological table (pp. 412–29), suffers from the defect, common to most Portuguese books, of having no index.

The originality of the work consists in the fact that its criticism is individual, and when we find that less than justice is done to Ferreira de Vasconcellos, Correa, Diogo do Couto, André de Resende (his Life of Dom Duarte is not even mentioned, although it is a masterpiece), and others, we soon find a reason in the writer's views concerning national, popular and mediaeval literature, although the reason will not explain the treatment of Diogo Bernardez, who surely deserves higher praise than the grudging acknowledgment (p. 204) that 'he attained an agreeable harmony.' Senhor Figueiredo considers the Middle Ages more barbaric even than the twentieth century. Mediaeval taste is 'barbarous and unfertile' (p. 390); mediaeval literature is 'exhausted' (pp. 48, 58). He also speaks of the 'insignificance of popular literature' (p. 399). All this savours strongly of heresy in the essentially mediaeval age in which we live (with the addition of a few material comforts and mechanical devices). Senhor Figueiredo believes (p. 410) that the national spirit of Portugal in the present day is sterile and positively harmful, although the fact is that through the war all countries are returning to the saner national spirit that was Portugal's in the fifteenth century. But we are not surprised that Senhor Figueiredo, holding these views, finds no individuality (p. 16) not only in the provençal imitations by the mediaeval Portuguese poets, but in their very individual and charming

cossantes (or *cantares de amigo*); that he has nothing to say of the amazing vividness of the chronicler Fernam Lopez and the historian Gaspar Correa, that the value of the popular element in Ferreira de Vasconcellos' plays (apart from the aesthetic enjoyment of their prose) escapes him, as well as the indigenous character of the clear and precise style of King Duarte's *Leal Conselheiro* and the fascination of the deliberate ingenuousness in Ribeiro's eclogues (pp. 177, 178); that the early love of vivid details is reprimanded (p. 45) and that Petrarca is represented as the inventor of the sonnet (p. 400) and as purifying love from Dante's scholasticism (p. 121), although no subsequent sonnet has eclipsed the perfect beauty and inspiration of the mediaeval Dante's sonnet *Tanto gentile e tanto onesta pare.*

If the national mediaeval literature had no vigour in Portugal how account for the fact that the new classicism crumbled away before the sixteenth century was out, how explain the fact (minimised by the author) that the Vicentian *auto* continued far more popular and, what is more, retained far more life and merit in the seventeenth century than did the classical drama? Senhor Figueiredo of course has many answers: the lack of criticism, of any wide-spread education, of humanism in Portugal, the *débâcle* of 1580, the Inquisition. (The survival of literature in Spain he explains through the peculiar vigour of Spanish mysticism.) But surely there is the further reason that the new classicism had, with the exception of a few great writers like Camões (the popular indigenous side of whose genius should have been emphasised) no national root in Portugal. It resembled its origin, the Italian Renaissance, which as Senhor Figueiredo remarks (p. 53) was due rather 'to a group of men of genius' than to 'the collective effort of a people.' In Portugal there were not, as the author clearly sees, sufficient men of education, interested in literature, to support these men of genius. Like a hero in the sea for the first time without a lifebelt, like a feather in a vacuum, they wished to swim and soar but sank. One shudders to think of those dead and dreary epics, of *longueurs* inconceivable, which came into vogue for generations in Portugal (where they are still admired on the sly) in imitation of *Os Lusiadas.* The living concrete Portuguese language of the fifteenth century enriched itself with latinisms, but soon did so to excess and only rose to the great heights of Antonio Vieira and Manuel Bernardez to sink to its present unenviable state. And why is Gil Vicente the most living, lifelike, of sixteenth century writers in Portugal? To represent him, as here, as a child of classicism is as essentially wrong as to attempt to analyse his plays by the light of the Aristotelian theory of the unities—his *bruscas quebras* (p. 314) were deliberate, in homage not to Aristotle but to Nature, which often proceeds *per saltum.* Gil Vicente was splendidly and sturdily mediaeval, and something of his free, sturdy spirit—with a flavour of the hills and streams and the real popular life of Portugal, and especially with the vigour and directness of the Portuguese language as it was in the fifteenth and again in the seventeenth century—must be recaptured before Portuguese literature can come into the kingdom which certainly

awaits it. For we must agree with Senhor Figueiredo that the capacity of Portuguese writers has never fully realised itself, in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries any more than the twentieth. It is the habit of many Portuguese critics to dabble in effusive encomium, often of books unopened, and the freshness of Senhor Figueiredo's austere analysis and scanted praise is thus a positive merit in Portuguese criticism, of one of whose most celebrated exponents it has been wittily said that he is too busy writing about Portuguese literature to read it.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL,
PORTUGAL.

Personality in German Literature before Luther. By KUNO FRANCKE. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1916. 8vo. ix + 221 pp.

This well printed volume, embellished with four reproductions from A. Dürer's Little Passion, Life of Mary and Apocalypse, represents a course of lectures which Professor Kuno Francke, the well-known author of *Social Forces in German Literature* (1896) delivered at the Lovell Institute in Boston in January 1915. They are in reality only a repetition—for the most part literal—of what the author has already set forth in part of his book *Die Kulturwerke der deutschen Literatur* I, Berlin, 1910; but as the present volume is more restricted in its scope, it presents a convenient and uninterrupted study of the one dominating question of personality: the aim of the book is 'to show the outgrowth of individuality from the very structure of mediæval society on the development of German Literature from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries,' an outgrowth which appears to Francke to be 'on the main an ascending line of a continuous widening, intensifying and deepening of individual life.' Chivalric minnesong and the courtly epic with, as their representatives, Walther von der Vogelweide[1], Hartman von Aue, Wolfram von Eschenbach and Gottfried von Strassburg; the Dominican and Franciscan friars, especially the outstanding personality of Berthold von Regensburg (pp. 50–58); the great Mystic movement, this link, as Woeringer calls it, between the abstract, spiritual Gothic and the sensual Renaissance, with Sister Matilda of Magdeburg in the thirteenth, and Eckhart, Heinrich Suso and Johannes Tauler in the fourteenth century; popular song and satires such as *Meier Helmbrecht*[2] (pp. 105–114), 'clearly reflecting the democratization of feeling, the rising tide of citizen independence, the imbuing of the masses with the instinct for self-assertion which made Luther's work possible,' the religious drama of the fifteenth century and, imbued with the same spirit, German religious painting as revealed in Dürer's four great series of woodcuts

[1] If my explanation of Walther's verse, Lachmann 67, 32 in this periodical, Vol. XIII, p. 230, holds good, then it affords another proof of the great singer's individual consciousness.

[2] His author, Wernher, by the way, was certainly not a friar as Francke still maintains (p. 105).

(pp. 138–150); the Humanist movement with Erasmus and Ulrich von Hutten to whom, as a vindication of his often underrated activity, a whole chapter (pp. 184–212) is devoted: these are the literary movements and the individuals which Francke brings before us in vivid pictures. Occasionally his enthusiasm carries him too far. It is difficult to subscribe to the much too eulogistic characterization of Hartman's *Armer Heinrich*, which Francke regards as an early parallel to Goethe's *Iphigenie* (pp. 22–27). He is also incorrect in his interpretation of the hero's relation to God. Again, Gottfried's *Tristan* (pp. 36–42) is described as if there were no French source, no Thomas, behind it. And yet it is a question how far the detachment of personality from the corporate consciousness of chivalry, with which Francke credits Gottfried, was not already inherent in his source, even though it be conceded that the German poet deepened the gulf between the conventional and the rights of individual passion.

It is interesting and instructive to see how, throughout the book, the historian and connoisseur of Mediaeval Fine Arts vies with the student of Literature in setting the literary movements and documents in their proper historical and aesthetic framework, and it is pleasant to feel the warm and genuine love of the subject which pervades these six chapters, more especially those on criticism and the popular song of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Here we fully agree with Francke's characterization of these songs as 'the collective testimony to an extraordinary heightening of personal sensibility and personal power of imagination, among masses of people' (p. 80).

R. Priebsch.

London.

Betha Colaim Chille (*Life of Columcille*). Edited and translated by A. O'Kelleher and G. Schoepperle. Urbana, Illinois. 3 dol. 50.

After many years of waiting and disappointment there appears to be a prospect that Irishmen in America will at length do something to promote the serious study of the venerable language of their ancestors. In June 1916 a society was organised under the name of the 'Irish Foundation of Chicago' and a Research Fellowship in connection with the University of Illinois was established. The present edition of the most comprehensive life of the greatest of the Irish saints is the work of the first Fellow in collaboration with Miss Gertrude Schoepperle. The first half of the text had already appeared in the *Celtische Zeitschrift* with translation by the late Professor Henebry and Father Kelleher. This edition will appear sumptuous in the eyes of European scholars who have grown accustomed to inferior workmanship imposed by war conditions. The introduction contains amongst other things a useful analysis of the sources utilised by the compiler of the Life and at the end there is a most welcome *index verborum*. The editors have produced a notable book which will interest the student of folk-lore and hagiology as well as the grammarian. Our information about Early

Modern Irish is still very defective and this important sixteenth-century text provides excellent material for further investigation. The wide range of Irish literature offers plenty of scope to the editor of texts and in expressing gratitude to the generous supporters of the 'Irish Foundation of Chicago' one can only hope that this edition of Manus O'Donnell's work will be the first of a long series.

E. C. QUIGGIN.

CAMBRIDGE.

The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages. By HAROLD E. PALMER. London: G. G. Harrap and Co. 1917. 8vo. 328 pp.

The author describes his well-printed volume as being 'A Review of the Factors and Problems connected with the Learning and Teaching of Modern Languages, with an Analysis of the Various Methods which may be adopted in Order to attain satisfactory Results.' To the end of enabling the student of a foreign language 'to understand what he hears and reads, and also to express himself correctly both by the oral and written mediums,' Mr Palmer works out a standard programme and lays down a methodology for both teacher and taught.

Language is differentiated into units of phonetics, phonology, orthography, etymology, semantics and ergonics in a very practical manner in spite of a somewhat unnecessarily overburdened terminology. The numerous examples given of ideas that may be expressed monologically in one language and polylogically in another, or vice-versa, as also of the distinctions between phonemes and sounds, would be found helpful by beginners. Many a student of philology confuses sound with phoneme (the unit of phonology) and both with their graphic representation, through a failure to realize that the phoneme is relative, the result of a long historical evolution, whereas the sound is absolute, 'the fixed quantity of a physiological and acoustic nature.' Thus the vowel element in the English unit 'bone,' considered phonologically, 'is a phoneme of which one of the ancestral forms (Early English) was probably pronounced [a:], and of which the present-day pronunciation varies between two extremes [əu] and [o:].'

Considering semantic cognates or 'significative varieties' of the same word, the writer asserts that to the language-learner the significative distinction is everything and the historical identity nothing. Yet surely if we can connect any word with others related in meaning and form our grasp of its 'significative varieties' will be the more rational and stronger. In explaining 'moutardier' are we to be barred from understanding the evolution of the secondary meaning of this word ('conceited fellow')?

To the author 'translation is a more direct mode of conveying the meaning of a unit than definition, and, *a fortiori*, more direct than context.' Yet he does not lay sufficient stress on the right use and understanding of a term in its proper context, which as he admits, require long stages of perception and association (we should prefer

'apperception') even if common in everyday language. He is in somewhat of a hurry to save the pupil the labour of arriving at generalisations by *giving* him equivalents in the native tongue. It is nothing to the point that the student *does* translate for himself whichever method of conveying meaning is used; translation does not, any more than definition in either language, ensure apperception and intelligent use of the new term, just as, conversely, the student may be able to associate foreign words with the things designated by them, even understand them in their rational setting, and yet, as Mr Palmer himself shows in several instances, be unable to furnish definitions or native equivalents. His student of German, who, reading a technical book on chemistry, concludes that 'Wasserstoff' is 'hydrogen,' has through context and function, 'cognized' more effectively than by reaching down a dictionary or being supplied with Mr Palmer's 'authentic and official translations.' Similarly, in utilizing diagrams and other graphic representations, and in associating the abstract with the concrete in space, it cannot be too strongly insisted that there must be a rational connexion or setting if the mnemonic aid is to be lasting.

In the chapter on the ideal programme there are many valuable practical suggestions on method; specimen lessons and typical exercises open up a mine of material to the teacher, although, coming after his attack on the direct method, the writer's examples of 'subsconscious comprehension' seem old wine in new bottles. The classification of ergonic drills as used by different methods in the past, together with the warning against studying the purely literary side of languages, is a useful feature of a contribution to linguistics which is both interesting and thought-provoking.

L. A. Triebel.

London.

MINOR NOTICES.

Miss Caroline Goad's *Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (*Yale Studies in English*, LVIII; London: Humphrey Milford, 1918, 12*s.* 6*d.* net) contains a laborious collection of 641 pages of quotations from Horace and allusions to him in a selected number of representative writers—Rowe, Addison, Steele, Prior, Gay, Pope, Swift, Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, Smollett, Johnson, Chesterfield and Walpole. One wonders a little if the work was worth doing on so elaborate a scale, but it cannot be said that it has been done badly, and Miss Goad from her particular angle of approach has detected and pointed out to us in an interesting way characteristic differences in the temper and habitual reading of the authors she has chosen. She is careful in her work, discriminating in her criticism, and a pleasant writer: and she has in Horace an author who above all others comes home to men's business and bosoms. She has overlooked a few errors, e.g. in her first quotation, p. 19 ('Stultum' for 'Stultorum'), and p. 188 ('proprior' for 'propior'), and her criticism of Johnson's phrase, 'laxity of numbers'

(evidently applied to Horace's *Satires*) is much beside the mark. She would emend it to 'laxity of manners,' on the ground that Johnson praises Horace's 'numbers' in the *Odes*. This is only an unaccountable slip. The question remains—Was the investigation worth the enormous labour Miss Goad has bestowed on it? G. C. M. S.

The Department of English of the University of Wisconsin is to be congratulated on the volume of *Studies* by its members which has just seen the light (*University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 2, Madison, September, 1918). We should be proud if the English Schools of our British Universities gave similar evidence of their vitality. Among these varied essays, every critic would make a different selection of the most interesting. We are ourselves particularly glad to find an account of Joseph Fawcett, whose name is familiar to us in connexion with Wordsworth, Godwin and Hazlitt, and to get a reprint of his poem, *The Art of War*. These gifts we owe to Mr Arthur Beatty. We may not believe that the finer qualities of style can be assessed by quantitative or arithmetical methods, but Mr Warner Taylor in a paper on the prose style of Johnson brings out clearly some broad differences between Johnson's style in *The Rambler* and that in *The Lives of the Poets*. We are surprised to find, however, that he includes among the 'musty curiosities' of Johnson's vocabulary the words 'annuitant' and 'propagate.' Are these words not in common use in America? Mr W. E. Leonard has a suggestive paper on the relation of the verse in *Beowulf* to that of the *Nibelungenlied*, Mr W. F. de Moss points out the influence of C. E. Norton on Ruskin, and there are good papers on 'The Oriental in Restoration Drama' by Mr L. Wann, on 'Costuming on the English Stage between 1660 and 1823' by Miss L. B. Campbell, on Henry James' characters by Mr W. B. Cairns, and on 'Some influences of Meredith's philosophy upon his fiction' by Mr O. J. Campbell. Mr Campbell is to be admired for his courage in saying that 'the older Meredith grew, the more the artist was submerged by the philosopher,' and that 'some of his later characters are fading out of human semblance.' G. C. M. S.

The title of the pamphlet before us, *The Vocabulary of Anglo-Irish*, by James M. Clark, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of English Language and Literature at the Handels-Hochschule of St Gall, scarcely sufficiently explains its scope. It treats not only of the vocabulary of the Anglo-Irish dialect but also of its pronunciation and its syntax. A short appreciation is also given of some of the modern writers, such as Gerald Griffin, Lever, Synge, etc., who have used the dialect in fiction or in drama.

Mr Clark is a thorough master of his subject and is evidently a keen observer. If he is an Irishman, he must have lived long in England or amongst Englishmen, for he notices slight departures from standard speech which would almost certainly escape the notice of the Irishman of exclusively Irish culture. Interesting as are his lists of words, borrowings from Gaelic or survivals of Old English, the general

reader will be most attracted by the section in which he treats of Anglo-Irish expressions and turns of phrase, giving explanations and illustrations of their meaning and force.

It were much to be wished that English writers of fiction who aspire to introduce Irish characters into their stories would purchase and study Mr Clark's pamphlet. Readers would thus be spared the perusal of the impossible jargon which generally, so far, has done duty in such works as Irish dialect.

M. T. H.

Although Francisco de Hollanda died in 1584 we are only now privileged to read in print his principal work, *Da Pintvra Antigva* (Porto, 1918). The name of Dr Joaquim de Vasconcellos on the title-page is a guarantee of accuracy and patient research, and all scholars will cordially congratulate him on having thus crowned his work of the last forty years. It was in 1879 that he published Hollanda's treatise *Da Fabrica*, and the *Quatro Dialogos* appeared under the same editorship in 1896, and in German (*Vier Gespräche*) in 1899. They were translated into English by the late Sir Charles Holroyd in 1903 and into French by M. Léo Rouanet in 1911. They however form only the second part of the work now published, the first part of which (pp. 57–174) likewise proves to be full of interest. An introduction and many biographical and bibliographical notes show that the editor's hand has not lost its cunning.

Dr Gonçalves Cerejeira's work, *O Renascimento em Portugal—Clenardo*, 2 vol. (Coimbra, 1917, 1918) is concerned with the same brief period of Portugal's golden age and contains many of Clenardus' witty and important letters in a Portuguese version. Dr José Joaquim Nunes has published an edition of a lengthy manuscript carefully copied by him in the Lisbon *Biblioteca Nacional: Crónica da Ordem dos Frades Menores* (1209–1285), 2 vol. (Coimbra, 1918) and has added an introduction, notes and a glossary. It is a fifteenth century Portuguese translation of a fourteenth century Latin chronicle, and will be invaluable to all students of the Portuguese language.

The second of Dona Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos' *Notas Vicentinas* (Coimbra, 1918) deals nominally with the question of Gil Vicente's patrons in his first literary effort (1502), but, as was to be expected from the author, it embraces various other subjects and brings to each a wealth of learning which is rendered easy and delightful by an unfailing zest and clearness.

A. F. G. B.

We gladly recommend the *Syllabus and Selected Bibliography of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, with Topical and Chronological Notes and Comparative Chronological Tables*, by Prof. W. Addison Hervey (New York: Lemcke and Buechner, 1918: 1 dol.) as a little book which should be in every working-library of students of German. It is concisely and practically arranged; but, in spite of the author's invitation to his

critics to add to it, we think it would gain rather by compression than expansion. For us on this side of the Atlantic it is handicapped by being too exclusively adapted to American conditions. In enumerating editions of German classics with English notes, for instance, we observe that only one volume of Prof. Breul's series is included, and Buchheim's are completely ignored. The latter can still easily hold their own with most of the American editions which are here recommended; the later editors have certainly—and to their advantage—not overlooked him. In his section on Lessing Prof. Hervey does not seem to take count of the third edition of Goedeke's *Grundriss*, the relevant parts of which appeared in 1910–11.

J. G. R.

Mr Charles W. Stork's translation of *The Lyrical Poems of Hugo von Hofmannsthal* (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press: London, H. Milford, 1918, 5*s.* 6*d.* net) bears testimony to a delicate appreciation of Hofmannsthal's lyric poetry and to no small degree of poetical talent in the translator. The spirit, rhythm and felicity of expression of the original have, in general, their counterpart in the English version, and that, although the translator is obviously handicapped by the uninflected character of English as compared with German. *Early Spring, Thy Face, Interdependence, Lines to a Little Child* seem to us among the happiest of Mr Stork's renderings. As is inevitable, a number of his renderings weaken or alter the sense of the German, and we have occasionally come upon direct misunderstanding of the sense of the original: but the poetical charm of the translation outweighs these occasional defects and gives English readers a very fair and pleasing impression of one of the most gifted of the younger Austrian poets.

R. C. J.

RE-ENTER GHOST.

A REPLY TO MR J. DOVER WILSON.

When I wrote an article on *Hamlet's Hallucination* I certainly hoped to 'draw' some orthodox Shakespearian; it is an unexpected pleasure to cross foils with so able and generous an adversary as my friend Mr Dover Wilson[1].

In his Reply Mr Dover Wilson traverses my arguments in detail and at considerable length, and hints that he has further reserves available should the strategic position necessitate their employment. Much of his article, however, is occupied with preliminary skirmishing which admittedly can yield no decisive result, while the development of his main attack, which is of the nature of a counter offensive, is regrettably brief, and is perhaps hardly pushed home with the vigour needed to secure the position. In meeting his elaborately concerted operations I shall endeavour, if only for the sake of the spectators, to confine myself to such points in the field of attack as are of strategic importance or possess some individual interest.

There are one or two observations of a general nature which require to be made at the outset. In the first place I desire emphatically to deny the charge that my theory completely overthrows 'our general ideas on the character of the prince of Denmark.' 'Once allow,' writes Mr Dover Wilson, 'that Hamlet had valid excuse for his later suggestions that the Ghost "may be the devil" or a "damned ghost," and the whole character interest is weakened and confused, while the level of the play is lowered; what had been a spiritual problem becomes a spiritualistic one.' But surely what is relevant in this connexion is what Hamlet believes, not what Shakespeare intended his audience or readers to infer. And it appears that rightly or wrongly Hamlet did have serious doubts as to the nature of the Ghost. Probably Mr Dover Wilson will deny this and hold that Hamlet's alleged doubts are but a pretext of his irresolution, but the view has at least been held by many,

[1] *Modern Language Review*, Oct. 1917, XII, 393, and Apr. 1918, XIII, 129. I must apologize to readers for the tardiness of this reply: its delay has been due to the inexorable demands of more urgent if less entertaining work.

if not by a majority, of Shakespeare's commentators and is no innovation of mine[1].

Next, it is not true that I represented *Hamlet* as 'written for the closet not for the stage, for the reader not the spectator.' What I said was that 'In composition Shakespeare must have had in mind readers as well as spectators; he must have written for the closet as well as for the stage.' Let me try to make quite clear what it is that I conceive Shakespeare to have attempted in the case of *Hamlet*. Of course the play was written primarily for the stage, and the obvious meaning and appeal must be such as can be grasped in representation by the average spectator. But my contention was, and still is, that this obvious interpretation does not account either for certain peculiarities of construction or for the tone of certain passages. The reason for these I find in a secondary and more recondite interpretation, which should, I think, be apparent to anyone who reads the play carefully *without the prepossession derived from a stage performance in which attention has been exclusively concentrated upon the obvious interpretation.* How far the subtler meaning can ever have been appreciated on the stage even by the 'judicious' is a point difficult to determine. It may be that no unprepared spectator, witnessing the play for the first time, would be able to grasp it. But need we suppose that plays were never discussed in the taverns among the finer wits, that the latter never thought over a

[1] W. W. Lawrence (*vide infra*, p. 362): 'the soliloquy at the end of Act II shows [Hamlet] assailed with doubts of the genuineness of the spectral revelations on the battlements': 'Will the king...keep his countenance, and Hamlet thus be led to conclude that he is innocent, the Ghost a devil, and the revelations on the midnight terrace false?'—On the general problem of the objectivity of the Ghost Mr Dover Wilson directs my attention to two articles by Professor F. W. Moorman in the first volume of the *Modern Language Review*, and suggests that had I consulted them I should have seen the error of my ways. It was certainly inexcusable of me to have missed or forgotten these articles. I have now read them carefully, and with great interest, but without penitence so far as my theory is concerned. Had they been before me when writing my previous paper I certainly need not have wasted time over Shakespeare's other ghosts—in *Richard III*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Macbeth*—since Professor Moorman arrives at identically the same conclusions as I did. As regards *Hamlet*, however, in which he assumes the Ghost to be unquestionably real, his discussion, turning on the source and history of the machinery, does not appear to me to be relevant to the issue. Moreover, Professor Moorman's general conclusion, that the Shakespearian ghost 'is at once the embodiment of remorseful presentiment and the instrument of divine justice,' seems to agree rather with my view of this particular case than with his own! Mr Lawrence similarly refers me to E. E. Stoll's article on 'The Objectivity of the Ghosts in Shakspere' in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* for 1907. This was written in reply to that of the 'gentleman named F. C. Moorman' (*sic*) to show that even Shakespeare's minor ghosts—even Katharine's vision—are objective. But Mr Stoll makes no attempt to answer the question why, in that case, Shakespeare has introduced the ghosts of Banquo and Caesar in such a manner as clearly to suggest the reverse. Till that is done no amount of *a priori* argument from folklore or the writings of other authors, whether Heywood or Virgil, can affect the issue. With a critic, moreover, who thinks that appearance to the audience is 'the crucial test of objectivity of any Elizabethan ghost' it is difficult to find common ground of argument.

performance they had seen and stumbled upon points whose significance had passed unnoticed at the time or remembered difficulties that had given but a moment's pause in the excitement of representation, and that they never returned and sat through a second performance with a view to getting a clearer conception of the author's meaning? Moreover, it would be possible for the actors to give considerable help to the 'judicious' without running any danger of seriously confusing those who were content with the more naïve interpretation. That they did so I infer from the presence of the dumb show in the first quarto. For stage purposes it would have been quite easy[1] to have cut this out and so have removed all difficulty: that this was not done points, in my view, to the fact that the actors did not relegate the secondary interpretation to the study but accepted it for the stage and presumably did their best to make it intelligible to such as it might interest. It would not be difficult to give the necessary clues. The style of the Ghost's speech would serve as a starting point; it would inevitably catch the ear of the attentive listener and raise the question: 'What is Master Shakespeare up to here?' Something might be done with that puzzling cellarage scene. But it is in the play-scene itself that the actors could do most to aid the intelligence of their auditors. That the scene could be staged on the lines I indicated even Mr Dover Wilson will hardly deny. It would be quite easy to make clear to an unprejudiced and alert spectator that it was Hamlet's conduct and not the poisoner's speech that drove the King from the hall, while yet leaving the naïve groundling, who had swallowed the Ghost's revelation, to believe, like the Prince himself, in the success of Hamlet's plot. There has, for Hamlet's sake, to be a semblance of success; that would amply satisfy the uncritical generality, however clearly the acting pointed in another direction. The actors would, therefore, have plenty of scope for introducing hints for the benefit of the curious in unravelling the inner meaning of the author. Of course, many of the minor points to which I directed attention (supposing them to be genuine points) would necessarily escape even the keenest of spectators, but once the clue was given they would serve to elucidate the interpretation, and provide critical sport, for the intelligent reader.

Mr Dover Wilson makes the preliminary point that in developing my thesis I proceeded in what was the logical order of investigation instead of following the dramatic order of Shakespeare's composition. It suits the method of his attack to follow the latter order, and this I am

[1] *Pace* Mr Dover Wilson.

perfectly willing to accept and propose to adopt in the ensuing remarks.

My critic insists much upon the dramatic atmosphere of the opening scenes. '*Hamlet* opens as a ghost-story'—yes, because *Hamlet* is a ghost story. But has Mr Dover Wilson never heard of the device of telling a story in such a way that it shall refute itself[1]? Without the atmosphere who could believe in the Ghost at all? The setting is a necessary part of the plot, a part all the more essential in the peculiar conditions of the Elizabethan stage. Fancy representing a midnight phantom in the broad sunshine of a summer's afternoon[2] on a stage lined by the audience on three sides at least! True, the audience was accustomed to the conventions of its theatre, and the absurdity would not be to them what it would be to us; but then to us the thing is simply unthinkable, and it must at best have demanded all the master's magic to render it even tolerably plausible. And Mr Dover Wilson asks us to believe that the Ghost was so convincing that no one could possibly retain even a suspicion of disbelief!

As regards Horatio's evidence, Mr Dover Wilson apparently accepts my contention that the witness lets the cat out of the bag by confessing that he had only once set eyes on the late King[3], and is driven to suggest that Horatio recognized him from coins and portraits. I have not the least doubt that Horatio was perfectly familiar with the features of the elder Hamlet, but I contend that he uses language which implies an intimate personal acquaintance he did not possess, language in other words that is excited and rhetorical, and therefore in general untrustworthy[4]. I am told that I 'ignored' the fact that Horatio had seen the face of the Ghost. I did not ignore the only fact of which we can be certain, namely that Horatio afterwards said that he had seen its face (for I quoted his words myself), but I suggest that the elaborate descrip-

[1] I should like to pay my mite of tribute to my friend and master A. W. Verrall by alluding in this connexion to his brilliant analysis of 'Wandering Willie's Tale' in *Redgauntlet*—a piece of critical subtlety which I admire and enjoy none the less for happening to disagree with it. See 'The Prose of Walter Scott' in his *Collected Literary Essays*.

[2] My critic has involved himself in a strange contradiction on this point (footnote on p. 135). It is broad daylight, but Shakespeare's art makes us believe it is night. But in the dark how is the Ghost's face visible? Clearly because it is really daylight. But it is also dark. Consequently the luckless Shakespeare must have his ghost-face daubed with luminous paint. Really, Dover Wilson!

[3] Mr Percy Simpson has recently questioned the accuracy of my interpretation on this point (*M. L. R.*, XIII, 321). But to me at least his ingenious reconstruction of the passage in question fails to carry conviction.

[4] Mr Dover Wilson suggests that Horatio may have learned about the King's armour and the 'angry parle' from Marcellus and Bernardo. I should like to think that this was so, for the fact of his solemnly returning them their own information would exactly illustrate that rhetorical tendency which I conceive to vitiate all Horatio's evidence.

tion he gives to Hamlet is nothing but the picture he has subsequently and quite honestly built up in his own mind. Horatio is a most interesting study. His early scepticism is not critical but merely unbelieving and it receives a rude shock from the apparition whatever it may be. Equally uncritical is his later belief and his acceptation of his companions' assumptions. He is the typical scoffer, and it is the scoffer who makes your most dramatic convert. A particularly interesting point in this connexion is the question of Hamlet's age. What Mr Dover Wilson says about the data being scattered and easily explained as oversights on Shakespeare's part is, of course, perfectly reasonable and true. By itself the point would be wholly insignificant. When, however, our suspicions have already been aroused by other circumstances it is legitimate to inquire whether Master Will may not for once have been awake and have meant what he said. And it so happens that there is rather strong reason to suppose that this was indeed the case. For in the first quarto the references are quite vague and cannot be made to yield any definite conclusion, while in the second they are singularly precise and correlated. Now, if Mr Dover Wilson is right in regarding the second quarto as containing a revision by Shakespeare of the earlier version, these alterations must be taken as intentional and 'make things still more awkward for' him[1].

The swearing-scene, Mr Dover Wilson is 'free to admit,' is 'a difficult one for those who hold the traditional interpretation' as for me, and he is perhaps wise, despite all the stress he lays on criticising the incidents in their dramatic order, in taking it out of the place where Shakespeare put it, and discussing it before, instead of after, what he calls the 'wonderful scene' of the revelation. Mr Dover Wilson appears to possess such intimate knowledge of the psychology of an Elizabethan audience that one less favoured must necessarily hesitate to differ from him on a question of dramatic appeal. Nevertheless, there is one observation which I am tempted to make. Mr Dover Wilson writes: 'the effect of the whole scene, characterized as it is by that blend of the comic and the infernal which appealed so strongly to the mediaeval mind, must have been extraordinarily powerful in a seventeenth century theatre.' But, so far as my observation goes, the 'blend' that delighted

[1] Mr Dover Wilson accuses me of begging the question of the relation between the texts. I am afraid this is the only thing to do with a question which is quite unsettled and likely to remain so. For in spite of his recent brilliant work on the subject in the *Library* Mr Dover Wilson will hardly argue that a final solution of the problem has yet been attained, far less accepted. Suffice it that he allows my contention that Q_1 is based on an acting version, while for my part I willingly accept his view that revision plays a part, perhaps a large part, in the difference between the texts.

the mediaeval mind was that of the comic and the diabolic, I can recall no instance of association between the comic and the spectral: and I would further suggest that though the seventeenth century undoubtedly laughed at the mediaeval devil, it was itself far from being mediaevally minded. While it is necessary to allow for divergence of feeling between an Elizabethan and a modern audience, we must bear in mind that it is always dangerously easy to exaggerate the mental differences between ourselves and people of another age or country.

It is but natural that my view of the ghost's speech should fail to commend itself to Mr Dover Wilson. But on one point we are clearly in agreement, namely in regarding it as markedly alien in style from Shakespeare's ordinary writing. To account for it orthodoxy is forced to compare it with the Pyrrhus speech, to suggest that, strange as it may seem to modern taste, it is no stranger than parts of *Troilus and Cressida* —for it is *so* difficult to know what Shakespeare really admired—and finally (in a note) that much of it may not be Shakespeare's at all! This merely proves my point that the Ghost's speech is not what we should expect of Shakespeare. We have sufficient of that author's writing to know what under given circumstances and at a given period his style was likely to be, and the Ghost's speech is *not* natural Shakespeare. The Pyrrhus speech is similarly differentiated for reasons which are partly obvious and partly matter of speculation. *Troilus and Cressida* is a standing puzzle, not merely because it contains things repugnant to modern taste, but because its unlikeness in many ways to Shakespeare's other works raises all sorts of conjecture as to his intention in writing it. In the same manner, whether the Ghost's speech be the mature composition of Shakespeare or a fragment of youthful work or work of an earlier playwright, it is impossible that Shakespeare should have written or retained it in this prominent and critical position without the deliberate intention that its strange disparity of style should carry with it a change of meaning.

Mr Dover Wilson's intuition of 'the psychological atmosphere of the Elizabethan theatre' enables him to perceive that, however ineffective the Ghost's speech, interpreted on conventional lines, may be to a modern reader, to the 'mediaeval' Elizabethan audience nothing could be 'finer or more impressive.' And Mr Dover Wilson frankly agrees with the Elizabethan audience. It certainly is, as he says, a question of taste. He admires the 'fretful porpentine,' and I suppose would defend the 'Nemean lion' as well: I do not. It may be that the speech deserves all the praise Mr Dover Wilson bestows upon it; it may be

successful, effective, thrilling, electrifying, a great scenic triumph, just what a tremendous situation demanded of a supreme dramatist. If so literary and dramatic art mean nothing to me. I fear there is nothing unlikely in this suggestion, and I should perhaps feel inclined to take the hint Mr Dover Wilson very delicately conveys, and confine my attention in the future to bibliography, were it not for the assurance that better critics than I share my dissatisfaction with the Ghost's harangue.

A more arguable matter is the information imparted by the Ghost to Hamlet. According to Mr Dover Wilson the Ghost's narrative, quite apart from the question of the poisoning, contains internal guaranty of its genuineness. His argument runs: the Ghost accuses the Queen of adultery; Hamlet cannot have suspected this; it is true, for the Queen admits as much; and Dr Greg has entirely overlooked the point. This is clearly an argument which, if valid, knocks my theory into the proverbial cocked hat. But is it valid? Mr Dover Wilson argues his first point at considerable length. Now, I know that the question of the Queen's guilt has been debated by commentators; but as regards the Ghost's allegation I can conceive no possibility of doubt: I endorse Mr Dover Wilson's view completely. But so far from overlooking the point, I imagined that I had dealt sufficiently if briefly with a disagreeable subject when I said that Hamlet not only believed his uncle guilty of murder, but that 'His disgust at his mother's marriage must long ago have bred other suspicions[1].' And I would ask any candid reader whether Hamlet can possibly have been unsuspicious on the point—for of course it is his suspicions rather than his knowledge that are translated into the Ghost's narrative. Hamlet has long been fretting in disgusted rage over the indecent haste of his mother's marriage, 'his whole soul was filled with nausea at the speedy hasting to "incestuous sheets"'—is it even conceivable that his brooding and suspicious mind should have failed to brand the usurper with adultery as well as murder? Surely not. That in the Ghost's narrative the Queen is a faithless wife is certain, and it is scarcely less certain that this reflected Hamlet's unavowed suspicions at least, if not his conscious thought. But was the accusation, were the suspicions, true? Yes, says Mr Dover Wilson, for the charge is implied in Hamlet's denunciation of the Queen and

[1] I see now that this allusion was insufficient and ambiguous, and I unluckily rendered it more so by remarking that 'rhetoric almost demanded' the addition of the epithet 'adulterous' to 'incestuous.' I still think that its occurrence is prompted by the rhetoric of the passage, but of course it could not have occurred had it not been present in the Ghost's—or Hamlet's—mind. I allow that I failed to perceive the full significance of the question.

she does not deny it. Hamlet, of course, thought her guilty and his speech reflects his belief; but it is admitted that 'He does not accuse her of adultery in so many words,' and how could she possibly deny such an accusation if it were not explicitly made? It may well be questioned whether she even gathered the drift of her son's seeming extravagance, and in any case she was reduced to too pulpy a state to attempt any defence whether innocent or guilty. The argument from her silence is worthless. But there is another piece of evidence which Mr Dover Wilson himself quotes without seeing its bearing. It has often been observed by critics that 'the first Quarto mentions the adultery two or three times.' The second contains no unequivocal allusion outside the Ghost's speech. But if Shakespeare in revising the play deliberately removed all those passages which serve to substantiate the accusation of the Ghost, we can only infer that he did not intend us to take that accusation at its face value—it is equivalent to a statement by the author himself that the Ghost's story was untrue. Mr Dover Wilson's argument, therefore, far from upsetting my thesis is found on examination to furnish most valuable and unexpected support.

The last point raised in the first part of Mr Dover Wilson's article concerns the coincidences between the Ghost's narrative and the *Murder of Gonzago*, and is a very clever one. These resemblances appear too close to be reasonably ascribed to coincidence, and I argued that the play suggested to Hamlet at least one crucial detail, namely the method of the poisoning. But, objects Mr Dover Wilson, the resemblances are much wider than this particular point. Quite apart from the method of the poisoning, are not the resemblances between the play and the actual facts of Hamlet's death as we *know* them, and not merely as the Ghost represents them, equally impossible as coincidences[1]? In other words 'has not Dr Greg succeeded in proving a little too much?' It certainly looks at first sight as though he had, and an argument can hardly contain a more fatal flaw. But let us examine the matter a little closer. Mr Dover Wilson enumerates the resemblances as follows: the murder of a king, the use of poison, the method of poisoning, the place and occasion of the deed, the succession of the murderer to crown and queen. Now, it is clear that not all these resemblances are to be regarded as coincidences. Some general resemblance there must be in order that the two stories should become related at all, and the performance of the

[1] Lawrence (*vide infra*), on the other hand, makes light of the coincidences altogether. 'In the present instance, the coincidences are not really so great, perhaps, as they seem.' The most striking, the method of the poisoning, may have been inserted by Hamlet. 'But I do not think that Shakspere meant his audience to go so far as this'!

play suggest itself to Hamlet's mind. Royal murders are not uncommon. I take it that the fundamental resemblance consists in a usurper murdering a king and marrying his widow. The use of poison can hardly count. It has been as regular a means of removing kings as popes. The method is the crucial point of similarity which I suggest was furnished by the play to the narrative. There remain the place and occasion: 'we know that the old king was murdered in his orchard or garden, during his after-dinner nap.' Do we? Gonzago was murdered on a 'bank of flowers' ('i' the garden' according to Hamlet). The Ghost complains of having been poisoned in his orchard ('orchard *or* garden' is an invention of Mr Dover Wilson's). But this is 'ghost-evidence.' Of course the Ghost must say nothing that conflicts with fact so far as Hamlet knows it. But how much did Hamlet know of the circumstances of his father's death? He had been for several years away from home at Wittenberg and was probably little familiar with his father's private habits. The afternoon nap is simply lifted by the Ghost out of the play along with that fantastic poison. All that we can say is that both Gonzago and Hamlet were found dead in the palace grounds[1]. To this the real *coincidences* between the play and the *facts* of Hamlet's death reduce themselves[2]!

At this point Mr Dover Wilson sums up against me under three heads: (1) 'that the information of the Ghost can be proved true in all details except one': this I deny; not a single detail of the narrative can be proved true except such as Hamlet already knew or had good reason to suspect; (2) that the Ghost imparts unsuspected truth as to the Queen's adultery: to which I reply that this cannot possibly have been unsuspected and was probably not true; (3) that the suspicious parallelism between the Ghost's story and the Gonzago play is not confined to the method of the poisoning but pervades the whole: to which the answer is that the significant parallels between the action of the play and the *facts* of Danish history are negligible.

The majesty of buried Denmark sleeps sound and needs nor Hamlet's *requiescat* nor ours.

We pass at length to the play-scene, my interpretation of which

[1] ''Tis given out that, sleeping in my orchard, A serpent stung me.' These, therefore, are the data which must be *consistent* with the actual report, it does not follow that they may not be an embroidery thereon. 'My custom always of the afternoon' is not even alleged by the Ghost to have been 'given out.'

[2] So far, that is, as the action is concerned. The effect of the 'minutely accurate representation' is produced in part by the language which harps on the question of remarriage, and in this respect Hamlet may have altered the play.

Mr Dover Wilson analyses and attacks under six heads. The analysis, which, like the whole of the article in which it occurs, is set forth with scrupulous fairness, does not represent my views with absolute accuracy, but comes quite near enough for the purposes of discussion. I will, therefore, deal with the six points in order, but first let me make quite clear what it is I am here attempting and what it is necessary for my theory that I should attempt. Unquestionably I have to face the scene, and I have to show that it is *possible* to interpret it in a manner consistent with my theory. I do not need to show that it is the only possible interpretation, or that the orthodox interpretation is impossible. That the latter is *in a manner* possible is obvious; though after seeing *Hamlet* acted pretty frequently, and by such diverse performers as Benson, Forbes Robertson, Tree, H. B. Irving and Sarah Bernhardt, I have come to the conclusion that it is a very unsatisfactory interpretation indeed[1].

Now for the six points. (i) 'Hamlet is in a state of excitement when the scene opens,' or more precisely he begins to grow excited as the court assembles. The point is whether his undoubted extravagance is in part at least evidence of excitement or whether it is throughout mere pretence. The view we take will depend a good deal on our interpretation of one interesting detail. Hamlet says to Horatio: 'I must be idle.' 'Idle,' says Mr Dover Wilson, means 'crazy.' Now, 'idle' certainly could bear this meaning in Elizabethan English, and although the *New English Dictionary* does not quote the present passage for that sense, the latter is definitely assigned to it by Mr Onions in his valuable *Shakespeare Glossary*. It is venturesome to differ from such an authority, but, nevertheless, I do so with some confidence, for I believe that the interpreter has been biased by the (erroneous) assumption that Hamlet's extravagance *must* be fictitious. For my part I doubt even the possibility of such an interpretation here. 'Idle' could bear the sense of 'crazy' if the context demanded it. But its ordinary

[1] An elaborate attempt to re-interpret this scene in conformity with the orthodox view of the Ghost is made in an article on 'The Play Scene in *Hamlet*' by William Witherle Lawrence in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XVIII, 1. Mr Lawrence adopts my view that it was Hamlet's behaviour and not the King's emotion that brought the play to a conclusion, and argues that once the dumb show had put the King on his guard it became a struggle of will between him and Hamlet up to the point at which the latter's extravagance afforded an excuse for breaking up the court. I had of course anticipated this line of argument—it was in fact pointed out to me by Mr A. W. Pollard—and in my article I sought to meet it. The crucial point is the King's remark to Hamlet: 'Have you heard the argument? Is there no offence in 't?' Mr Lawrence has to argue that here the King is acting a part. This seems to me inconceivable. Mr Dover Wilson and I agree that this remark and, indeed, the whole of the King's behaviour is only explicable on the supposition that the dumb show had failed to enlighten him. Where we differ is as to why it failed.

meaning was much the same as now, namely 'unoccupied.' The natural meaning of the phrase 'I must be idle' would be 'I must appear disengaged.' And that meaning perfectly satisfies the present context—Hamlet says: 'Here they are! I must not be seen to be plotting.'

(ii) 'This excitement grows more and more violent as the scene proceeds[1].' It is very interesting to find that Mr Dover Wilson adopts my suggestion that to Hamlet the dumb show was unexpected[2], and that he is able to support this view by a piece of evidence ('the players cannot keep counsel') which had escaped me. As to Hamlet's excitement, I certainly seem to see plenty of evidence of nervous disturbance, but if Mr Dover Wilson is prepared to regard Hamlet's taunt: 'Madam, how like you this play?' and the Queen's reply as cool and sober 'aesthetic criticism,' I despair of enlightening him further[3].

(iii) 'The unlooked-for dumb-show, and its failure to stir the King's conscience, cause Hamlet to change his intention, and to force Claudius to self-exposure by frightening him, instead of leaving the play to do its work.' I am afraid that an attempt so far as possible to simplify my interpretation has led to some obscurity as regards Hamlet's 'change of purpose.' The phrase is really far too definite for what actually takes place. The fact is that there runs throughout a confusion or ambiguity as to the object of the Mouse Trap, with regard to which it is difficult to say how far it is Hamlet's and how far Shakespeare's. Two courses were open to Hamlet. One was to produce a play, which, by introducing the subject of murder in some apparently innocent manner should bring the King's crime vividly to his recollection, in the hope that he might betray some symptom of uneasiness for an alert observer to detect. This is the plan to 'catch the conscience of the king,' which is clearly in Hamlet's mind when he alludes to the stories of 'guilty creatures, sitting at a play'—stories in which, of course, the actual performance had no special relevance to the actual crime. The other course was to use the play as a means of showing the King that the fact and circumstances of his crime were known, in the hope that the sudden revelation would startle him into some action which would make his guilt manifest not merely to Hamlet but to the whole assembled court. It is this plan that Hamlet must have had in mind when he inserted a special speech

[1] Lawrence: 'The increasing suspense of this scene may be followed in Hamlet's own agitated action and words, culminating in his uncontrollable outburst at the end': 'Hamlet...reaches a pitch of almost uncontrollable nervous excitement.'

[2] Not so Lawrence: 'That he should be ignorant of the dumb-show is unthinkable.'

[3] Lawrence: 'Hamlet...breaks out into the open challenge "Madam, how like you this play?"—Gertrude, under the eyes of the court, can only gasp, in confusion, "The lady doth protest too much, methinks."'

in the play in order to tent the King more nearly, and, moreover, chose a play which represented the King's own crime in a perfectly unmistakable manner. Between these two incompatible lines of action Hamlet's intent hovered and alternated previous to the actual play scene. When that scene opens his conversation with Horatio shows that (in spite of the directions he has just been giving for the delivery of his speech) it is the first alternative that holds his attention, and I presume that this is so up to the moment of the dumb show. But that upsets everything. The mine has been sprung and has not produced even a tremor. The first plan, that of *testing* the King, has shipwrecked hopelessly; there only remains the second plan, that (assuming the King's guilt) of *frightening* him into public confession. On this then Hamlet concentrates his will. There is no conscious change of purpose, because he is not conscious of having throughout pursued a double aim, but one plan simply vanishes from his mind which becomes absorbed in the other. He now bends all his energies upon frightening the King, and this he does so effectually that not only does the King break up the court, but his action in so doing cannot possibly surprise or rouse suspicion in any member of the audience. I repeat that I am not at all clear how far the confusion was in Hamlet's mind and how far in Shakespeare's, but of this I am certain, that Shakespeare has so presented the matter that we are bound to suppose confusion and change of purpose on Hamlet's part *whatever* interpretation of the play we may adopt.

(iv) 'The King does *not* rise at the poisoning.' The sequence in the text is: Lucius pours the poison into the sleeper's ears; Hamlet delivers a speech of four lines[1]; Ophelia exclaims 'The king rises[2].' The evidence is in favour of a decided pause between the poisoning and the King's rising, and though, of course, he *may* be sitting 'dazed and ashen white' there is certainly no indication thereof in Hamlet's singularly irrelevant speech. Mr Dover Wilson points in triumph to Hamlet's subsequent conversation with Horatio as proving that the King had 'given himself away' *before* Hamlet's outburst. He broke down, Hamlet implies, 'Upon the *talk* of the poisoning.' Now, I doubt whether it is safe to lay much stress upon the word 'talk.' But suppose

[1] 'Four' is not an exaggeration as Mr Dover Wilson avers. In the wide measure of Q_2 the speech may only occupy $2\frac{3}{4}$ lines, but it is equivalent to four average lines of blank verse and occupies four lines of print in modern editions whose measure is adapted to that metre.

[2] Lawrence: 'Upon these last words [of Hamlet], as Shakespeare has carefully indicated through Ophelia's exclamation (—And as Greg has well emphasized—), the King rises.'

we do, what then? It is only Hamlet's assertion. Of course Hamlet *believes* that it is the King's guilt and not his own madness that has unkennelled itself, and of course he *assumes* that it is his famous 'speech' that has done the trick[1]! Mr Dover Wilson thinks that I failed to perceive the relevance of this passage. But he admits that I did not altogether overlook it, and I must ask him to believe that it was only a desire to avoid further complication that made me refrain from quoting it myself. For, when you come to look closer, it is perfectly clear that Horatio does not endorse Hamlet's view. The latter is bubbling over with elation and confidence. 'O good Horatio, I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pound.' He demands his friend's confirmation: 'Didst perceive?' 'Very well, my lord': of course Horatio, on the alert, had perceived. But what? 'Upon the talk of the poisoning?' urges Hamlet. But he gets little support from his confederate—no confident 'Ay, 'twas even so!' only the non-committal 'I did very well note him.' Of course he did—and much beside. Horatio dare not cross the mood of his excitable friend, so he fences, satisfying the eager questioner without committing himself to any acquiescence whatever. I find Horatio an eminently 'credible witness at this point.'

(v) 'Hamlet, thereupon[2], becomes unbearably violent, and the court disperses in confusion.' This, of course, depends upon the interpretation of Hamlet's four-line speech. Is this sedate 'chorus'—aesthetic, or historical, criticism? or is it excited gabble? 'It is noticeable,' says Mr Dover Wilson, 'that the passage [as printed in the second quarto] contains four commas (i.e. pauses)—suggestive of deliberation in the utterance, not excitement.' I welcome the evidence of the quarto punctuation, for which I share Mr Dover Wilson's respect, and need only point out that, in a modern text, one of the commas becomes a full stop and two of the remaining three colons! The quarto with its light punctuation as good as tells us that the speech is gabbled.

(vi) 'In the prayer-scene the King gives no hint of recent exposure.

[1] I admit that, in so far as it is necessary to identify the inserted speech, it must be identified with that of the murderer.

[2] This does not quite express my view. My feeling is, not that the failure of the King to give any sign of disturbance provokes Hamlet's outburst, but that when the crisis arrives, at which he expects to see the King break down, his excitement overpowers him before the King has even a chance of betraying himself.—Lawrence (who considers that the King's nerves were on the point of giving way and that he was already showing signs of disturbance when he was saved by Hamlet's behaviour, which gave him the longed-for excuse for breaking off the performance): 'the king...'' blenches,'' and Hamlet, unable longer to contain himself, leaps up and cries out, ''He poisons him...'' ': 'Hamlet's... outburst at the very end was hardly of a sort to be tolerated.'

He does not know that Hamlet knows.' This is not my contention. That the King's conscience is uneasy is obvious, and well it may be. Not only has the play brought the recollection of his own crime vividly before him, but he now finds himself compelled to add a second murder to his sum of guilt. I think it very probable that he suspects that Hamlet has guessed the truth, but that is nothing to the point. My contention is that not only the King's language and behaviour in his interview with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, but the whole subsequent course of the play, are unthinkable upon the assumption of orthodox commentary, that he has just betrayed himself publicly and irretrievably, and now stands before the entire court a branded and self-confessed murderer[1].

So much I have to say in defence of my own theory. There remains the much less grateful task of attacking the constructive portion of Mr Dover Wilson's brilliant essay, upon which, short as is his presentation of it[2], he has focused all his rare ingenuity. Among Shakespearian commentators Mr Dover Wilson has the distinction of being almost alone in perceiving, and wholly alone in attempting on traditional lines adequately to solve, the dramatic puzzle of the play-scene, and the orthodox will be singularly ungrateful if they fail to give due welcome to his defence of their position. But for those whose scepticism is less readily lulled there are certain considerations I should like to submit before judgment is passed.

To begin with there is one general observation I feel justified in making at the outset. I have recently had the opportunity, through the kindness of Professor W. W. Lawrence, of reading his interesting analysis of the play scene to which I have repeatedly referred in my notes. Mr Lawrence and Mr Dover Wilson agree in rejecting my general thesis, and there their agreement ends; and it is instructive to observe how every point in which Mr Lawrence agrees with my interpretation (for each of my critics has done me the honour of adopting some of my suggestions as against the traditional exegesis) is controverted by Mr Dover Wilson, while every point on which Mr Dover Wilson and

[1] Lawrence: 'it is perfectly clear that the noble spectators who attended the performance of the "Murder of Gonzago" were not informed by it of the guilt of Claudius...there is no evidence later on that anyone had guessed the truth.' Mr Dover Wilson's attempt to wring the meaning 'exposure in the eyes of men' out of 'the primal eldest curse' I can only regard as very far fetched.

[2] He has developed his view at greater length in four papers contributed to the *Athenæum* in July, August, September and November, 1918. But I deemed it sufficient to reply to those arguments by which he sought to establish his case in the *M. L. R.*, and purposely refrained from reading his *Athenæum* articles till the present rejoinder was completed.

I are at one is treated as absurd by Mr Lawrence! But until orthodox commentators come to some agreement as to how their common conclusions are to be reconciled with the data of the play it will remain justifiable to suggest that the fault may lie with their conclusions.

Mr Dover Wilson agrees that he has a double task to perform, first to prove that Shakespeare had some adequate reason for introducing the dumb show, and secondly to demonstrate how he avoided the disastrous consequences which its introduction must apparently have on the subsequent portion of the scene[1].

On the first of these points Mr Dover Wilson argues that it was necessary (1) to convey to the real audience a knowledge of the complete plot of the interrupted drama, and (2) to remind them at the same time of the details of the Ghost's revelation. Granted the necessity we may agree that in the dumb show Shakespeare found an ingenious method of effecting his purpose, provided that the difficulties it raised could be satisfactorily overcome.

But what of this supposed need? Was it really necessary for the effect of the scene that the audience should be apprised of the complete plot of the play which Hamlet proposed to perform (or rather, which is what Mr Dover Wilson means, of as much of it as is revealed by the dumb show)? This seems to me pure and gratuitous assumption upon Mr Dover Wilson's part. *Ex hypothesi* the spoken play before the interruption contained sufficient to enlighten the King. What was enough for the King was surely enough for the audience who had been given ample warning of Hamlet's purpose and knew what to expect.

And next the audience is supposed to have forgotten the purport of the Ghost's revelation, to which they had lately listened in spell-bound horror. That scene, which according to Mr Dover Wilson was so peculiarly impressive to an Elizabethan audience, yet failed to impress on their memories for one short half-hour the essential facts it was intended to communicate as the mainspring of the drama! No, with all deference I fail to see that Mr Dover Wilson makes out a case for the necessity of the dumb show.

And what of the effect of the dumb show on Claudius? One may

[1] According to Mr Lawrence Shakespeare's reason for introducing the dumb show was to inform the King that his secret was discovered and so make possible the contest of wills which he regards as the essence of the scene. This, so far as the play-scene is concerned, is an even more revolutionary interpretation than my own. For Hamlet's object in introducing the dumb show Mr Lawrence falls back on what may be called the 'second string' theory, but he seems to admit that Shakespeare sacrificed dramatic logic to theatrical effect, for he speaks of the dumb show as from Hamlet's point of view 'unwise,' yet helping 'the effectiveness of the scene.' Mr Dover Wilson has not to provide Hamlet with a reason since he does not regard the show as part of Hamlet's plan.

well hesitate to disturb the delicate structure of subtle exegesis that Mr Dover Wilson has raised at the hint of Halliwell's jejune suggestion. But it must be. And to begin with it is necessary to observe that little is gained by showing how Shakespeare *may* have sought to avoid the consequent difficulty, until some really cogent reason has been found for the dumb show that raised it. But granting even, what seems unlikely, that upon the orthodox assumptions such a reason exists, there would yet remain certain criticisms to be levelled against the way of escape proposed by Mr Dover Wilson. That the scene could be so staged as to give effect to his interpretation I will not deny—and I should recommend an actor wishing to represent an orthodox Hamlet to avail himself of it. But Mr Dover Wilson rightly conceives that more than this is required. In the absence of all external evidence he has set out to prove from the text alone that the dumb show passed unseen by the King, the Queen, and Polonius. The boldness of such an undertaking might well have daunted a less desperately resourceful critic. Here is a court audience just assembled in the hall of state to witness a play staged by the Prince himself, and the three most important and central personages of the audience, at the first entry of the actors, actually fail to see anything of what passes under their very noses! It would in itself be a daring piece of stage business, one on which no producer would be likely to venture without the most explicit directions from his author. And this Mr Dover Wilson attempts to reconstruct from chance hints in the dialogue, without the help of the vaguest stage direction or the remotest stage tradition, indeed in direct opposition to all stage interpretation of which we have record. If Mr Dover Wilson is correct, verily producers have been blind[1]!

One passage Mr Dover Wilson appeals to as proving his point. In the course of the representation the King turns to Hamlet with the remark: 'Have you heard the *argument*? Is there no offence in 't?' Now it happens that earlier Ophelia had said with regard to the dumb show: 'Belike this show imports the *argument* of the play.' Mr Dover Wilson reasons: the dumb show, as we know from Ophelia, is the argument of the play; the King, as we know from his questioning

[1] Mr Dover Wilson asks whether my interpretation does not 'somewhat lightly set aside...the silent testimony of generations of readers and audiences.' I might with perfect fairness, I think, retort that both his reconstruction and that of Mr Lawrence, if less upsetting than mine to our general ideas about the play, are much more so as regards the theatrical presentation of this particular scene. There is no getting away from the fact that there is in the play-scene a substantial difficulty of construction which has hitherto escaped general notice. The 'generations of readers and audiences' must take the consequences!

Hamlet, is ignorant of the argument; therefore the King cannot have seen the dumb show. But this does not necessarily follow. For Ophelia is probably wrong in her rather fatuous conclusion that the show is 'the argument of the play': it is presumably the argument, according to the general custom, of the first act only. Now the play is at best a very improper one to 'set before the' Queen, and the King, who sees this, wants to know whether Hamlet can vouch for there being nothing positively outrageous in it *as a whole*. The King's remark therefore fails to support Mr Dover Wilson's point, except on the very assumption which he is seeking to prove.

This once admitted, little remains of Mr Dover Wilson's ingenious structure. Although the play scene follows immediately on the nunnery scene there is no indication whatever that the King and Polonius when they enter are still discussing Hamlet's supposed madness; indeed, the King immediately addresses Hamlet, and it is in reply to the King that Hamlet speaks of being 'promise crammed.' Very likely he is playing up to what he supposes to be in the mind of the King, but he is certainly not interjecting a remark into a discussion between the King and Polonius. Nor can such a conversation begin at this point, for Hamlet now addresses his fooling to Polonius, and in it he does nothing to play up to that gentleman's suspicions. It is in reply to the Queen that Hamlet makes the remark which calls forth Polonius' 'O, ho! do you mark that?' This is the earliest point at which he and the King can possibly lay their heads together, and there is no evidence that they do so. Hamlet's subsequent remark about the Queen is made in conversation with Ophelia—a rather intimate conversation hardly suited to the public ear—and there is no reason to suppose that anyone hears it but she. In this it is in contrast to his reply to the Queen which would presumably be uttered aloud across the hall. Moreover, the remark comes quite naturally in the conversation and needs no external reason for its introduction. Finally be it observed that it is to the 'cheerful' looks of the Queen that Hamlet draws attention, looks that would ill assort with the serious and anxious discussion supposed to be proceeding between the King and Polonius!

As set forth in Mr Dover Wilson's fascinating pages his exposition must appear all but absolutely convincing; but having weighed his arguments, turn again to the text and read the scene as Shakespeare has written it, and, alas, how the slender supports of his fairy fabric disappear!

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LONDON.

THE PLAY SCENE IN 'HAMLET.'

In the recent controversy on this scene both Dr Greg and Mr Dover Wilson attempt to answer an old question suggested first by the poet Pye. The dumb-show, writes Pye, 'appears to contain every circumstance of the murder of Hamlet's father. Now there is no apparent reason why the usurper should not be as much affected by this mute representation of his crime, as he is afterwards when the same action is accompanied by words.' Both critics accept this assumption, and each has his own solution of the difficulty. Dr Greg argues that the *manner* of the murder must have been misconceived by Hamlet under the stress of hallucination. As the details of the stage murder were not only different from the original but grossly improbable in themselves, the king's withers were unwrung. Mr Wilson, who refutes the hallucination theory, contends that the representation on the stage was identical in fact and in manner with the crime, but that Claudius did not see the dumb-show[1]. On both theories, then, there was no reason why the dumb-show should affect the king.

I wish to question the assumption common to both critics, that the dumb-show and its repetition in the body of the Gonzago play ought to have an identical effect upon Claudius. I shall argue that this is just the point where doubt should begin.

If the parallelism is really monstrous, if its mere representation betrays Hamlet's mind to the king instantly, if the king is the man to break down the moment he sees his crime re-enacted, then the dumb-show must be explained away by some such hypothesis as Dr Greg's or Mr Wilson's. But they begin by assuming too much.

I.

The Parallelism.

'What is novel and strange' writes Dr Greg, 'is the administration of the poison through the ears of the sleeper.' 'A very remarkable murder it was. A drug unknown to science, medieval or modern, is

[1] See *Modern Language Review*, Oct. 1917 for Dr Greg's article, and April 1918 for Mr Wilson's reply. Mr Wilson has repeated his theory in the *Athenæum* from July to November, 1918.

poured into his blood through the porches of the ear.' If the method is 'almost unique,' the finding or representation of a parallel 'makes impossible demands on the credulity of the audience.'

Now the appeal to science, medieval or modern, is a test which should not be applied to a work of art. If there is a sufficiently established belief in the probability of such a poison, that is all that is needed. In Marlowe's *Edward II* the poisoner thus enumerates his accomplishments, gained in the classical school of murder as a fine art:

> I learned in Naples how to poison flowers;
> To strangle with a lawn thrust down the throat;
> To pierce the wind pipe with a needle's point;
> Or, *whilst one is asleep*, to take a quill,
> And blow a little powder in his ears....[1]

A Renaissance audience would probably recognize this last method as a fine Italian device for poisoning a sleeper.

The parallelism is only incredible if the crime itself is incredible. Hamlet's problem was simply to find a literary parallel to a suspected murder. Can it reasonably be said that Shakespeare has offended against any canon of dramatic probability in allowing Hamlet to stage a parallel to a deed that his audience would not think beyond the bounds of possibility?

The same may be said of the exact representation in the Gonzago play of the circumstances of the queen's marriage. Hasty remarriage after the husband's death was a common occurrence in the sixteenth century[2]. We must not ignore the effect of the coincidences on the king—that is part of Hamlet's trap—but it is not legitimate to assume that the mere parallelism would at once make the king aware that Hamlet knew all his secret.

We must next ask how much Claudius suspected at the moment when the Gonzago play begins.

II.

Claudius is no Macbeth with every nerve quivering to self-betrayal, but a clever dissimulator, who is determined to keep at all costs his illgotten gains. Alert to the weak points in his armour, he fears Hamlet

[1] v, iv. 31. If we combine this passage with the Gonzago play 'writ in choice Italian,' and then consider the poisoning of the single cup and of the single rapier, all so dexterously planned, are not two inferences plausible? (1) That Claudius was not a barbarian like Macbeth, wading in blood to his goal, but a subtle Italianate prince. (2) It is a main part of Dr Greg's thesis that the ghost's story with its tale of poisoning and the miseries of hell, is composed of 'just those crude and grotesque horrors on which Hamlet's childhood in that medieval society must have been fed.' But now it seems probable that the core of that story is a crime redolent of the Italian Renaissance.

[2] See Allen, *The Age of Erasmus*, p. 191 ff.

from the first. Uneasy and suspicious, he is not satisfied with the queen's simple explanation of Hamlet's melancholy[1]. He must pluck the heart out of the mystery or he will never feel safe. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are sent for in haste, but can extract nothing from Hamlet. Polonius is no wiser after the testing of his daughter's relations with Hamlet. But to the shrewd king two things are made plain from that confused dialogue between Hamlet and Ophelia—that there is nothing in the theory that love has caused Hamlet's melancholy, and that his life is in danger from Hamlet[2].

> Love! his affections do not that way tend;[3]
> Nor what he spake, though it lack'd form a little,
> Was not like madness. There's something in his soul,
> O'er which his melancholy sits on brood;
> And I do doubt the hatch and the disclose
> Will be some danger: which for to prevent,
> I have in quick determination
> Thus set it down: he shall with speed to England....[4]

It is true that he allows Polonius to try Hamlet's mind once more through the queen, but is it not clear that he himself had no belief in the theory? These lines seem to indicate that Claudius believed Hamlet to have designs upon his life through ambition for the throne[5]. This suspicion, while it might have been a strong reason for preserving equanimity during the dumb-show, could not prepare him for the revelation that Hamlet knew the details of his crime.

The reader of *Hamlet* is apt to regard the Gonzago play as Hamlet's Mousetrap, but it was in the first place a court device to divert Hamlet. How could the king, occupied with graver cares, suspect that the answer to his perplexities lay in it? Rosencrantz and Guildenstern had brought the players to the castle. The king and queen seized the chance to lighten Hamlet's melancholy. Was there anything to arouse suspicion of a plot? Polonius had introduced the players to Hamlet and heard all their conversation except the hurried words between Hamlet and the first player as he was leading them to their quarters[6]. This could hardly awaken suspicion. The plan was one of those rapid decisions characteristic of Hamlet. Immediately before the play he asks Polonius

[1] I doubt it is no other but the main;
His father's death, and our o'erhasty marriage. (II, ii. 56.)

[2] He must have selected from the dialogue between Hamlet and Ophelia the one sentence aimed at himself: 'Those that are married already, *all but one*, *shall live*; the rest shall keep as they are.'

[3] This is shrewd, and deals a powerful blow at Mr Wilson's theory that Claudius did not see the dumb-show because he was excitedly debating with Polonius about the Ophelia theory. It was already dead to him.

[4] Ending with 'Madness in great ones must not unwatch'd go.'

[5] This is also Mr Wilson's view.

[6] II, ii. 518.

casually whether the king will be present[1]. Could anyone suppose that the pill to purge melancholy had been changed into a trap to catch a king? There was therefore no reason why the king, on seeing the dumb-show, should at once be certain that Hamlet knew all his secret.

III.

What is Hamlet's attitude? It is doubtful whether he regarded the mere representation of the murder as sufficient in itself to force the king to self-betrayal. He thought it necessary to insert a dozen lines of his own, and it was in this speech, not in the mimic performance of the deed, that he expected Claudius' guilt to unkennel itself[2]. Hamlet took immense pains to divest the play of all that might make the acting unreal. His directions to the players are not merely aesthetic; they must hold the mirror up to nature as he himself later held a glass before his mother[3]. Now if Hamlet took such extreme care over the preparation of the mousetrap, is it not strange that the dumb-show should come as a surprise to him, as both disputants believe? We may well hesitate before allowing that so striking and unusual a piece was not an integral part of the trap. The very fact that the dumb-show is unique in anticipating the action of the play should urge caution. For Hamlet *knew* the Gonzago play[4], and he used it to establish the king's guilt. According to the critics the stroke must be sudden and unexpected; yet it is tamely anticipated through Hamlet's oversight—anticipated, on the latest theory, in order that the audience might know what is coming, as if they did not already know[5]! Is this not artificial?

The grounds suggested for Hamlet's oversight hardly suffice for such an inference. Dr Greg quotes his answer to Ophelia's question about the dumb-show:

> Marry, this is miching mallecho; it means mischief.

This is thought to betray surprise. But the words betray a double meaning. To Ophelia they are a jesting evasion of her question, an evasion because they are literally true. To the audience they are also

[1] III, ii. 42. Hamlet's meeting with the players immediately before the play was unknown to the king, whose interests were in any case elsewhere. It is necessary to bear all this in mind, because references to Hamlet as the 'master of ceremonies' suggest that the court supposed him to have a more intimate connection with the production of the play than is warranted by the text.

[2] III, ii. 76. He planned the speech, made the players rehearse it, mentioned it to Horatio. Whether his expectation was fulfilled is quite another matter, but he had his weapons ready.

[3] III, ii. 20, and III, iv. 20.

[4] II, ii. 519.

[5] *E.g.* III, ii. 70 ff.

an ironical foreboding of the mischief that Hamlet intends. The strain of irony is maintained in the words that follow: 'The players cannot keep counsel; they'll tell all.' They were indeed to tell all: yet even this is supposed to betray Hamlet's annoyance at the premature disclosure of his plot. All this elaborate structure has been raised because Claudius was bound, on the critics' assumption, to break down on seeing his own crime represented in public. But this is not consistent with Hamlet's evident expectation that a *speech* would give the final blow; nor indeed with his attitude towards Claudius[1].

I urge that Hamlet knew his opponent, and judged him in intellect and self-restraint to be no unworthy match.

IV.

We now turn to the play-scene itself, with at least a reasonable supposition that the dumb-show was no accident, and that the king both had and was expected to have enough stamina to face the re-enactment of his crime—if that were all. Let us begin at once with Mr Wilson's reason for concluding that he had not seen the dumb-show. It is his question to Hamlet: 'Have you heard the argument? Is there no offence in 't?' If we read the phrase in its context, it may lead us to another view. The first scene acted by the players shows a queen vowing oaths of fidelity to her lord. Nothing to arouse suspicion there, had it not been for Hamlet's comments, which begin to give a darker tinge to the play. Even before the scene is ended, he exclaims: 'If she should break it now!' and no sooner is it ended than he faces round to the queen with the question which gives the whole play an offensive meaning:

H. Madam, how like you this play?
Qu. The lady doth protest too much, methinks.
H. O, but she'll keep her word.
K. Have you heard the argument? Is there no offence in 't?

The king's latent fear of Hamlet is at once aroused by his pointed remarks to the queen. The play is no longer a story to while away a winter's night; is it after all a weapon pointed at him by his nephew? His question probes to the root of the matter. Did Hamlet know beforehand about the applicability of the Gonzago play? If so, it is Hamlet's plot, and the players are his tools. The dumb-show itself now begins to appear in a darker light. The play-scene has become the

[1] It may be suspected from such a phrase as 'Even with the very comment of thy soul | Observe my uncle,' that Hamlet did not expect the flagrant self-betrayal that actually took place.

climax of a struggle in which the king and Hamlet try to sift each other's minds.

But what is the *offence*? Dr Greg is surely right in saying that it is inconceivable that the king could refer to the murder. If the dumb-show were not like the murder, then the question would simply give the king away; if he had not seen it, then he could still less reveal that he expected the vows of fidelity to be followed by a murder. But in any case how could the king ask such a question about a crime, known only to himself, when it would be a spontaneous confession of guilt? Mr Wilson has argued backward from the climax, from the knowledge that it was Hamlet's trap, that the trap was baited to catch a murderer. The only safe view is that the king was trying to probe Hamlet on the exact point that the play and Hamlet's own conduct allowed him to ask about in public, namely whether he had intended the first scene to be an insult to his mother. It must be remembered that even after the scene had abruptly ended, the court and queen thought that the king had good cause for offence against Hamlet[1]. What was that cause?

Not the murder, but the insult to the queen. From this point onwards the play is changed for the king, because he suspects that Hamlet had a hand in planning it. He may well fear that he himself will fare worse than the queen, when he considers what the dumb-show foreshadowed and what Hamlet's next words hint at: 'they do but jest, poison in jest; no offence i' the world.' His blanched countenance is the expression of that fear, but he continues probing to make sure: 'What do you call the play?' The answer—'The Mouse-trap'—must have removed any doubt he may have had[2].

This is the burden that the king has to bear during the rest of the poison-scene—not only the representation of the parallel crime, which he now knows to be modelled on his own, but the thrusts of Hamlet, who 'tents him to the quick,' and whose intentions he can guess at *because he has seen the dumb-show.* It is '*the talk of the poisoning*' *that finishes the king.* There is a curious divergence between the critics on the character of this culminating speech of Hamlet's. It runs as follows: 'He poisons him i' the garden for his estate. His name's Gonzago: the story is extant, and written in very choice Italian: you shall see anon how the murderer gets the love of Gonzago's wife.' To Dr Greg this suggests uncontrolled excitement[3]; he believes it to be Hamlet's excitement which caused the king to rise. But Mr Wilson considers that

[1] III, ii. 270; III, iv. 10. [2] III, ii. 212.
[3] Excitement is not necessarily synonymous with loss of self-control.

Hamlet's comments show a deadly calm, as the character of the irony proves. He further assumes, perhaps with justice, that it is the first talk of the poisoning that reveals the king's guilt to the watchers. But the whole discussion turns on the supposition that there was one particular moment when the king discerned the trap, and that that moment sufficed to overcome him. It is rather a turning of the screw, twist after twist, till he can no longer bear it. Consider these lines: 'poison in jest; no offence i' the world....your majesty and we that have free souls, it touches us not: let the galled jade wince, our withers are unwrung...He poisons him i' the garden for his estate...*you shall see anon'*—and there is to be more in the same strain if the king can bear it. But such cumulative and deadly irony cannot be borne. The king rises. Even then Hamlet will not stop: 'What frighted with false fire?' In the face of all this it is vain to ask at what particular moment the king betrays himself. Conscious now that the dumb-show was intended to parallel his own crime, he had to bear its repetition with Hamlet's commentary before the court and his queen.

The whole plot turns, as we now see, on the dexterity with which Hamlet uses the play-scene against the king. It is the closing for the first time of two antagonists, who have until this moment been plotting against one another in secret. It is they, and not the play (the course of which may be taken for granted), who now claim the attention of the audience. Hamlet is at first the victor by the swiftness of his hits. But the king, even in losing, finds the solution to his own problem. He cannot afford to give up the possessions for which he has staked his soul[1]. Claudius takes up Hamlet's challenge and reshapes his plot. His nephew must still leave Denmark, but he must now leave it to certain death.

The play-scene is only the first round in a series of attacks and recoils which result in mutual destruction for the two antagonists.

V.

We can now try to answer more fully whether or not Claudius was the man to break down at the moment that he saw his crime re-enacted, unless some other cause contributed to make him lose his self-control.

The critics have interpreted the king's one act of self-betrayal as a sign of inherent weakness. Yet it stands unique in the midst of a

[1] 'Forgive me my foul murder'?
That cannot be; since I am still possess'd
Of those effects for which I did the murder,
My crown, mine own ambition and my queen. (III, iii. 52—55.)

restraint and dissimulation which gains in subtlety and skill as the play advances.

Consider these words spoken by Claudius to Hamlet upon the eve of his departure.

K. ...therefore prepare thyself;
The bark is ready and the wind at help,
The associates tend, and everything is bent
For England.
H. For England?
K. Ay, Hamlet.
H. Good.
K. So is it, if thou knew'st our purposes.
H. I see a cherub that sees them. But come; for England!
Farewell, dear mother.
K. *Thy loving father, Hamlet.*

And compare them with his thoughts when he is alone:

'And, England, if my love thou hold'st at aught—
.....—thou mayst not coldly set
Our sovereign process; *which imports at full,*
The present death of Hamlet. Do it, England;
For like the hectic in my blood he rages,
And thou must cure me: till I know 'tis done,
Howe'er my haps, my joys were ne'er begun.' (IV. iii. 57.)

Neither must we forget the consummate art with which Claudius awakens and then fans Laertes' anger against Hamlet:

Laertes, was your father dear to you?
Or are you like the painting of a sorrow,
A face without a heart?[1]

This long scene is interrupted by the queen, who announces the death of Ophelia, and Claudius turns to her and says with inimitable hypocrisy:

Let 's follow, Gertrude:
How much I had to do to calm his rage!
Now fear I this will give it start again.

When we come to the last scene, the lying propensities of Claudius, already developed to a fine art, now gather to a stupendous force. Few things in Shakespeare are more repulsive than the king's easy substitution of *pearl* for *poison* as he drops the latter into the cup of wine:

Set me the stoups of wine upon that table.
If Hamlet give the first or second hit,
Or quit in answer of the third exchange,
Let all the battlements their ordnance fire;
The King shall drink to Hamlet's *better breath;*
And in the cup an union shall he throw,
Richer than that which four successive kings
In Denmark's crown have worn.

[1] IV, vii. 106; cf. I, ii. 87 ff. The comparison of these two passages brings out the flagrant hypocrisy of the king's early speech to Hamlet. His motive throughout the play for such dissimulation seems to have been the deception of the queen. See Act IV, Sc. vii, l. 66.

Claudius omits no detail that can enhance the picturesqueness of the whole scene. His bet against Laertes riots in detail, and the duel begins with the kind of artistic touch which he could never resist:

> Come, Hamlet, come, and take this hand from me,

says Claudius, as he puts Laertes' hand into Hamlet's.

Is it not likely that the man who could say to Hamlet:

> Hamlet, this pearl is thine;
> Here's to thy health,

and to Hamlet's mother:

> Our son shall win,

was sufficiently master of himself to conceal his feelings at the mere representation of his crime? When we consider this subtlety and skill, have we not reason to suppose that Claudius was in his methods an Italian prince rather than a northern barbarian?

Consistent to the end, Claudius shows no outward sign[1] when the queen drinks of the poisoned cup prepared for her son.

> *H.* How does the Queen?
> *K.* She swounds to see them bleed.

And again he cries, when he receives his own mortal wound from Hamlet:

> O, yet defend me, friends; I am but hurt.

The full significance of these two sentences lies in this, that Claudius, never again to be caught off guard, refuses to acknowledge the poisoned cup and weapon, which have brought death to the queen and now to himself also. It is surprising that this point should have been missed, and that it should be possible for an eminent critic to see in his last words proof of the king's sanguine nature![2]

There is no need to add further examples of the king's power of dissimulation. The picture is so complete that we are compelled to ask, not why he did not betray himself sooner in the play-scene, but why he did fall into an act of self-exposure so foreign to his usual power of dissimulation.

The truth is that Claudius had been too certain 'that no wind of blame' could touch him, and was caught unawares by Hamlet. The poisoning had been carried out in the best Italian style; the queen did not suspect; Polonius was in his pocket; there was none to betray him —but a ghost. It is the shock of finding out that Hamlet knew and

[1] v, ii. 292; cf. l. 276.
[2] Professor A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearian Tragedy*, pp. 170—171.

was pressing him before the queen that sent him stumbling from the room. It is perhaps worth observing that he broke up the scene before he was hopelessly compromised in public.

The weakness of the views that I have criticized is that, failing to see in the dumb-show anything but a premature disclosure of the mouse-trap, they miss the intensity of the struggle in which the protagonists come to grips. At best Dr Greg's interpretation attempts to show that the play-scene *can* be harmonized with his hallucination theory. But at what a price! The players bungle the beginning; Hamlet's shot is wide of the mark; the king's countenance pales and he rushes from the room because his nephew misbehaves.

On the other hand Mr Wilson has his eye on considerations of stage technique. *As* the dumb-show cannot be intended for the king's eye, it must be inserted *solely* for Shakespeare's audience. Therefore he imagines some 'business' which will prevent the king from suspecting till the moment when he ought to suspect. Can we really praise Shakespeare for a masterpiece of dramatic skill when the strings that pull the puppets are shown so nakedly? Nor is this all. This bungling start of the players—as the dumb-show is from Hamlet's point of view—keeps him at perpetual tension. The threads of the main conflict are crossed and confused by this minor conflict with the stupid players!

Let us return to the main issue. The weapons used by Hamlet against the king are the dumb-show, the Gonzago play, and his own wit. How did all this affect the king? If by special readings the critics isolate the dumb-show, they also undervalue the decisive part that Hamlet himself played and evade the problem of Claudius's character.

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THE 'HAMLET' TEXTS AND RECENT WORK IN SHAKESPEARIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Two articles of exceptional interest and importance, contributed by Mr J. Dover Wilson to the *Library* during 1918, are re-issued in pamphlet form under the title 'The Copy for *Hamlet*, 1603, and the *Hamlet* Transcript, 1593[1].' In them the author attacks the problem of the First Quarto and offers an elaborate and closely reasoned solution, which in completeness and coherence far surpasses all previous work on the subject even if it remains itself in some directions partial and tentative only. Mr Dover Wilson puts it forward as a basis for new investigation, and promises further instalments, which all Shakespearian students who are alive to the current direction of critical thought will look for with the keenest interest.

The problem of the 1603 *Hamlet* has hitherto been approached almost exclusively from the literary side and it may be supposed that investigation on that line has reached its limit without attaining any conclusive result. But Mr Dover Wilson pertinently reminds us that the problem is at bottom a bibliographical one, the nature and history of the copy from which certain 8½ sheets of printed matter from Valentine Sims' press were set up, and its relation to that underlying other versions of the play. And it is by availing himself of the resources of the New Bibliography, by concentrating attention upon the arrangement of the speeches and the verse, the exits and the entrances, the misprints, the spelling, the punctuation, and by continually envisaging the actual material manuscript that the compositor must have had before his eyes, that he is able to substantiate or refute the various speculations of the literary critics, and build up the scattered data into a coherent and reasonably cogent whole. Of course, though bibliography supplies the basis of the argument, other considerations are not ignored; there is a constant appeal to literary style and, what is more important, a thorough and lively appreciation of the conditions of the Elizabethan stage and the circumstances of Elizabethan theatrical composition.

One hoary spectre of the controversy is here swept away to limbo: the hack poet called in to botch up a play from recollections and notes

[1] Alexander Moring Ltd., London, 1918. 8°, 64 pp.

of the actual performance. The basis of the 1603 text, according to Mr Dover Wilson, is a transcript of some sort emanating from the playhouse. This transcript, however, contained a play very different from that familiar to us in the Second Quarto (Shakespeare's version) or the First Folio (a playhouse revision). It represented in fact an altogether earlier stage in the evolution of the piece and had been long superseded in 1601, when the final version, substantially in its present form, was making a *furore* on the London stage. But the transcript was not printed as it stood. One of the players acting at the time in the revised play undertook to bring it to some extent into accordance with the current text. His opportunities for doing this were not, it is true, very great. He himself took the parts of Marcellus, Voltimand, a Player, Second Gravedigger, Churlish Priest, and English Ambassador, and he was now and again on the stage as a super. Where the transcript was in general agreement with the current text he, of course, left it untouched; where his recollection of the play in which he acted differed from the transcript he did his best to emend the latter—and a very poor best it was, except in one remarkable instance where he was able to incorporate his own written actor's part. Such was the nature of the copy for the First Quarto. But what of the manuscript that formed the basis of it? This bears traces of having been rather clumsily cut down. It was, in fact, a shortened transcript made, early in 1593, from the *then* playhouse copy, in preparation for the extended provincial tour undertaken by Lord Strange's company during the plague. This takes us back a step, but we can proceed yet further and ask what the playhouse copy of 1593 may have been like, for even this would appear to have been of composite origin. Well, substantially it was the old-*Hamlet*[1], the original play generally supposed to have been written by Kyd, but it had been worked over by one or more other dramatists, of whose number Shakespeare may or may not have been, and had further been taken in hand for a later revision by Shakespeare himself. This revision had not proceeded much beyond the Ghost-scenes, and, while in parts it had been systematically carried through, in others it consisted of a few erasures and rough notes only. Thus, under Mr Dover Wilson's guidance, do we peer into 'the dark backward and abysm of time.'

Such in bald outline appears the thesis here presented to us when stripped of all its panoply of ingenious argument and acute analysis. To form a reasoned opinion thereon would demand weeks of hard work, and to criticize it adequately would take almost as much space as is

[1] For pity's sake, let us drop the affectation *ur-Hamlet*!

occupied by its exposition. Though I have read it repeatedly with the closest attention and with increasing respect, I can make no claim to pronounce a judgment, and must content myself with the above summary and a few general observations. It will be seen that the explanation offered is not a little intricate, yet it may be questioned whether even this will prove sufficient to account for the extraordinary mass of perplexing phenomena which present themselves as soon as we place side by side the various extant versions of *Hamlet*; and I gather that Mr Dover Wilson is himself prepared to admit that the full solution of the problem is likely to prove yet more complicated than even he has realized. Also it will be necessary, if we are to make an enduring edifice out of our bibliographical and literary reconstructions, to examine most meticulously all our materials and test our arguments in the fullest possible manner. And it may take some time before we are fully satisfied as to the validity not only of the whole delicate organon—if I may be allowed the term—of Mr Dover Wilson's bibliographical investigations, but of many even of the more familiar literary assumptions[1], while it will be interesting to observe how far Mr E. K. Chambers' long-expected work endorses the company history involved in this and similar speculations. I say this with no desire to disparage Mr Dover Wilson's achievement or to dissuade from further efforts in this direction —which is by far the most promising line of advance—but on the contrary in the hope of encouraging others to lend a hand in laying firmly the foundations of what is practically a new science.

For Mr Dover Wilson's articles do not stand alone; they form, I am thankful to say, but one item in a series of studies the full significance of which does not appear to have been yet recognized by Shakespearian critics, and I am anxious to take this opportunity of drawing attention to what I conceive to be a matter of great importance in the study of English literature[2].

It was the year 1909 that saw the publication of Mr A. W. Pollard's handsome volume on *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, by far the most systematic and critical work that had yet appeared on the subject and one that marked the opening of a new era in Shakespearian studies. This was hardly recognized at the time, since much of the material was descriptive merely, and few perceived that the author's acute

[1] For instance the Marcellus-thief has recently been challenged by F. G. Hubbard in *Modern Language Notes*.

[2] It is some ten years since I myself did any work on Shakespearian bibliography, and I can claim no part in the advance which has taken place in the subject during that period. I am the freer to congratulate those to whom the success is due.

criticism of the Good and Bad Quartos upset many of the most cherished superstitions of Shakespearian editors. For Mr Pollard, once his innate conservatism has been overcome, proves himself one of the most revolutionary of bomb-throwers, and the considerations, thus unostentatiously advanced, forced us to reconsider all traditional views regarding the transmission of Shakespeare's text, while the author was probably aware, though he was too modest to say, that this purely bibliographical problem of transmission is nine-tenths of the battle in textual criticism.

For some years after this no work of first-rate importance appeared, but investigation was nevertheless quietly proceeding in several directions. It was in 1916 that this bore fruit. In the purely descriptive field Mr Pollard and Miss Henrietta Bartlett, in *A Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto*, did for the Shakespeare quartos what Sir Sidney Lee had done years before for the First Folio. Of greater significance, however, was a little square volume that appeared the same year containing a facsimile of *A new Shakespeare Quarto: Richard II*, 1598, in an elaborate introduction to which Mr Pollard made some very pretty textual investigations, and incidentally directed fresh attention to the admirable pamphlet on *Shakespearian Punctuation* compiled in 1911 by Mr Percy Simpson with the assistance of Mr R. W. Chapman.

Meanwhile in 1915 Mr Pollard had delivered at Cambridge four lectures as Sandars Reader in Bibliography, *vice* Dr Konrad Haebler, unavoidably prevented. What we may have lost through this minute backwash of the great war we shall probably never know; what we gained will be found in four articles printed in the *Library* for 1916 and republished the following year as *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problem of the Transmission of his Text.* In these at once sober and brilliant papers Mr Pollard pursued his investigation of the Good and Bad Quartos, dealing with the occasion and extent of piracy, the normal circumstances of publication, the form and condition of dramatic manuscripts, and the nature of the copy for the Shakespearian quartos. The central conclusion to which Mr Pollard was led by his investigations, and to which he leads his readers, is nothing less than the probability that some at least of the first quartos of Shakespeare's plays were set up from Shakespeare's own autograph manuscripts, and the certainty that the majority are at least very much nearer to those manuscripts than critics have generally suspected or editors ever allowed. The far-reaching consequences of such a conclusion will be obvious to all; upon the grounds on which it rests this is not the occasion to enter. It must suffice to mention that the implications of Mr Pollard's theory

were further developed by Mr Dover Wilson in a paper read before the Bibliographical Society during the session of 1918–9, which we shall hope to see published some day in the Society's Transactions.

By one of those almost unbelievable pieces of good fortune which sometimes seem to set the approbation of providence upon an undertaking, Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, about the same time, produced, in his remarkable monograph on *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, a palaeographical analysis which, when taken in conjunction with other lines of argument, must be held to establish at least the probability that we have, in the manuscript play of *Sir Thomas More*, three foolscap pages of dramatic composition in Shakespeare's own handwriting. This at once opened up a whole new field of investigation, which, though as yet it has been little worked, has already yielded interesting results in textual criticism, while these have in their turn served to increase the plausibility of Sir Edward's thesis. In this new field Mr Dover Wilson has himself been the foremost operator.

Another event upon which those interested in Shakespeare may congratulate themselves was the delivery by Mr Pollard of a course of bibliographical lectures at King's College, London[1]. This gave him the opportunity of piloting a small class through several interesting problems in the bibliography of Shakespeare, and some of the more important and permanent results achieved were set forth in two articles on 'The York and Lancaster Plays in the Folio Shakespeare' which appeared in September 1918 in the *Times Literary Supplement*. The same journal further published in January and March 1919 three important articles headed 'The "Stolen and Surreptitious" Shakespearian Texts' in which Mr Pollard and Mr Dover Wilson, working in collaboration, attacked the problems why and how some of Shakespeare's plays were pirated and illustrated their contentions by an investigation into the text of *Henry V*. In August and September appeared two further articles dealing with the *Merry Wives* and *Romeo and Juliet*.

In speaking of Critical Bibliography as a new science I must not, of course, be taken to mean that the materials with which it deals have hitherto lain untouched, for they comprise a great part of the evidence with which editors are concerned. Scores of able critics in the fields of classical and sacred literature, and a few in that of English[2], have

[1] They may now congratulate Mr Pollard on his appointment to the first chair of Bibliography to be established in this country.

[2] In the field of Shakespearian criticism itself much that is suggestive may be found in the writings of that erratic pioneer F. G. Fleay, whose works are a constant exasperation to students, but only to be neglected at their peril. More trustworthy are the conclusions reached from the same class of evidence by P. A. Daniel.

attacked the problems, and to some extent explored the principles, of text-transmission. But what has seldom been fully realised, and never, I believe, explicitly stated, is the fact that both text-transmission and even certain features of the so-called higher criticism are at bottom a purely bibliographical problem, to be attacked by strictly bibliographical methods, and only to be solved by an adequate understanding of bibliographical conditions. Herein lies the importance of Mr Pollard's work; for it is only when the true nature of a problem is apprehended that systematic investigation can replace more or less fortuitous, even if acute, guesswork; and once the conditions of the problem are laid bare all sorts of lines and methods of investigation suggest themselves, which could never previously have been suspected[1].

The science of Critical Bibliography has been fortunate in having for its founder one to whom years of official work and private adventure have made the technical details of bibliography a second nature; whose mind, if diffident of entering on novel speculations, pursues any trail on which it sets out with remorseless logic and unflagging ardour, yet with constant balance and candour; and who possesses a literary style in lucidity and flexibility admirably fitted for the exposition of minute and often complicated argument. And Mr Pollard has found in Mr Dover Wilson a disciple of whom he has every reason to be proud, even if he may have some reason to be just a little afraid.

The twentieth century has seen something like a revolution in the foundations of a number of the most respectable sciences both natural and critical, and it is a thought, pleasant to those who retain some youth of spirit, that the study of Shakespeare should be of this august company. In Shakespearian criticism the new developments of bibliography are playing much the same part as that played by Mendelianism in biology, and if Mr A. W. Pollard is the Bateson, Mr J. Dover Wilson is the Punnett of the infant science[2].

W. W. GREG.

[1] For instance so long as the question of priority between the two '1600' quartos of the *Merchant of Venice* was treated as a literary one, to be solved by a consideration of variant readings, it was impossible for anyone to suspect that an investigation into the water-marks, or a minute measurement of the title-pages, of a whole set of quartos of *other* plays could conceivably be relevant to the discussion. Yet the literary evidence led even the best critics to a conclusion which these apparently irrelevant bibliographical investigations have now conclusively proved to be wrong.

[2] Writing in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 29 May 1919 Mr Robert Steele congratulated Messrs Pollard and Dover Wilson on 'the most important advance in Shakespearian textual criticism yet made.' Mr Steele's opinion is one worth having, and is, I am convinced, as sound as it is enthusiastic.

TWO MINOR CRITICS OF THE AGE OF POPE.

THE most interesting point in the history of the literary criticism of the age of Pope is the attitude of the various critics towards the authority of the so-called Rules. Dr Durham in his introduction to the critical essays of this period tries to make out that the rules exercised no such tyranny as is generally supposed and that there were many men who ridiculed their authority. No doubt many protested against them but their very protests show how wide was the belief that correctness could be obtained only by following the pseudo-Aristotelian rules as interpreted by the French critics. Even Johnson in his Preface to Shakespeare says after defending the dramatist's neglect of the unities:

> Perhaps what I have here not dogmatically but deliberately written may recall the principles of the drama to a new examination. I am almost frighted at my own temerity; and when I estimate the fame and the strength of those that maintain the contrary opinion, am ready to sink down in reverential silence; as Æneas withdrew from the defence of Troy when he saw Neptune shaking the wall and Juno heading the besiegers.

Pope and Addison lent their support to the Rules either by identifying them with Reason and Nature or by applying them in practice though protesting against their rigidity in theory. When such was the case with regard to the major critics we can imagine the position of the minor. These were mostly rule-critics who applied mechanically the French rules to every literary work. They were pedants and posed as scholars. They crowded into the theatres, coffee-houses, and private assemblies. They were masters of the so-called Arts of Poetry. They criticised the poor authors violently with the aid of their rules and technical jargon. We find very vivid descriptions of them in Farquhar, Steele, Addison, Welsted, Johnson and others.

Some authors in defending themselves against these tyrants of wit, as Steele calls them, put forward the strange argument that only poets could judge of poets, that those who had not written epics had no right to judge of epics and that the great Aristotle who was no poet had no authority to lay down laws of poetry. Some again appealed from the critical pedants to the unlearned. The question is often discussed in the critical writings of the eighteenth century, whether an author's work

should please the scholar or the man in the street. A strait-laced critic like Dennis would say:

> To conclude that a play is good because Mr Granville is pleased by it, is but a reasonable way of arguing. But to say that it is good because it pleases the generality of an audience is a very absurd one. (*The Taste in Poetry.*)

While an author like Farquhar would contend:

> The rules of English comedy don't lie in the compass of Aristotle or his followers but in the pit, box and galleries..... What a misfortune is it to these gentlemen to be natives of such an ignorant, self-willed impertinent island, where let a critic and a scholar find never so many irregularities in a play, yet five hundred saucy people will give him the lie to his face and come to see this wicked play forty or fifty times in a year. (*A Discourse upon Comedy.*)

Here we have two extremes of criticism—the criticism of the coterie and the criticism of the mob. Most of the writers who rebelled against the rules of the neo-classic school in the eighteenth century had nothing to offer in their stead except mere impressionism. They simply extended Sir William Temple's doctrine of taste which discovers the beauties beyond the rules. They gave expression to the rough unformulated sense of the people that, in spite of the critical pedants, Shakespeare and Spenser are beautiful and worth reading. But the business of a critic is not only to discern what is beautiful but also to give reasons for the faith that is in him. If he does not do it, then we have anarchy in criticism. But this aspect of criticism was not developed till the time of Coleridge, who was as much opposed to lawlessness in criticism as to the Rules.

A more reasonable line of attack upon the tyrants of wit was that, as England has a different climate, a different race and different humours and manners from those of Athens, the rules of poetry derived from Greek poets and dramatists by Aristotle are not applicable to English authors. But this argument is not well developed nor is it consistently applied. Dennis, for instance, applies it against Rymer's introduction of the chorus, but forgets it when he objects to the machinery of *The Rape of the Lock* on the ground that it is not taken like Homer's from the religion of his country. Farquhar applies it against the unities but would not admit that a comedy has any other purpose than moral teaching.

In a way, that futile controversy about the merits of the ancients and moderns of which we have remnants in this period is a protest against the authority of literary tradition and a vague demand for independence. But, as those who spoke against the rules and for freedom did not know their own minds and had nothing constructive to offer, their protests remained more or less ineffectual till the age of Coleridge.

Of the minor critics of this period Gildon and Welsted are the most interesting, for while the one is the blindest of the orthodox, the other is the most far-seeing of the unorthodox. Gildon's *Complete Art of Poetry* is a very valuable document to the student of literary criticism. It is an uncompromising and ruthless statement of the neo-classic position. Gildon goes the whole hog and makes no qualifications. In his art of poetry we have a total eclipse of critical light. His argument can be summed up in Roscommon's lines, wrongly supposed to be a translation of Horace:

> Why is he honoured with a poet's name
> Who neither knows nor would observe a rule?

He develops it in this way. Poetry in all its parts is an imitation. Proposing therefore a certain end it must have certain means of attaining that end. These means are called Rules of Art. Nobody can doubt of so evident a truth that, in all things where there may be a right and a wrong, there are sure rules to lead you to the former and direct you how to avoid the latter. These rules are certainly those given by Aristotle. We cannot arrive at any other conclusion when we consider (1) who gives the rules, (2) the time when he gives them, (3) the manner in which he gives them, and (4) the effects they have wrought in different times on different people. The rules were given by one of the greatest philosophers of the world who lived in an age in which Tragedy made its first steps towards perfection. And all that he advances is confirmed by reasons drawn from the common sentiments of mankind, so that men themselves become the rule and measure of what he lays down. As in Greece the rules made the beauty of the poems of Homer, Sophocles and Euripides from which they were drawn, so four or five hundred years after, they adorned the poems of Virgil and other famous Latin poets; and now after two thousand years they make the best tragedies we have, in which all that pleases only does so in so far as it is conformable to these rules. Therefore they have all the certainty and authority that rules can possibly have. It is impossible to succeed in this art by any other means. A new model in poetry must be monstrously absurd and a wretched refuge of ignorant poetasters to shelter their own follies from censure. I have stated Gildon's argument in his own words so far as possible. He finally arrives at the very interesting conclusion that the false maxim 'that all that pleases is good' should be destroyed. It is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the neo-classic position.

Other points in Gildon's criticism are of a piece with this. On the question, for instance, whether a critic ought to be a poet, Gildon is very

definite. The rules of criticism are known and fixed by Aristotle, Horace, Dacier, Bossu and others. Therefore, though a man may not have performed himself, yet by the aid of these rules he may be a very good judge of another's performance. In applied criticism Gildon is equally simple and clear. According to him no modern has any merit but what he owes to the rules and precedents of the ancients. Shakespeare is great in nothing but what is according to the rules:

> He had a genius, indeed, capable of coming up to the rules, but not sufficient to find them out himself, though it be plain from his own words, he saw the absurdities of his own conduct. (*Complete Art of Poetry.*)

Sir Philip Sidney had discovered the faults of the English stage in his *Apology* and Shakespeare himself wrote one or two almost regular plays. Therefore Gildon thinks that the 'errors' of Shakespeare are all the more inexcusable.

It is a great relief to turn from the purblind vehemence of Gildon to the enlightened reasonableness of Welsted. Welsted's *Dissertation on the State of Poetry* deserves more attention than it has received. I think Dr Durham does injustice to this critic when he says:

> The curse of complacent mediocrity lies heavy upon the whole essay... It touches on various matters..... without making points extraordinarily true or untrue about any.

We are now concerned only with his attitude towards the rules. His remarks on the subject are worthy of close attention. He says:

> Those observations or rules were primarily formed upon and designed to serve only as comments to the works of certain great authors, who composed those works without any such help;... and unluckily for all rules it has commonly happened since, that those writers have succeeded the worst, who have pretended to have been most assisted by them. ... The secret, the soul of good writing is not to be come at through such mechanic laws.

So far Welsted is of course right, but not original. He simply explains the position of the school of critics which Professor Spingarn terms the School of Taste. But when he proceeds from this point his remarks appear to be rather original for his age. He says no doubt that the rules are external, mechanical and inadequate. But at the same time he admits clearly, in words which remind us of Coleridge, that the art of poetry is not without its laws. Only its laws are more subtle, more difficult to determine, than the laws that operate in other realms of knowledge. Let us hear what he says:

> But while I am in this trace of thought, I am not to be understood as if I would throw the talent of writing in verse into a lawless mystery, and make of it a wild ungoverned province, where reason has nothing to do.... Poetical reason is not the same as mathematical reason. There is in good poetry as rigid truth, and as essential to the nature of it, as there is in a question of Algebra, but that truth is not to be

proved by the same process or way of working. Poetry depends much more on imagination than other arts, but is not on that account less reasonable than they.

Coleridge practically repeats this in the following famous and oft-quoted passage from his *Biographia Literaria*:

> I learnt from him (James Bowyer), that poetry, even of the loftiest and, seemingly, that of the wildest odes, had a logic of its own, as severe as that of science; and more difficult, because more subtle, more complex, and dependent on more, and more fugitive causes.

Thus Welsted does not simply demolish the rules and bring in anarchy in criticism. He perceives, like Coleridge, that the hard external mechanical rules have to be replaced by flexible, internal, organic laws. Farther on he indicates the means by which a person born with a good genius for poetry might improve it and carry it to perfection. The means he suggests are: carrying his enquiries closely and carefully into men, manners and human nature, frequently viewing things as they are in themselves and under their natural images, accustoming the mind to looking deeply into and judging accurately of all objects and studying the writings of great poets. These might be prescribed to the critic as well as the poet. For, according to Welsted the particular rules of poetry are like the particular rules of Logic. These are infinite:

> They are not to be found anywhere altogether and in part everywhere; we must gather them out of all well-written books, out of all the reasonable men we converse with, out of all we read, all we see, all we hear, all we think of.

Here is certainly no 'mediocrity' but a sound and catholic canon of criticism which we rarely meet with in eighteenth century critical literature. Passages which protest against the authority of the rules we have in plenty; but rarely have we passages which show that the critic is not merely destructive but also has something constructive to offer—a more comprehensive and liberal scheme than the one he demolishes.

D. S. Sarma.

Madras.

SCANDINAVIAN OR ANGLO-SAXON NAMES?

In a recent review (*Anglia: Beiblatt*, 1917, pp. 225—235) of my *Notes on Early English Personal Names*, Prof. Björkman discusses at some length one of the points in my criticism of his *Nordische Personennamen* and *Zur englischen Namenkunde*, viz. 'that a clearer distinction should have been made between names that *must* be Scandinavian and names that *may* be Scandinavian[1].'

Prof. Björkman is inclined to admit that *Ake, Basing, Blacre, Knape, Wifel*, and perhaps also *Gota* (as he does not mention this name), i.e. six of the ten names here concerned, *may* be of English origin[2]. The objections he makes to such a derivation of the names are in my opinion not convincing.

In the section of *Liber Vitae* where *Aca* occurs a long consonant is said to be doubled always. This argument does not seem to hold good. The section of *Liber Vitae* we are concerned with consists only of two printed columns and is, according to an editorial note, *in various handwritings* (!), all of the 13th century. Moreover there existed an O.E. name *Aca* A.D. 759, Sweet, *O.E.T.* 470, *Acan tun*, Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, ch. 685; cf. Continental Germ. *Aco* by the side of *Acco* (Piper).

I know as well as Prof. Björkman that some of the names in the O.E. genealogies are fictitious or eponymous, but that this is not the case with *Bassa* seems obvious (1) from the passages Björkman himself quotes from Bede and the *A.-S. Chr.*, (2) from the existence of numerous place-names with *Bas(s)ing-* for their first element in different parts of England. In the South we find, besides Basingstoke, Hants., Bassingbourn, Cambs., *Basingeburna* 12th century, Inq. Comit. Cantab., which Björkman (*Namenkunde* 22) erroneously locates in Bedf.

With reference to my remarks on *Bille, Bolle, Bole* and *Estan* Björkman (pp. 227 ff., 232) says: 'Die kritik, die Z. gegen meine behandlung dieses namens richtet, beweist zur genüge dass er die anordnung meiner "Engl. Namenkunde" nicht verstanden hat.' As appears from the

[1] This article was written in reply to Prof. Björkman's counter criticism, but when a whole year had gone, Prof. Mann after my repeated inquiries definitely refused to publish it, at the same time giving Björkman an unlimited opportunity of continuing the discussion (*Angl. Beibl.* 1918, 235—41, 308—311).

[2] Only the names *sub A—E* have been closely examined by me.

sequel, we differ, however, only on a question of *method*. In my opinion Björkman should always have tried to ascertain—not only in *Nord. Personennamen* but also in *Namenkunde*—if a certain name set down by him as Scand. had any English correspondent, whether the name *in the examples Björkman adduced* should be explained as Scand. or not—a question which cannot *always* be decided. I had some reason for believing that Prof. Björkman himself recognised this principle, for when discussing his material in *Namenkunde*, he often points out that a certain name may be either Scand. or English *although it occurs in place-names compounded with Scand. words*, e.g. *Alwalthweit*, *Alwardethuait* (p. 13), *Ernuluestorp* (p. 15), *Baggby*, *Baggethwait* (p. 21), etc.

Thus I do not doubt that *Bille*, *Bolle*, *Bole*, and *Estan*, when found in place-names containing Scand. words, are *most likely* to be of Scand. origin, but I consider that, here as well as in the case of the above-mentioned instances, Björkman should have drawn attention to the existence of the corresponding *English* name[1], and I concluded he omitted to do so because he had overlooked the native name[2]. Hence the question is *not* whether I have understood Prof. Björkman's methods or not; the question is whether I am right in expecting the author to treat his subject according to the aforesaid principle. I have given my reasons in my paper (p. 275 f.), and Björkman's arguments do not convince me that I am wrong. Björkman says that *all* the new names in *Engl. Namenkunde* are 'zum grössten teil unsicher.' This being so, we naturally want to know in what respect they are uncertain, i.e. what different explanations are possible in every special case. From this point of view much more is required from the author, than merely to place before us cases which admit of only one explanation, or at any rate, are comparatively safe, for our knowledge is certainly not much advanced by the publication of uncertain material. Björkman is sanguine enough to believe 'dass diese sammlungen (sc. of uncertain material!) für sich selbst sprechen würden, und dass der kundige und intelligente leser (the writer of this is evidently not included in this category) über die verschiedenen grade von wahrscheinlichkeit oder unwahrscheinlichkeit nordischer abstammung—auch ohne meine kommentare—zu urteilen im stande sein würde.' This is, forsooth, no easy task, even for an expert, much less for 'any well-informed and intelligent

[1] This likewise applies to the nicknames I have discussed in *Angl. Beibl.* 1917, 372 ff., my sole aim being to show that these names admit of an English derivation when special circumstances do not speak in favour of Scandinavian origin.

[2] How my suggestion that *e* in *Sandeby* may be excrescent, and the first element consequently may be due to the O.E. or Scand. noun *sand*, *sandr* can have anything to do with Björkman's 'ausführungen unter **Bille*' I fail to see.

reader.' Such a reader may be apt to assign Scand. origin to any English place-name containing *Bolle, Bille,* or *Estan*; there being no references to the corresponding native names in Björkman's book[1]. Such a train of thought is not altogether foreign to Björkman himself who does not consider it impossible that Basingstoke contains a Scand. name, although it is compounded with a native noun and is situated in the south of England. It was to provide against eventual misunderstandings of this kind that I pointed out that M.E. **Bille*[2], **Bolle*[2], **Bole*[2], and *Estan* may also go back to O.E. names of native origin. As to O.E. **Bill, Billa,* I called attention, in the first place, to the many compounds with *Bil-* noted by Searle. Any student of English onomatology knows that there existed in O.E. diminutive forms of many dithematic names[3] consisting only of the first element kept intact or slightly altered. Hence O.E. **Bill, Billa* may be shortened forms of *Billheard, Billnoth,* etc. There is, however, direct evidence of the existence of these names in O.E., viz. *Billing* L.V.D. (Sweet 490), *Bil,* Glouc., D.B., and the following names of places, all of them situated in the southern counties: *billinga byrig,* Sussex, A.D. 725, Kemble 1000, *Billan cumbe,* Wilts., A.D. 972, Kemble 572, *billan ora,* A.D. 862, Kemble 287, *Billesham,* Somers., A.D. 956 ?, Kemble 461, *Billes hamme,* Worc., A.D. 990, Kemble 675, *Billincgbróc,* Worc., A.D. 972, Kemble *570, *Billincgden,* Kent, A.D. 759, Kemble 114, *billan dene,* Wilts., A.D. 940, Kemble 379. Hence the existence of an *English* name *Bill, Billa is a matter beyond dispute.*

According to Björkman, the O.E. name *Bola* is early and rare. In accounting for M.E. *Bolle* we have also to reckon with *Bolla* and the latinized form *Bollo.* To these names there are the following references: *Bola,* A.D. 824, Sweet 578 and Birch 378, 379, 384, 386, *Bolla,* A.D. 1030, L.V.H. and on coins: Cnut; *Bolla,* Hants., Essex, D.B.; *Bolle,* Hants., Wilts., Dors., D.B.; *Bollo,* Dors., Somers., D.B.; *Bole,* Lincs., D.B.; *bollaea,* A.D. 725, Birch 144. Even if there had been only the one entry of pre-Conquest date (*Bola*) to reckon with, it would have been quite permissible to identify *Bole, Bolle, Bolla* in Domesday Book with this name. Björkman seems inclined to think that all names which *may* be explained as Scandinavian, *are* Scandinavian, if they have not been evidenced, say, before the 10th century. The risk of such an hypothesis is obvious

[1] Not a few intelligent readers have even mistaken Searle's references to Scand. or Continental names for English names.

[2] Björkman's asterisk is superfluous, the names being recorded in D.B. The same is the case with *Bil.* Cf. below.

[3] Theoretically most dithematic names could be shortened in this way and any number of English place-names have been explained on this supposition. Cf. *Cutha* for *Cuthwulf, Totta* for *Torhthelm,* etc.

to everybody. Before that date our sources of English names are very scarce and only an infinitesimal part of all English names which were extant at that time are on record. If some of the names found in our earliest sources were to be eliminated in favour of their Scand. correspondents, we might readily be made to believe that any names evidenced in records of the 10th century onward *are* of Scand. origin if only they admit of such an interpretation. The absurdity of such an assumption is clear without any comments. In the 10th and 11th centuries more names are evidenced—especially on coins—but it is not until Domesday Book and after that we obtain a survey of the whole material of names. Consequently the absence of a certain name in records of pre-Conquest date does not necessarily warrant the assumption that this name is of non-English origin. There can be no doubt that many purely English names are found for the first time in the venerable old Domesday-B. where are noted the names of every landholder both at the time of King Edward and the Conqueror.

Contrary to what Björkman tries to make out, I was perfectly well aware that in connecting *Estan* with **Eistein*, Björkman only gives references to the Yorkshire portion of D.B. and to place-names containing Scand. elements, but for reasons I have already stated, I did not consider it superfluous to add that *Estan* when occurring in the *southern*[1] counties was probably due to O.E. *Eadstan* (or *Æðestan*), so much the more as Scand. names also are found in the south of England. Björkman himself has not considered it unnecessary to point out that *Edstein*, L.V.D., is either a scandinavianized form of *Eadstan* or an erroneous spelling for *Eistein* (*Personennamen* 32, 35 n.)[2].

Björkman thinks my explanation of *æ* in *Hæsten* and *Æslac* as due to shortening of *ā* is impossible on phonological grounds. But if Björkman admits that *ā* could be shortened in this position (which of course is not certain) the result is likely to have been *æ* not *a*, the latter sound being due either to combinative sound-development (Luick, *Hist. Gramm.* § 161) or to the influence of neighbouring sounds. My suggestion that *æ* was an Anglo-French spelling for *a* naturally refers to the late forms from Henry of Huntingdon and Florence of Worcester, not to the early entry from the *A.-S. Chronicle*, as Björkman evidently wishes the reader to think.

[1] This appears from the very wording: '*Estan*, York, *but also* Kent, Hants. and Som., D.B.' (p. 279). My assumption has now proved to be correct (see Björkman, *Angl. Beibl.* 1918, 310).

[2] This conjecture gains in probability by the instances of graphic confusion between *d* and *g*, *i*, which I have noted in *Anglo-Norman Influence*, p. 116 ff.

Nor can any reasonable objection be raised against my derivation of *Radulf(us)* in late entries from the O.E. name *Rædwulf*, on the assumption that *æ* had been shortened to *ă*. We have not only to reckon with northern forms of the name but also with such as occur in the southern counties, e.g. in the Kent, Sussex and Devonshire portions of the D.B. In point of fact only one form with *e* occurs in D.B., viz. *Redulf*, Lincs. Björkman will consequently be bound to admit that at least in D.B. *Radulfus* sometimes goes back to O.E. *Rædwulf*.

How will Björkman account for *e* in *Ernesbi* if a derivation from O.E. **Earn* is excluded? *Earne*[1], Yorksh., D.B., and *Erne*[1], Chesh., *ibid.* may be weak correspondents (O.E. **Earna*) to this name. As the names occur in the northern counties it is, perhaps, more probable that they are anglicized forms of Scand. *Arni*.

Björkman admits that he has not paid sufficient attention to the interchange of *e* and *a* in the French spellings of the names. As far as I can see Björkman was not aware of this interchange, which is of great importance for the correct interpretation of several forms. I find no reference to it in his books.

Björkman also complains of my having misrepresented or misunderstood ('verdreht oder missverstanden') many of his statements. These errors are as follows:

(1) I have erroneously stated that Björkman derives **Bille* from Scand. *Bili*. Björkman says, O.W.S. *Bili* or Swedish *Bille*. If this is an error, it is a general one. In quoting Björkman's references I give, as a rule, only the O.W.S. form and label it as Scand. In my opinion this saves time, is sufficient and to the point.

(2) Re *Basing*, Björkman says: 'Ich kann den namen nicht befriedigend erklären. Ob patronymicon zu altwestn. *Bassi*, altschwed. *Basse* (auch beiname?).' I render this as 'Björkman is inclined to derive *Basing* from Scand. *Bassi*,' which is said to be 'übertreibung.'

(3) I have omitted Björkman's query-mark after *Knape*.

(4) Re *Aestan*, Björkman says, 'Was *Æstan* betrifft liegt die vermutung nahe, dass darin ein englischer name steckt (z. B. **Æscstan*),' which gives me occasion to make the following remark: '*Æstan* (or *Aestan*), Birch 585, coins: Canute (*Nord. Personennamen*, 65) is hardly due to O.E. *Æscstan* (*s* for *sc* being a late French spelling), but rather to O.E. *Æð(e)stan* (< *Ædelstan*, cf. Zachrisson, *Anglo-Norman Influence*, 102)'

[1] In *Personennamen* (p. 7) Björkman derives these forms from *Arni*, without commenting upon the phonological difficulties involved in such a derivation. In the present article he says: '*Earne* (nach Searle bei Ellis B) kann ich augenblicklich nicht nachprüfen.'

(the reference being to instances where *Æðel-* appears shortened to *Æð-* in the *A.-S. Chron.*), on which Björkman comments as follows: 'Ich habe (*Personennamen*, § 65) auf eine deutung dieses namens verzichtet und nur die vermutung ausgesprochen, dass darin ein englischer name (z. *B.* **Æscstan*) steckt.' I am very sorry for these inaccuracies—but at the same time I cannot help thinking they are very immaterial to the points at issue. The sequel of Björkman's comments on *Aestan* is a fight with windmills. He says: 'Zachrissons behauptung, ich habe *s* als eine schreibung für *sc* erklärt, ist vollkommen grundlos, wie jeder leser sieht...Wenn Z. mich belehrt dass *s* "a *late* French spelling" ist und mich dabei stolzierend auf seine dissertation verweist, wo diese schon längst aufgeklärte schreibung behandelt wird, so heisst doch das mir allzu grosse unwissenheit vorwerfen' (p. 230). As appears from the above quotation ('*Aestan* is hardly due to' etc.), I have *not said* that *Björkman* explains *s* as a spelling for *sc*, and *I give no references* to my *Anglo-Norman Influence* for such spellings.

As to the Anglo-French spelling with *s* for *sc*, it would be interesting to know *where* it is referred to by Björkman. Björkman would have made excellent use of his knowledge in discussing the names in *Ás-* many of which may contain O.E. *Æsc-* as well as Scand. *Ás-* (cf. my *Notes*, p. 288 f.). This is particularly the case with *Aswy* Rot. Lit. Claus. (*Namenkunde*, 19), where the by-forms with *ai* and *sch* (*Aiswy*, *Aschwy*) make a derivation from O.E. *Æscwig* the only probable alternative. As I found nothing mentioned of this Anglo-French spelling I gave a reference—later on (p. 289)—not to my *Anglo-Norman Influence* (1909) but to Stolze's *Zur Lautlehre der altengl. Ortsnamen im D.B.* (1902).

In *A. Bbl.* 1917, p. 274[1], Björkman vindicates his derivation of O.E. *Clapa* from Scand. *Clápi* (by the side of *Clápr*), instead of from O.E **Clappa*, M.E. *Clappe* (Bardsley and Skeat), by pointing to the occur-

[1] In the same article Björkman makes some ironical comments on the reflections with which I concluded my paper on *Early English Names with -god*, *-got*, etc., i.e. 'that students will do well in remembering that many names from about 900 onward admit of a threefold derivation, viz. from *Anglo-Saxon*, *Scandinavian* and *Continental French* (*Frankish*).' The importance of such distinctions only becomes more emphasized by the result Forssner has obtained as to the frequency of Continental names in O.E. According to Forssner (pp. 12, 105), such names occur sporadically even in the early parts of *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*, and from the time of King Alfred they exhibit an increase, which reaches its highest point in the reign of King Æthelstan (p. lxi). That such names are particularly well represented on coins is, of course, due to the fact that the moneyer's trade was to a great extent carried on by Franks. I have clearly shown that Björkman has set down a considerable number of Continental or English names as Scandinavian, and in his replies to my criticism he has admitted this to have been the case, at least in some of the instances, but nevertheless thinks a caution against such confusion ridiculous and superfluous.

rence of single *p* in *all* the spellings. O.E. *Clapa* may, however, be due to O.T. **klap*, by the side of O.T. **klapp*, an interchange seen in O.H.G. *klaffôn* and *Claffo*, n.p., by the side of *klapfôn*. In M.E. *Clappe* is well evidenced, but there is no trace of **Clope* from O.E. *Clāpa*.

I have now gone through all that can be labelled as scientific criticism in Prof. Björkman's reply to my remarks, and I have not found any one of his observations entirely justified. Naturally I am as anxious as Prof. Björkman to have the points discussed in my *Notes on Early English Names* submitted to the criticism of a competent and impartial judge.

Prof. Björkman also complains of the tone of my article. The critical comments I have had to make (my article was originally written as a review for *Englische Studien*) on certain portions of a work, whose great and indisputable merits I have at the same time fully acknowledged, may sometimes have appeared to be somewhat too pointed and in consequence have had an irritating effect, and I can only express my regrets if this has been the case. My chief aim has been to advance our knowledge of a study for which Prof. Björkman has been the great pioneer and pathfinder.

P.S. The sad news of Prof. Björkman's unexpected death from Spanish influenza reached me when this article was being printed. I wish to express my sincere regret at the great loss to philological science involved by the premature decease of one of the foremost scholars in this field of research. Nobody can think more highly than I of the splendid work done by Prof. Björkman and his numerous pupils in the various departments of English philology.

R. E. ZACHRISSON.

STOCKHOLM.

THE PASTORAL THEME IN FRENCH LITERATURE DURING THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

I.

France has had two great epochs of the flourishing of the pastoral genre. First in the twelfth century with the 'pastourelle,' and second in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the formal 'pastorale,' probably induced more or less by the general vogue of the genre, especially in Italy. It might prove of interest to note whether the pastoral tradition died out entirely in France between these two epochs of great popularity for that literary form. The thirteenth century still produced 'pastourelles,' and the sixteenth almost from the beginning showed traces of Italian writing along those lines. Did the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries contain any formal 'pastourelles' or pastoral elements?

An examination of a certain number of the *chansons* and *ballades* of that epoch brings out the fact that some of the formal 'pastourelles' of the twelfth century type still appear[1], but there is also at this time what might be called the sophisticated 'pastourelle,' in which the attitude is shown in the following lines:

> Puisque Robin j'ai a nom,
> J'aymeray bien Marion, etc.[2]

This same sophisticated 'pastourelle' appears in Gasté's *Chansons Normandes du XV^e siècle*[3]. This is also true of Othon de Granson's *Pastourelle*[4] or dialogue between a shepherd and a shepherdess, which is pastoral in tone, but smacks somewhat of the debate form of literature, and in its analysis of the more subtle aspects of love, resembles some of the interminable discussions of various phases of that emotion, characteristic of the 'Puys.' In the formal *Débat de l'Yver et de l'Esté*[5], the pastoral setting is also found. In fact the difficulty at this time is an excess of riches; it becomes difficult to classify the variants of the

[1] G. Paris, *Chansons françaises du XV^e Siècle* (Société des Anciens Textes Français), Nos. 2, 6, and 7.
[2] G. Paris, *op. cit.*, No. 1.
[3] Rouen, 1866, Nos. 99 and 100.
[4] *Romania*, XIX, pp. 404 ff.
[5] Montaiglon, *Recueil de poésies françaises des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Vol. X, p. 43.

pastourelle theme. It was above all a period of untrammelled development for the genre; we find the setting as well as the tone of the poems varying greatly. Not only do the countryside and the banks of the river serve as a stage setting for the *dramatis personae*, but the 'vergier' and the garden appear as well. The theme is sometimes amplified from the simple original meeting of the knight and the shepherdess, to such an elaboration as the *Banquet du Boys*[1], so reminiscent of Robin and Marion, although the names of the protagonists would suggest that it had been influenced by a much later bit of writing. In the *Banquet* it will be remembered, Franc Gontier and Hélaine bring together their friends the shepherds and shepherdesses:

> Tous les bergiers de vingt lieues à la ronde
> Venus y sont[2],

with their dogs and their sheep:

> Soubz aubépine bien flourie et flairant,
> En lieu amène, comme ung paradis[3].

After they are all assembled, each one bearing a gift:

> Tous d'un accord ont Gontier salué,
> Aussi Helaine, la dame de la feste;
> Chascun son don y a distribué
> Muse ou flajol, chïen ou autre beste[4].

Gontier then gives the signal for dancing, which is followed by the rustic banquet. In the midst of the rejoicing, Isengrin tries to make off with a sheep, but is caught and hanged by the shepherds. The dances and 'mommerie' are then taken up anew.

The names Franc Gontier and Hélaine in the *Banquet* bring to mind, as has been said before, Vitry's *Dit de Franc Gontier*[5], and certain items of the banquet are reminiscent of the country fare of Franc Gontier and Hélaine. That is not the only reason that makes the *Dit de Franc Gontier* of interest to us, however, for with Ailly's *Combien est misérables* and Nicholas de Clamanges' translations of the two poems into Latin it forms a little group of poems in praise of rustic life, or at any rate, the simple life. In view of the fact that Vitry, Ailly and Clamanges were savants deeply imbued with classical culture, it might not be wholly idle to conjecture as to whether we are not here in the presence of a conscious attempt to revive the Latin eclogue in French peasant setting, an attempt that was checked by the abrupt termination of the French Pre-Renaissance movement.

[1] Montaiglon, *Recueil de poésies françaises des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*. Paris, 1875, Vol. x, pp. 206—224.
[2] Montaiglon, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
[3] Montaiglon, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
[4] Montaiglon, *op. cit.*, p. 212.
[5] Montaiglon, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

However that may be, before leaving the subject of Franc Gontier, attention must be called to the parody of the poem by Villon[1], which is in effect a satire of rural life, and purely sporadic. Sporadic also are Eustache Deschamps' 'pastourelles,' under the heading of 'ballades'[2].

For the sake of completeness mention might here be made of the 'Noëls,' many of which contain pastoral elements. It will be recalled that in the sixteenth century the 'noël' was one of the recognized genres, and a great many were published at that time. Earlier 'noëls' existed, and are still unpublished to-day, such as those in the Vire MS. in the Fonds la Vallière[3].

From the foregoing it may be deduced that the output of the 'pastourelle' in its pristine form is not great in France during these two centuries. There is, however, quite a large number of pastourelles, chansons, and ballades in which the pastoral element is utilized in combination with other material, and it also appears in the religious literature with the 'Noëls.'

II.

The 'pastourelle' is the only pastoral form at this time that embodies the 'art for art's sake' attitude of the genre. For in the Nativity Plays and Noëls, the end and aim is not the shepherds and their human relations, but the element of edification. There is another phase in which the pastoral setting is used as a vehicle for allusions, satirical or flattering, to current events and political personages, which might well be called the political pastoral. The laudatory political pastoral appears among Petrarch's eclogues, and Froissart's political pastorals are similar in tone. Among the latter's twenty formal pastourelles, seven are written to commemorate some political event, and three contain historical allusions.

His first political pastourelle is number two[4] of his sequence, and is written anent the trip of John to England. It begins in true pastoral vein by describing the presence of some shepherds and shepherdesses in a beautiful prairie between 'Eltem et Wesmoustier,' who are dancing to the music of a 'canemelle.' One of the shepherds announces the coming of him who bears the fleur de lis. One of the group asks how he carries

[1] *Contreditz de Franc-Gontier*, *Œuvres Complètes de Villon*, ed. Longnon, Paris, 1892.
[2] Ed. of the Société des Anciens Textes Français, Vol. III, Nos. 94, 359; Vol. V, No. 1009; Vol. VI, No. 1569.
[3] J. Tiersot, *Histoire de la Chanson populaire en France*, Paris, 1889, p. 243.
[4] *Œuvres de Froissart: Poésies*, publiées par A. Scheler, Bruxelles, 1871, Vol. II, pp. 308—310.

these pretty flowers, whether he cries his wares, and speaks of bartering his

cornuielle
La musette et la flahutelle

for some of the blossoms. This enables the first shepherd to scorn the ignorance of his mate and to say that 'Cils qui porte les flours' is a 'roi de noble lignie.' The shepherds and shepherdesses all hasten off to put on their holiday array to do honour to him who is coming, and again begin to dance while awaiting the presence of 'Cils qui porte les flours de lys.' No. VI shows us a group of shepherds and shepherdesses in the shadow of a green tree 'entre Binch et le bois de Braine[1]' rejoicing over the return of Wenceslas of Brabant from his captivity. No. VIII[2] is a panegyric of Gaston de Foix. Again the group of shepherds and shepherdesses is found near a great abbey between Luniel and Montpellier. Some of the shepherds are going to fight for Gaston de Foix, and one of the girls asks who he is, and can he dance as well as the lads of the countryside. This gives a shepherd the opportunity to praise Gaston, and No. IX[3] is also composed in honour of Gaston de Foix. No. XII[4] gives a description of a shepherds' assembly on Ascension day, in a field beyond the road between Lille and Warneston. This is one of the most strongly political of the seven, and celebrates the passing of the river Lys by the French and the defeat of the Flemish by the French princes, who are described as shepherds. The mixture of Mars and Pan is amusingly seen in the scene of the arming of the 'pastours.' No. XIII[5] is a well-known one, and it celebrates the marriage of Louis of Chatillon, son of the Count of Blois, with the daughter of John of Berry at Bourges. A group of shepherds and shepherdesses are in a garden, in the shadow of two trees, and are gathering chaplets of flowers preparatory to going to see the wedding of 'La pastourelle de Berri avec le pastourel de Blois.' There is much talk of the wonders of the wedding of 'de lyons et de flours de lys,' and dressed in their bravest, with garlands and musical instruments, they set out for town. No. XIV[6] is also an epithalamium in tone celebrating the wedding of the son of John of Berry, and Jeanne of Boulogne, whose guardian was Gaston de Foix. It is much like the preceding, save for the touch that the news is brought to the interested villagers by a tired squire who has asked hospitality at a neighbouring farm. At the news, the shepherds and

[1] P. 316. [2] P. 321.
[3] P. 324. [4] P. 332.
[5] P. 334. [6] P. 337.

shepherdesses take their musical instruments, and go to see the wedding of

> Pastourel de Berri
> Et la pastoure de Boulongne.

Froissart is now writing little save 'pièces de circonstance.' No. XV[1] is a good example, telling of the entry of Isabella of Bavaria into Paris. A number of shepherds and girls are gathered together in the shadow of a green tree near Bourg la Reine. One of the swains has just come back from town, and like a twentieth-century tourist after his first European trip cannot rest until he has told the stay-at-homes the wonders that he has seen. Not all of the group are anxious to hear him, but after some preliminary debate, he tells of the wonders of that event and the nobles who attended it.

In these seven political pastorals the event described is put in the form of news. The attitude of the shepherds to their less well-informed brothers is distinctly expository. In this respect, these political pastorals of Froissart bear certain traits in common with the shepherd incidents in the 'mystères,' such as is seen in one of the Jubinal[2] reprints; here the Angel Gabriel bids them go tell the good tidings, and later on, when, after having seen Jesus, they meet on their way home a couple of their shepherd friends, the first thing that they do is to tell them the good news, and suggest that they go back to Bethlehem to worship the Child, exactly as the shepherd who is going to the wedding suggests that the friends whom he meets should dress in their bravest and come with him.

Attention is drawn to the opening of the foregoing pastourelles, which is quite according to the rules of traditional pastourelle structure. Hence Froissart's political pastourelles might be analyzed as a blend of the pastourelle stage-setting, with the nativity shepherd attitude, while the subject matter is political.

The most elaborate and longest (9141 lines) example of the political pastoral is the so-called *Pastoralet*[3], belonging to the Burgundian cycle. Here the pastoral element is a cloak, as the author tells us himself in a few introductory remarks in prose at the beginning of the *Pastoralet*, 'Chi commence le Pastoralet, ou quel Bucarius Faintement par pastourrie descrist la division des Franchois et la désolation de roialme de France.' He goes on to say that the reader who 'voirra

[1] P. 339.
[2] *Mystères inédits du XV^e Siècle*, Paris, 1837, p. 75.
[3] Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique*, Bruxelles, 1873, Vol. II, pp. 573–852.

entendre ceste fiction, sy voie la briève exposition qui est après la fin du livre,' where (lines 8808—9140) the author names himself, and defends himself against any charge of indiscretion, by saying that the events he treats are writ large in the Chronicle of France. Moreover he is not the first to do this, for the Abbé de Chiercamp has put it all forth 'prolixement' in Latin. So that no one may make any mistakes he gives a key to all the persons and places in the *Pastoralet*[1]. Florentin = Charles VI, Tristifer = Louis of Orleans, Belligere = Isabel, Le Pourpris = France, etc.

The *Pastoralet* is divided into twenty chapters, and starts off in true pastoral style. In Chapter I the charms of peace are sung, and the games and poetry-contests of the shepherds. In Chapter II is described the illicit love-making of Isabella and Louis of Orleans. It is here that appears a pretty, oft-quoted lyric: 'Bergière jolie[2],' etc. The third chapter is again pastoral in tone, but in the fourth chapter, with the madness of the King, the pastoral setting gives way to the political element. The death of the duke of Orleans is related almost immediately after (Chapter V), and after that the pastoral touches are few and far between, notably in Chapters IX and XII and XV. The rest is all war and sieges and tells the story of the reign of Charles VI in rather a hit-and-miss fashion, as no sort of proportion is kept in the emphasis on the relative importance of events. That it is written from a partisan point of view is told by the author in a few words of introductory prose at the beginning, when he says that he wrote it to honour and praise the very noble, very excellent Prince John, duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders and Artois, who in his life-time was very brave and valiant.

The curiously mixed character of the *Pastoralet* is easily seen. Connected with the Burgundian cycle, it is not a real chanson de geste, although having in common with that genre the historical episodes, towns taken, etc. Neither is it a pastoral, in spite of the local colour, and the occasional lyrics. Moreover, it is a *roman à clef*. It is rather interesting to note how many of the elements of the *Astrée* are to be found here; pastoral setting, historical allusions, a good deal of love-making. There is one element that does not appear in the *Astrée*, and that is the overwhelming political bias of the writer. That appears very strongly in the first three chapters, turning on the illicit love affair said to have existed between Isabella and Louis of Orleans. It is much like a mud-slinging political campaign, in which the moral weaknesses of the

[1] *Op. cit.*, lines 8878 ff. [2] *Op. cit.*, lines 1205—1240.

candidates are made use of. This helps to classify the *Pastoralet* as a political pamphlet in which the pastoral element is used, as the author puts it, as a shield, and the 'pastourelles' interpolated, are frankly stucco ornaments glued on and have no inherent connection with the composition itself.

These political pamphlets under the pastoral setting were used by all the political parties, as is shown by the following anti-Burgundian political pastoral, written by Jean du Prieur, a maréchal des logis of René of Anjou, entitled, *Le Songe du Pastourel* (1480—1508), and dedicated to René II of Lorraine, grandson of King René, whom he calls 'le tres hault, tres noble, tres puissant et tres victorieux prince Rene, duc de Lorraine[1].' The author informs us that he has set out to tell the story of the duke of Lorraine and his contests with Charles the Bold. The duke of Lorraine is the shepherd, and Charles is the lion who comes prowling around René's sheep-fold. René, who is very young, goes to ask advice, 'des grans pastours le maistre' (Louis XI). The grand pastour promises him 'ung baston' to help him fight the lion, and the shepherd gets ready to fight, and has the iron point of his 'houlette' sharpened at the forge. When the fight comes, the 'baston' breaks in the hands of the shepherd, and he falls down, and is at the mercy of the lion. The writer, with the true novelist's art, stops here, and awakens. Then he falls asleep again and dreams. There follow here some 150 lines on the doctors, and on the healing of a sick man, who is identified finally with the pastour and who is now recovered, to the obvious relief of the author, who then awakes and proceeds to write his book. This is followed by a debate between Death[2] and a Burgundian, as to the merits of Charles the Bold. Then an old woman is called in to describe the battle in which the duke lost his life. When the point of the finding of the body is reached, the author takes up the thread of the narrative, and exhorts the reader never to forget the wonderful victory of René of Lorraine over Charles the Bold. The poem is over 1200 lines long, and of these only the first 240 lines carry out the pastoral theme, together with some twelve or fifteen lines later on, that are thrown in to make the connection with the introduction. There is no attempt to carry out the pastoral form, and it partakes both of the allegory and of the vision literature. It is a specimen of the

[1] *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XIII, Vienna, 1892, pp. 226—266. Written between 1480, the death of René of Anjou, and 1508, the death of René II of Lorraine. The dedication,—4 laisses of 8 lines each,—is full of the fulsome flattery of the day.

[2] Death uses the pastoral image for some 15 lines.

allegorized pastoral rather than anything else. It is pedestrian and uninspired in tone, very confused in form, and has no literary charm, its value being chiefly philological, or historical, i.e. touching the evolution of the genre.

We are now coming to the slighter literary forms involving a pastoral motif, and extensions to themes not pastoral *per se*. Here might be listed the 'élégie pastorale' on the death of Du Guesclin by the shepherds and peasants[1]. We are getting farther and farther away from the formal pastoral. Martial d'Auvergne's *Vigilles de Charles VII*[2] could also be mentioned in this connection. It is a rhymed chronicle of that monarch, based as to form on a Roman Catholic church service. It begins with an 'Invitatorium' full of Latin catch phrases, and is divided into nine 'psaulmes et 9 lessons' with antiphona. In the third lesson, Charles is mourned by various classes of society, among them the 'laboureur,' from whose lips come praises of the delights of his reign. He describes the pleasures of the shepherds, and their songs and eating, violet-picking and love-making.

Still another use of the pastoral setting which shows how much the motif was in the air, so to speak, at that time, is made by René of Anjou, that dilettante King, who is involved in one way or another with so many of the political and literary happenings of his day.

In 1449, he had sent out the 'bans' for a 'tournay' to take place at Tarascon, and this was to be called the *Pas d'Armes de la Bergère*[3]. It was to be very different from the 'tournay' that he had given in 1447 at Saumur, to certain nobles of Anjou, and that had been a very elaborate affair indeed. This was to be a pastoral 'emprise.' Instead of a magnificent castle to guard, there was a shepherd's hut; instead of an elaborately clothed lady to give the prizes, there was a fair shepherdess watching her sheep, and the two defenders were dressed as 'pastoureaux.'

Crapelet, in the preface of his edition of the *Pas d'Armes*, suggests that René gave a pastoral 'emprise' because he was in the heart of Provence, and had around him so much that suggested Provençal pastoral life. However that may be, Crapelet's *Pas d'Armes* is an elaborate description of the tournay: how the pastourelles and the two knights who defended the shields were all dressed in grey, how the

[1] 'Publié à la fin de la *Chronique en prose de Du Guesclin* éd. par Francisque Michel, et trouvé par lui à la suite d'un manuscrit de Guillaume de Marchaut.' Lenient, *La Poésie patriotique en France au Moyen-Age*, p. 343.

[2] Paris, 1724, Vol. I, p. 83 ff.

[3] Beauvan, L. de, *Pas d'Armes de la Bergère*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1835.

jousters were to challenge the defenders by striking one of two shields, a black one or a white one, suspended from the tree near the hut of the shepherdess, how many lances were to be broken, and the rules under which they were to play. The prize was to be a nosegay, with a ring of gold around the stem, and a kiss from the fair shepherdess. Then follows a description of the different knights who challenged the defenders, how they were armed, what horses they rode, and the outcome of the tournay. It is not a pastoral at all, it is a masquerade tournay, instead of a masquerade ball. It gives the impression of being a pastiche, although we know that René was most deeply interested in matters of chivalry and had only the year before instituted a new order of Knighthood, so that it was all very real to him.

Finally, the last political pastoral that we shall take up may almost be called an inspired one, i.e. Jehan de Brie, *Le Bon Bergier*. It is considered as such by some authorities, Lenient for instance[1]. 'Comparer Charles V. dictant le petit livre de Jehan de Brie[2] avec Auguste inspirant les "Georgiques" serait un parallèle un peu risqué. Cependant l'idée politique est la même : c'est un appel à la paix, à la concorde, à l'usage modéré du pouvoir chez les grands, à la docilité chez les petits.'

While it does not strike the reader that the propaganda is quite so obvious as the above would suggest, it can scarcely be denied that the book of Jehan de Brie, or rather the preface, does, in a veiled way, inculcate theories of the state that would be acceptable to Charles V. The little book was more than a specimen of covert propaganda, it was a very practical—for that time—treatise on the care of the sheep, and occasioned a number of imitators, as is seen by the Kalendriers that appeared in the following century, such as the *Compost et Kalendrier des bergères*, etc.[3]

The foregoing might well suggest that the pastoral convention in literature was one to which the contemporary public was well accustomed. The shepherds, thanks to some rather confused thinking on the part of their contemporaries, to which the former's supposed rustic simplicity, the rôle they played in the Nativity, and their presence in the 'Robin et Marion' ballads all contributed, held a more or less privileged position at that time in the world of literary conventions, and are to be met with—in widely scattered forms—at almost every turn in the road.

[1] Lenient, *La satire en France au Moyen-Âge*, p. 225.

[2] *Le Bon Berger, ou le Vray régime et gouvernement des Bergers et Bergères*; composé par le rustique Jehan de Brie, le bon Berger, Paris, 1879.

[3] G. Brunet, *Le XV^e siècle*, p. 53.

III.

It is a well-known fact that the mediaeval theatre in France came to its fullest development in the fifteenth century. The dramatic material of this epoch may be, simply speaking, divided into two groups, that treating of lay-subjects, including moralities, farces, and 'sotties,' on the one hand, and on the other the group containing the 'mystères' of the Old and New Testaments, as well as those based on the lives of the Saints.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have a few 'mystères' that do not have a religious or edifying basis, such as the *Destruction de Troye*, the *Mystère du Siège d'Orléans*[1], and *Grisélidis*[2]. The last two contain shepherds in the list of the *dramatis personae*.

In the *Mystère d'Orléans* God tells an angel to announce to Jeanne that she is to save France. The scene takes place in Heaven, and our interest in it lies in the fact that it parallels scenes in the Nativity plays, when God sends the angel to Mary. In the *Mystère*, the arrival of the Angel at Vaucouleurs is announced by a flourish on the organ; and the Angel goes up to Jeanne, who is keeping her father's sheep and sewing. When the Angel tells her what mission she is to perform, she is afraid, and wants to refuse[3], but he reasons with her and promises her protection from above.

In view of the fact that Jeanne's profession was that of shepherdess, it is not to be wondered at that the Angel found her with her sheep. What is of interest to us, is simply the similarity in the handling of the matter here and in the Nativity scenes in the New Testament mysteries. Here the shepherd scene is due to circumstances and not to any outside influence.

The same element of local colour is seen in the use of the shepherds in the *Grisélidis*, but in a lesser degree than in the Orleans mystery; that is, Grisélidis was a shepherdess, so that it is natural that her lot should be discussed by her possible companions. This will come out more clearly when I have traced the rôle that two shepherds play in the mystery. They come in at three different times. (i) Immediately after the wedding, which they discuss at length, pleased at the good match that the little shepherdess has made. They eventually wander off into a digression on the respective merits of the life of a shepherd, and of a soldier. (ii) They next appear after the children of Grisélidis have

[1] *Le Mistère du Siège d'Orléans*, publié par MM. F. Guessard et E. de Certain, Paris, 1862.

[2] Paris, 1832. (Reprint.)

[3] *Op. cit.*, lines 7060 ff.

been taken away from her, and she has been repudiated on account of her lowly estate. The shepherds blame the Marquis for his conduct, and repeat the countryside gossip about this scandal. (iii) Lastly they come in again at the end. At first they behave as do the shepherds in Nativity plays, indulge in puns on words 'entendre' and 'tondre'—this mostly by the Second Berger, who Suchier[1] suggests is beginning to develop the characteristics of the 'Clown.' The First Shepherd then goes over the whole story again, and the Second Shepherd ends the play with the following lines[2]:

Ma musette accorder feray
Et avecques toy y diray
Se ayder me veult doucette
Une amoureuse chansonnette
Que de dieu soient resiouys
Testous ceulx qui nous ont ouys.

Apparently the author of *Grisélidis* has been affected by the Nativity plays, but what is new here, and what does not appear in French plays again until the Renaissance, is the 'chorus-like' function of the two shepherds. There is no way of fastening a classical influence to it that I have been able to see, but it gives a curious aspect to this play, otherwise so Gothic in inspiration.

Another source of the pastoral element, though not the classic pastoral, is to be found in the Mystères of the New Testament or the Nativity plays inspired by the Bible story. This familiarized the public with the shepherd as a stock dramatic type, and must not be neglected in view of its popularization of the aforesaid type.

The best known of these Mystères is probably Arnoul Gréban's *Nativité, la Passion et la Résurrection de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ.* We find in it a scene between the shepherds in praise of country life[3]:

Aloris.

Il fait assés doulce saison
Pour pastoureaux, le Dieu mercy....

Isambert.

Fi de richesse et de soucy!
Il n'est vie si bien nourrie
Qui vaille estat de pastourrie.

Pellion.

A gens qui s'esbatent ainsi,
Fi de richesse et de soucy!

[1] Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1900.
[2] *Mystère de Grisélidis*, Paris, 1832, lines 2144—2149.
[3] Fifteenth century. Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, pp. 401 ff.

Rifflart.

Je suis bien des vostres aussi
Atout ma barbete fleurie ;
Quand j'ay du pain mon saoul, je crye :
Fi de richesse et de soucy !....

Aloris.

Est-il liesse plus serie
Que de regarder ses beaux champs
Et ces doux agnelès paissans,
Saultans en la belle praierie ?

Pellion.

On parle de grant seignourie,
D'avoir donjons, palais puissans ;
Est-il liesse plus serie
Que de regarder ces beaux champs ?

This is interrupted by the singing of 'Gloria in excelsis' by the Angels, who have come to announce the birth of Jesus. This is followed almost immediately by the scene of the gifts[1]. Isambert gives 'une hochete':

Qui dira clic clic à l'oreille ;
Au moins quand l'enfant plorera
La hochete l'apaisera.

Aloris:

Ung beau Kalendrier de bois
Pour savoir les jours et les mois
Le karesme et le nouveau temps,—

probably the first case recorded in literature of that most appropriate of modern Christmas presents, a calendar.

In a 'mystère' given at Troyes in the fifteenth century[2], which from the second 'journée' follows Gréban's text of the *Passion*, we find a scene between the shepherds that begins like Gréban's, in which they praise their life, their duty to their flocks. It then breaks off, tells the adventures of one of their members in town, and ends with a vivid criticism of a certain edict of the Emperor Augustus, that is supposed to be a veiled allusion to an unpopular tax that Charles VI was raising. Eustache Mercadé's *La vie, la Passion et la Vengeance de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ* has scenes in which shepherds appear. Petit de Julleville has said of them: 'Les entretiens des bergers sont remarquables par une naïveté réaliste qui çà et là offre quelque charme[3].' The *entretiens* probably referred to are the ones in which two of the shepherds play a practical joke on a third who is asleep[4]. Another 'mystère' treating of

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 404.

[2] *Notice d'un mystère par personnages représenté à Troyes vers la fin du XV^e siècle*, by Vallet de Viriville in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. III, pp. 448—474.

[3] Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, Vol. II, p. 417.

[4] *Notice d'un mystère par personnages inédit du XV^e siècle*, par A. Vallet de Viriville, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. V, pp. 37—58.

the Nativity, and containing a number of rôles for shepherds, is the *Incarnation de la Nativité de Jésus-Christ*[1]. Two of them, *Ludien: fol pasteur,* and *Anathol: pasteur niays,* have rôles that are quite clown-like.

The shepherd element is also seen in the *Nativité Notre-Seigneur Jhésu-Christ*[2]. It begins with a Latin text, 'In principio creavit Deus celum et terram,' etc., followed by a three-page 'sermon' ending:

> La Trinité qui sans fenir
> Fut et est et toujours sera
> In sempiterna secula—Amen.

This is immediately followed by a conversation between God the Father and Satan. Adam, Eve, Michael, Isaiah, Amos, Elias, Raphael, Daniel, Caesar, etc., all play their rôles. Finally we reach the birth of Christ. God the Father tells Gabriel to announce the birth of Jesus to the shepherds. The shepherds are then introduced[3]: 'Cy voise auls pastoreaulx et die.' There follow a couple of pages of horse-play between 'Gobelin, premier bergier' and 'Riflart, second bergier.' The two shepherds then proceed to breakfast before they start off for the work of the day. While they are eating Gabriel appears, tells them not to be frightened, that he is sent by God the Father to announce the coming of Jesus, and that they must go to Bethlehem to see the King of Kings. So the two shepherds decide to go off together, 'Et chalumelons touz II ensemble.' They quickly find the Child, squabble as to who sees Him best, praise God, and prepare to announce the news to the people. Gobelin finishes with these words:

> Or nous metons tost a la voie
> Et je ferai une estampie
> Pour Marion ma doulce amie[4].

It will be noted that even though playing in a religious mystery, shepherds have so close a connection with the pastoral that they have to bring in the reference to the wholly profane literary tradition of 'Robin et Marion.'

This 'jeu des berchiez' was considered a unit by itself, and could be taken out of its context and used elsewhere, as is shown by its use in the mystère following this one in Jubinal's same work[5]. It is in the *Geu des trois roys*[6], which begins with a Latin text, followed by a

[1] Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, pp. 430—436.
[2] Jubinal, *Mystères inédits du XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1837, Vol. II, pp. 1—78.
[3] Jubinal, *op. cit.*, pp. 71—78.
[4] Here Gratemauvaiz, whom we have not seen before, comes on the scene, tells a rambling story about misadventures at an inn and closes the mystère with a 'Te Deum laudamus.'
[5] *Mystères inédits du XV^e siècle*, Vol. II, p. 84.
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

five-page sermon, in which is summarized the story of the birth of Jesus announced to the shepherds, and the adoration of the Magi. It ends with the words:

La Trinité qui sans fenir
Fut et est et toutjours sera
In sempiterna secula. Amen.

The note that follows is valuable: 'Les berchies soient au milieu du champ et dient l'un à l'autre: Le jeu des berchiez est à la fin de la Nativité Nostre Seigneur qui est devant le sermon de ce jeu cy et ce fine pour "Marion ma doulce amie," et puis voisent ou ils vourront.' This is immediately followed by the entrance of 'Balthazar, premier roy,' who begins:

Ha! trez-douz Diex que j'ay grant joie!
Louez soit cilz qui tout avoie!
L'estoille voy certainement, etc.

The 'geu' is now well under way, and goes on for fifty-four pages with no further mention of shepherds.

The detached nature of these shepherd incidents is shown also by the description of the fêtes given in honour of the entrance of sovereigns into towns. An example of this is the entrance of Isabella into Paris, and the entrance of Charles VII on November 2, 1437[1]. When the Prince entered Paris there was built up before the Châtelet a 'rocher et Terrasse couvert d'un Bocage et pastis agréable' where there were some 'pastoureaux' with their sheep who listened to the Angel of the Nativity and sang 'Gloria in excelsis Deo.'

From what has gone before it would seem that although it is too much to claim that there had been established a separate 'pastoral play' at this time, still the public had become used to varieties of intermezzos, so to speak, with a shepherd cast, and made little effort to separate the Nativity shepherd from the amorous Robin, lover of Marion, on the one hand, or from the shepherd disguise under which criticism of a political nature was carried on, on the other.

A few words as to the lay-group, moralities, farces, etc. In the ones that have been printed, few shepherds appear among the *dramatis personae*. *Mieux que devant*[2] might be cited, which is listed as a 'bergerie fort joyeuse et morale,' but which is in reality, as Lanson says[3], a morality;—a morality, with a certain flavour of the political pastoral, for it is a complaint of the people against the political situation, in spite of

[1] Frères Parfait, *Histoire du Théâtre françois*, Paris, 1745, Vol. II, p. 171; Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
[2] Viollet le Duc, *Ancien Théâtre français*, Paris, 1854, Vol. III, pp. 213—231.
[3] *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1916.

the spirit of optimism shown by the shepherdess who calls herself 'Bonne Espérance,' and who recites the lyrics of the play. Much the same thing might be said in a lesser degree about *Mestier et Marchandise*[1].

Finally, there is *Maistre Pathelin*, with *Agnelet*, which is an excellent example of what has been said about the crystallization of certain attributes of the shepherd rôle as it was being evolved from the mass of mystery plays in which it appeared. Here is the shepherd in his conventional garb, who has developed the clown-like characteristics of his rôle, and has added a grain of rustic sharpness. He was no stranger to his audiences, was Agnelet, but had become so familiar through the Mystères, that he was as real a person to them as were the Merchant and the Judge whose prototypes were engaged in everyday life about them.

It is now clear that it is a mistake to say that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in France there was no pastoral tradition. There was not a very large output of formal 'pastourelles,' that is true, but the pastoral genre had permeated literature, and was used constantly in religious and political forms of belles-lettres. It cropped up constantly, and it was more common and more nearly accepted as a matter of course than during the epochs when the genre flourished, and was rarely met with in other combinations. To understand its use, it must, however, be put back into its surroundings, and the general confusion of literary traditions and the chaotic conditions and mixture of genres must be taken into account. In time of literary anarchy, it was scarcely to be expected that the pastoral genre alone would remain true to type, keep clean-cut edges, and not melt or overlap into any other forms, when every other literary genre was subject to such Protean changes. The turgid confusion in the use of the pastoral at this time is simply characteristic of the whole domain of letters, and can in no way be interpreted as the dying away of the pastoral tradition itself, which permeates those two centuries to a degree not suspected by the general reader.

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[1] Werner, R. M., *Drei Farcen des XV. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1879.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

The Weak Verb in the Works of the 'Gawain'-Poet.

A striking peculiarity of the poems of *Cleanness* and *Pearl*, and, in some degree, of *Patience* and *Gawain*, is the occasional omission, in certain connexions, of the final *-d* of weak preterites and past participles. In the four poems I have noted 30 cases, 21 of which occur before a vowel or unstressed *h*, or unstressed voiced *th*, the stems of the verbs in question ending in *l*, *n*, *r*, i.e. a dental continuant, or a vowel (or in *Pearl*, in *p*). The cases are as follows:

(1) before a vowel or unstressed *h*:

For, marre oþer madde, morne & myþe, *Pearl* 359;
Ho wyrle out on þe weder, *Cleanness* 475 a;
He syȝe þer swey in asent, *Cleanness* 788 a (according to NED. (see under *sway*), this verb was conjugated both strong and weak, but all the examples of the strong conjugation it quotes come from these poems, i.e. this line, the next example, and *Gawain* 1796, quoted below);
Swe aboute sodamas, *Cleanness* 956 a;
& þay forloyne her fayth, *Cleanness* 1165 a;
& torne hit to grounde, *Cleanness* 1234 b;
& walle al aboute, *Cleanness* 1390 b;
& quos deth so he deȝyre he dreped als fast, *Cleanness* 1648;
Hef & hale vpon hyȝt, *Patience* 219 a;
& ȝet I say as I seet, *Patience* 313 a;
He were a bleaunt of blwe, *Gawain* 1928 a (cp. *wered*, 2037).

In a marginal note to *Cleanness* 1327, 'þat he ful clanly bi-cnv his carp bi þe laste,' Morris says that the MS looks like 'bicuv*er*.' If this were so, it would give an additional example, but 'bi-cnv' gives better sense, and also appears to me to be the reading of the MS. On the other hand, *Cleanness* 69 b, 'sower hym þe þryd,' where the defective alliteration demands some emendation, can most economically be altered by taking 'sower' as = 'so wer' = 'so wer[*n*],' 'so denied.'

In nearly all these examples the loss of final *-d* causes the loss of a

syllable in the line. Not only are none of the lines thereby made defective in scansion, but in a great number the addition of *-d* would destroy the 2-syllable mid-dip which is characteristic of ME. alliterative verse, e.g. *Cleanness* 788, 956. This suggests that the omission is not due to the scribe, but to the poet himself. To test this, let us remove final *-d* in other places where the change would result in the loss of a syllable. Taking the first 100 lines of *Cleanness*, the poem where this omission is specially common, we get the following cases: 19, 24, 59, 62, in which the scansion is equally correct; 55 b 'arn bayted & slayne,' 87 b 'swyed on blonkeȝ,' 92 b 'dressed his seete,' where the line is made defective; 65 a 'Anoþer nayed also,' 66 a 'I haf ȝerned & ȝat,' 69 a '& I haf wedded a wyf,' 85 a 'þen þay cayred & com,' where the line, though not defective, becomes of a much less common type than before. None of the lines are brought nearer to the prevailing type, as are practically all where *-d* is omitted in the text.

(2) before unstressed voiced *th*:

I hope þat mote merked wore, *Pearl* 142;
I hope þat gostly watȝ þat porpose, *Pearl* 185;
A pyȝt coroune ȝet wer þat gyrle, *Pearl* 205;
For mony ben calle, þaȝ fewe be mykeȝ, *Pearl* 572;
Of carpe þe kynde þese properteȝ, *Pearl* 752;
so marre þise oþer, *Cleanness* 279 b;
& þay nay þat þay nolde, *Cleanness* 805 a;
sware þe noyse, *Cleanness* 1415 b;
& he nay þat he nolde, *Gawain* 1836.

In these and the following examples the metre gives no help.

There are a few other cases in *Gawain*: 1796 a 'Sykande ho sweȝe doun' (? sweȝ adoun; cp. *Cleanness* 953 a 'þe rayn rueled adoun,' *Gawain* 254 a 'Liȝt luflych adoun'); 1595 b '& ȝedoun þe water' (probably a scribal error for 'ȝede doun'); 1729 a '& ȝe he lad hem, bi-lag men'; 194 b 'a þwarle knot alofte' (cp. NED. *thwerl*); also *Patience* 141 b 'wrastel togeder.'

At the end of the line there are four cases: 'ȝark,' *Cleanness* 652; 'chaunge,' 713 (these two being probably mere scribal errors); 'mynne' (rhyming with 'þer-inne'), *Gawain* 1769; 'fleme,' *Pearl* 1177. This also occurs in rhyme:

Me payed ful ille to be out fleme
So sodenly of þat fayre regioun.

NED. takes 'out fleme' as a compound noun = exile. The compound is

not found elsewhere. The simple noun is not given in NED. later than 1305, and stands by itself without any following preposition. The verb, on the other hand, is common in alliterative poetry, and is followed by the prepositions *from, of, out of*; cp. *Pearl* 334 'Ne how fer of folde þat man me fleme'; *Cleanness* 596 '& harde honyseȝ þise oþer & of his erde flemeȝ'; 31 'For he þat flemus vch fylþe fer fro his hert'; and other examples noted in the Glossaries of the alliterative poems of *Troy Book*, *Morte Arthur* and *Alexander*; cp. also Hoccleve *De Reg. Princ.* 2788 'Lawe is nye flemede out of this contree'; *Merline* 426 (Percy Folio I. 435) 'that hee had fleemed out of the Land.' The adverb 'sodenly' is much more natural in connexion with a past participle than with a noun; cp. *Troy Book* 12435 'And othir fuersly be flemyt,' *Morte Arthur* 2738 'And fremdly o Fraunce be flemede for euer.'

It seems to me that these examples point to some dialectal or other peculiarity in the language of the poet, which is more conspicuous in the presumably early poems of *Pearl* and *Cleanness* than in *Gawain*, occurring generally, though not exclusively, in connexion with certain sounds, and found in rhyme, as in the exacting rhyme-scheme of *Pearl*. I have not noticed this peculiarity elsewhere, except possibly in two cases of the verb 'forsloth': 'I haue for-sleuþe þi seruyce' (*Metrical Version of the 51st Psalm*, 141, EETS. 15, where other MSS. read 'forslowþid'), 'Ich.....For-sleuthe in my seruice' (*Piers Plowman*, C-Text, viii. 52). Here the final consonant of the stem is again a dental continuant, and it is followed in one case by voiced *th*, in the other by a vowel.

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The December 'Embleme' of 'The Shepheards' Calender.'

The emblem 'Vivitur ingenio: caetera mortis erunt,' supplied by Hughes in his edition of 1715 to the December Eclogue of *The Shepheards Calender*, appears to have passed without remark, except by Professor de Sélincourt (Spenser's *Minor Poems*, Oxford, MCMX, p. 515). The existence of the gloss for an emblem would seem to justify the attempt to rectify the apparent omission from the Quartos and the Folio, but we have no evidence for the authority of Hughes's suggestion. The November emblem, however, gives a possible clue to the missing emblem, if it ought to be supplied.

The November and the December Eclogues are both adaptations from Marot, the name 'Colin' being taken over with the rest of the

'Complaincte de Madame Loyse de Savoye,' and continued by Spenser in his version of the 'Eglogue au Roy' in place of the 'Robin' of Marot, who was not working to a system. In the former, 'Colins Embleme' is more than an embellishment to the poem it follows; it is an acknowledgment of the original, since 'La mort ny mord' was the special *devise* of Marot, printed on all his title-pages, and recognisable by all who, like the small cultured group for whom Spenser was in the first instance writing, knew the work of the French poet at first hand[1]. In this case Marot-Spenser, speaking in the first person, bears, quite literally, Colin's, i.e. Marot's *devise*. It would be logical, then, to expect that when Marot-Spenser again speaks in the first person, the same emblem would be worn, that Spenser, having acknowledged, somewhat contrary to his own and contemporary practice, one of his borrowings from Marot, would acknowledge the other in a similar manner.

The suggestion then is, that the December emblem was omitted from the first Quarto (and hence from the later ones) through its being a repetition of the emblem to 'November.' This suggestion is not stultified by the gloss. E. K. had already commented on this emblem in his notes to 'November,' and accordingly he had little to say on its repetition. The completion of his scheme demanded some remark, and he fulfilled it with a single sentence and a tag from Horace. 'The meaning (of the non-apparent emblem) is that all thinges perish and come to theyr last end, but workes of learned wits and monuments of Poetry abide for euer': that is an interpretation of 'La mort n'y mord' thoroughly in keeping with the attitude and the aspirations of Spenser.

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The King's Revels Players of 1619—1623.

A curious misapprehension exists among theatrical historians as to the style and title of the Red Bull company in the period of 1619—1623. Thus in *Shakespearean Playhouses* (p. 300) we find Prof. Joseph Quincy Adams writing:

'At the death of Queen Anne, March 2, 1619, the company was deprived of its "service," and after attending her funeral on May 13, was dissolved[2]. Christopher Beeston joined Prince Charles's men, and established that troupe at the Cockpit; the other leading members of

[1] See A. Tilley's *Literature of the French Renaissance*, vol. I, p. 11, and notice du Bellay's use of the phrase in his 'Epitaphe de Clément Marot.'

[2] So far from being dissolved, they went shortly afterwards into the country. See Collier, *Annals*, 1831, III, 439, extract from the Household-book of the Clifford Family.

Queen Anne's men seem to have continued at the Red Bull under the simple title "The Red Bull Company."'

It is puzzling to understand how a misconception like this can have arisen. Although no record of the grant has come down to us, there is no room to doubt that shortly after the Queen's death a new patent was granted the Red Bull players constituting them the Company of the King's Revels. It only needs an orderly marshalling of the evidence to make this apparent.

Q. 1 of *The Two Merry Milkmaids, or The Best Words Wear the Garland* bears date 1620, and the play is stated on the title-page to have been 'acted by the Company of the Revels[1].' There are two reasons why this cannot be taken to be a private theatre troupe of juvenile performers such as all earlier Revels troupes were. (1) Neither on imprint nor in official accounts do we ever find the terms 'Company' or 'Servants' applied to organisations of boy players. They are simply called 'Children.' (2) The prologue of the play addresses the occupants of 'the yard' (not pit), showing that the place of performance was a public theatre.

The next item of evidence is considerably more definite. Massinger and Dekker's *The Virgin Martyr* was licensed by Sir George Buck on October 6, 1620. The Quarto of 1622 says 'as it hath been divers times publickly acted with great applause by the servants of his Majesties Revels.' In the same year was likewise published Markham and Sampson's tragedy, *Herod and Antipater*, with the intimation 'acted by the company of the Revels at the Red Bull[2].' Then again in Egerton MS. 1994, pp. 222 ff. is an unprinted play entitled '*The Two Noble Ladies; or The Converted Conjuror.* A Tragicomicall Historie, often tymes acted with approbation at the Red Bull in St Johns Streete, by the Company of the Revells.' Two other plays, both published in 1633 and both described as having been acted by the Company of the Revels were evidently first produced by the Red Bull players. These were *The Heir* of Thomas May and *The Costlie Whore*, afterwards erroneously attributed to Thomas Mead (b. 1616).

It is necessary that these facts should be clearly recognised seeing that some of the references to the Red Bull players of 1620–22 have

[1] As evidenced by the title-page of *Swetnam the Woman-hater* they were alternatively known in the same year as 'the late Queen's Servants.' Under this title they acted at Leicester in December, 1621.

[2] On March 2, 1622, N.S., a warrant for payment was issued for a play entitled *Gramarcie*, given at Court on December 30, 1621, 'by the late servants to Queen Anne and now called the Companie of the Revells' (J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies* II, p. 192).

been taken as dealing with a troupe of children they were permitted to organise. Thus we find Professor Adams writing (*Shakespearean Theatres*, p. 301):

'On July 8, 1622, the Red Bull Company secured a license "to bring up children in the quality and exercise of playing comedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage-plays and such like...to be called by the name of the Children of the Revels." The Children of the Revels occupied the Red Bull until the summer of the following year, when they were dissolved. The last reference to them is in the Herbert Manuscript under the date of May 10, 1623.'

The entry here referred to deals with the licensing of a play and runs:

'1622, May 10. A new Play, called, *The Welsh Traveller* was allowed to be acted by the players of the Revels' (J. Q. Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, p. 23).

Since the authority to organise the Children of the Revels was not granted until two months later, this license can only be taken as applying to the adult players. Another entry of Herbert's establishes this. Under 1622, in noting the members of the various companies, he writes:

'The names of the chiefe players at the Red Bull, called the players of the Revells. Robert Lee, Richard Perkings, Ellis Woorth, Thomas Basse, John Blany, John Cumber, William Robbins.'

In the exhaustive index to Adams, *The Dramatic Records*, one finds this (as also the previously cited entry) placed under 'Children of the Revels (at the Red Bull).' How so well-informed and cautious an investigator could have erred in this way passes comprehension. Almost all the actors on the list were old members of the Queen's company, some of them dating as far back as its inception in 1604.

The truth of the matter is we have no record of the assumed activities of the Children of the Revels. Since the regular Red Bull company was dissolved within a year of July 8, 1622, when the license was granted for the constitution of the juvenile troupe, my own opinion is that they were never formed[1]. Fleay (*History of the Stage*, p. 301) was only enabled to arrive at any trace of the Children by altering the date of the licensing of *The Welsh Traveller* to 1623, an unwarranted act, to my mind, almost as reprehensible as forgery.

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[1] The activities of a provincial Children's Revels Company can be traced at Leicester and elsewhere intermittently from 1620 until 1627, but one cannot associate this organisation with the Red Bull. See Murray, *Eng. Dram. Companies* II, p. 314.

Goffe's 'The Careless Shepherdess.'

The whole truth concerning *The Careless Shepherdess* has not yet come to light. First published in 1656 as 'by T. G., Master of Arts,' and as 'acted before the King and Queen and at Salisbury Court,' the tragi-comedy has been commonly assigned (after Kirkman's identification and no doubt correctly) to Thomas Goffe. My main purpose now is to show that another and much more prominent dramatist revised and extended the play before its production.

Since Goffe died in July 1629 it has been generally assumed that the play was one of the earliest productions at the new Salisbury Court Theatre and that he himself wrote the 'praeludium.' (Cf. W. W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry*, p. 348.) Both surmises are wide of the mark. Professor J. Q. Adams has shown (*Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 370) that the lease for Salisbury Court was not perfected before July 6 and that the house was not likely to be ready for opening until near the end of the year. But it is not permitted us to assume that *The Careless Shepherdess* was produced there somewhere between Christmas 1629 and April 17, 1630, when the plague caused a protracted cessation, since certain evidence in the praeludium renders that position untenable. It is noteworthy also that Sir Henry Herbert's Office-Book yields no evidence of any licensing whatever in 1630.

An allusion in the praeludium shows that acting had taken place at Salisbury Court a considerable time before the production of Goffe's play. One of the characters says:

> I heard a fellow
> Once on this stage cry, *Doodle, Doodle Dooe*
> Beyond compare; Ide give the other shilling
> To see him act the Changling once again.

That Middleton's *The Changeling*, which was first produced at the Cockpit in 1623 and acted at court on January 4, 1623–4, was afterwards revived at Salisbury Court is indicated on the title-page of the quarto of 1653 where we read 'as it was acted at the Privat House in Drury Lane and Salisbury Court.' Even if we assume that the Salisbury Court production took place not long after the opening of the house, say early in 1630, we cannot date *The Careless Shepherdess* earlier than the ensuing November, when the theatres re-opened after the plague. That the play was produced not later than 1631 another item of evidence readily demonstrates. Dr Greg (*Pastoral Poetry*, p. 381) maintains that its influence can be traced 'in the satyr-disguise, the gang who carry off Gloriana, her unexpected escape, etc., etc.' in Tatham's *Love Crowns the*

End played by scholars at Bingham, Nottinghamshire, in 1632 and printed in 1640. Although resemblances are often accidental, one must here agree with Greg since his contention fits in admirably with all the circumstances. Some of the most vital of these must now be revealed.

It comes with a surprise to find that two of the songs in *The Careless Shepherdess* were claimed by Shirley long before the publication of the play. Shirley's masque *The Triumph of Beauty* and his *Poems* were printed together, with separate title-pages, in one volume in 1646. In the masque (whose exact date is unknown) we find the song 'Heigh-ho what shall a shepherd do' and in the *Poems* a shortened version of 'Drop golden shower, gentle sleep.' Even if we could assume that Shirley borrowed one of Goffe's songs for use in his masque it is unbelievable that he would include in his *Poems* a lyric to which he had no right, more especially as his aim in publishing the *Poems*, as he states in his preface, was to claim work that had largely been attributed to others. There is every reason to suppose, therefore, that after Goffe's death the MS. of *The Careless Shepherdess* had fallen into Shirley's hands and that he had revised it, adding the praeludium and the two songs. This was quite in keeping with his proclivities. Although he never collaborated with anybody (not even with Chapman in *The Ball* as is mistakenly believed), Shirley had a trick of getting hold of unproduced plays by dead authors and, after revising them, of claiming part-authorship on their production. That is why we find his name associated with Fletcher's.

When, then, did Shirley begin his brief connexion with Salisbury Court? Undoubtedly with *The Changes, or Love in a Maze*, a comedy entered on the Stationers' Registers Feb. 9, 1631–2 and printed shortly afterwards, as acted at 'Salisbury Court by the Company of his Majesties Revels.' Malone, in citing from Herbert's Office Book, gives the licensing date of the play as January 10, 1631–2, a clear blunder seeing that the King's Revels had left Salisbury Court before the end of 1631 and gone to the Fortune. My belief is that Malone's date is exactly a year astray, and that *The Changes* was produced in January 1631 N.S., a short time after Salisbury Court re-opened. The details of the prologue (misapplied to my mind by Adams in *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 376) tally with this view.

Since the title-page of *The Careless Shepherdess* says the play was acted before the King and Queen, it is noteworthy that under date January 24, 1634–5 we find in the Lord Chamberlain's books a warrant to William Blagrove for £30 in payment of three plays given by the

Children of the Revels at Whitehall in 1631. We can only assume that *The Careless Shepherdess* was one of the plays referred to by assigning its production at Salisbury Court to February or March, which would allow of its performance at Court at Easter.

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'Gerfalcon.'

The first element is usually conjectured to be Ger. *geier*, vulture, hawk, though the oldest record of the word is the 12th century O.F. *girfauc* (now *gerfaut*), whence Ger. *geierfalke*, Du. *giervalk*, O.N. *geirfalki*, and forms in all the Romance languages, often showing a leaning on L. *gyrare*, to circle. The earliest record in the N.E.D. is *gerfauk* (*Guy of Warwick*, 14th century). A century earlier occurs the name of *William Wirfauc* (*Yorkshire Fines*, temp. John), apparently a nickname of the same type as the existing surnames *Falcon*, *Hawke*, *Goldhawk*, *Goshawk*, *Sparrowhawk*, etc. If this *Wirfauc* is an A.F. form of *girfauc*, the first element of *gerfalcon* must be from a Teutonic *w-*. As the best hawks were obtained from Iceland, O.N. *verðr*, worthy, suggests itself. It may have been the same kind of falcon as the Ger. *edelfalke*.

Ernest Weekley.

Nottingham.

'Scent' as a Hunting Term.

It is curious that F. has no verbal noun from *sentir* and that the verb does not appear ever to have been used in F. in the language of venery. At the same time the early examples of M.E. *sent* in the N.E.D. appear to show the identity of our hunting term with *sentir*, although the F. word used in this sense is *flairer*, 'to sent, smell, vent, wind' (Cotg.). I suggest that the special sense which *sent* acquired in E. is partly due to the influence of O.F. *sente*, path, track, L. *semita*. To 'throw off the scent' (fig.) corresponds to F. *dépister*, from *piste*, track, spoor. In the two following quotations E. *sent* and O.F. *sente* seem to correspond very closely:

'When they have well beaten and founde the tracke or *sent* of the harte' (Turbery, *Hunting*, 1576, in N.E.D.):

'Ayant recouvré la *sente*
Par où le lievre s'absente.'
(Gauchet, *Plaisir des Champs*, 1583).

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Nottingham.

A Folk-Lore Motif in Antiquity[1].

The curious custom of the 'couvade' is well known to students of folk-lore, and is commonly explained as the symbolic recognition by the father of his responsibility for the well-being of his offspring. Sporadic mention of this rite is to be found in literature; perhaps the most famous example is in the old French nouvelle *Aucassin and Nicolette.* In the course of his wanderings Aucassin landed at Torelore (for which it would be useless to search on the map) and finds the king lying in while his wife is at the head of the army. Such a breach of decorum arouses Aucassin's ire, and after administering a sound thrashing to the monarch he exacts the promise that the custom bé discontinued. Apparently the jongleur-author, who describes himself as a 'wretched captive,' wished to pique the curiosity of his audience by a bit of information gleaned among more primitive peoples. He turns the whole episode into burlesque by the recital of the battle of the rotten apples in which Aucassin finds the army engaged immediately after.

It is interesting to find the same trick in that most artificial of ancient epics, the *Argonautica.* Apollonius seems to have undertaken this work as a sort of tour de force, in order to prove that he could write a successful poem of epic dimensions at a time when short compositions held the public favour. He obviously felt the need of goading the interest of his rather blasé readers by many bits of exotic lore. I believe the following to be the first mention in extant classic literature of the 'couvade,' and indeed the only one which occurs in a purely artistic work. (Diodorus, Aelian and Strabo note the custom in works of scientific pretension, and a more famous traveller, Marco Polo, records its existence among the Chinese.) I cite from R. C. Seaton's translation of the *Argonautica* in the *Loeb Classical Library.* 'And straightway thereafter they (the Argonauts) rounded the headland of Genetaean Zeus and sped safely past the land of the Tibareni. Here when wives bring forth children to their husbands, the men lie in bed and groan with their heads close bound; but the women tend them with food and prepare child-birth baths for them.' (Bk. 2, ll. 1009—1014, p. 171 of the *Loeb Classical Library.*)

Two short citations from E. Crawley's *The Mystic Rose* may serve to show how exactly the rites correspond to those noted by students of our own time. 'As soon as the child is born, the father takes to his hammock...and is nursed and cared for by all the women of the place'

[1] It is a pleasure to thank Professor E. W. Fay without whose help this note could not have been written.

(pp. 418—419). 'As soon as birth approaches, the husband puts his wife's clothes upon himself, makes the woman's mark upon his forehead and lies in' (p. 425). Immediately following this episode, the strange customs of the Mossynoeci are described; and these also are not without interest for the student of primitive manners. Apollonius has deserved well of our folk-lorists.

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Lady Morgan and Mérimée.

Readers of *Colomba* will remember the patronizing tone of Colonel Nevil at his first meeting with Orso, whom he takes for a corporal retired on half-pay. When he learns that the young man is a lieutenant and that the *caporaux* of Corsica date from the year of grace 1100, he changes his manner. He remembers that he had a sharp encounter with a Corsican battalion at the battle of Vittoria, where he was wounded. It is soon discovered that Orso's father was in command of that battalion. The incident gives Mérimée a chance to poke a little fun at the English morgue. Perhaps the idea came from an anecdote told by Lady Morgan in her book on France[1]. While speaking of soldiers of Napoleon's army who had fallen into disgrace since the Restoration, she relates the following: 'One of my gallant countrymen, attached to the English army now in France, was stationed with his company in a village at some distance from headquarters; he was returning with his dogs, after a sporting ramble in the neighbourhood, when he overtook a team, whose driver displayed a costume at once military and civil—his waggoner's frock contrasting with a large cocked hat. As they pursued the same route, the English officer endeavoured to enter into conversation; but he was answered with that *brusquerie*, which intimates impatience of obtrusion. A few useless questions on the state of the game in that country had nearly finished an interview so churlishly supported, when the waggoner, casting his eyes on the undress uniform of the Englishman, asked in his turn some questions as to the state of the English army, in terms sufficiently technical to betray his experience on the subject to which he had so abruptly adverted. The conversation became interesting: it turned on the war in Spain. The Englishman alluded to the "hot work" of a particular day. "Were you in that engagement?" demanded

[1] Published by M. Thomas, Philadelphia, 1817. There was a London edition a little earlier. The author tried, apparently unsuccessfully, to find a French translator for a complete Paris edition. *Colomba* appeared in 1840.

the waggoner eagerly. "I was wounded in it," said the Englishman. "And I," said the Frenchman, "was wounded in it also." "I was attached to such a division." "I commanded the battalion opposed to that division." "I am addressing an officer of the French army, then," said the captain, removing his hat. "I once had that honour," answered the Frenchman, returning the bow.' The good lady has no intention of poking fun at anyone, but it is easy to imagine the manner in which her 'gallant countryman' addressed the supposed peasant. It will be remembered that Colonel Nevil was also bound on a hunting excursion, but this coincidence may well be purely accidental.

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THE 'LAPIDARY' OF ALFONSO THE LEARNED.

The classical science of astrology did not go to form a part of the mediaeval inheritance of North-Western Europe: though traces of its influence may be found in the scientific treatises of the early Middle Ages, the tradition is weak and imperfect. The ancient science was not lost, but had passed into the keeping of the Arabic East. Alexandrian science had knit together mineralogy, medicine and astrology in such treatises on stones as the *Kurannides*, and the three are once more found connected in the Spanish lapidaries translated from Arabic or written under Arabic influence.

The court of Alfonso X of Castille, where Christian, Mohammedan and Jewish men of learning met on equal terms, was the Academy where an epitome of the science of the Mediterranean world could best be produced, and the *Lapidario del Rey Alfonso X*[1], part of which is preserved in a fourteenth century manuscript in the Escurial, is the most interesting mineralogical treatise of his age.

The prologue states that the Lapidary was begun in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of 'el muche alto et onrrado don ALFONSO amador de sciencias et de saberes Por la gracia de dios REY de Castiella' and was finished two years later, in 1278. It begins with the argument which runs through the whole book:

> Aristotil que fué mas complido de los otros filosofos et el que mas naturelmiente mostró todas las cosas por razon verdadera, et las fizo entender complidamiente segund son, dijo: que todas las cosas que son so los cielos se mueven et se enderezan por el movimiento de los cuerpos celestiales, por la vertud que han de ellos segund lo ordenó Dios, que es la primera vertud et donde la han todas las otras.

[1] Published Blasco, Madrid, 1881.

The book is not written for the ignorant:

Este libro es muy noble et muy preciado: et qui dél se quisiere aprovechar, conviene que pare mientes en tres cosas. La primera que sea sabidor de astronomia porque sepa conoscer las estrellas, en cual estado están, et en cual sazon viene mayor vertud á las piedras dellas, segund la vertud que reciben de Dios. La segunda cosa es que sepan conoscer las piedras et las colores et las facciones dellas, et otrosi que sepan ciertamiente los logares sennalados ó se crian, et ó se fallan et estremar la contra fecha de la natural, et departir otrosi las que naturalmiente se semeyan en uno, connosciendolas por peso, et por dureza, et por las otras sennales por que se pueden connoscer á homme que fuere entendudo en este saber. La tercera cosa es que sea sabidor de la arte de fisica, que yace mucho de ella encerrada en la vertud de la piedras, segund en este libro se muestra; et que sepa de ellas obrar asi como en él manda: et que sea de bon seso porque se sepa ayudar de las cosas que facen pro, et se guarde de las que tienen danno. Et obiando de este guisa, llegará á lo que quisiere facer por ellas et verá cosas marvilliosas de la su vertud que recibe de Dios; por que habiá a loar et bendecir el su nombre que sea benedo por siempre yamá. Ament.

The index to the Escorial Codex states that the first part of the Lapidary is by Abolays, who treats of sigils and of their effects on stones according to the degrees of the twelve signs of the Zodiac; this part contains three hundred and sixty chapters. Abolays, the prologue tells us, though 'él tiene la ley de los moros,' was a man who loved the Gentiles, and particularly those of Chaldea, for his ancestors had come from there. Therefore he translated this lapidary from Chaldean into Arabic, and Garci Perez translated it from Arabic into Castilian.

The second part of the *Lapidary of Alfonso X* is by Timtim, who treats of other sigils made according to the degrees of the signs in stones in conjunction with metals. This also has three hundred and sixty chapters.

The third part is by Pythagoras, who speaks of other kinds of sigils which fall into the same degrees as those which affect men at their birth. This also has three hundred and sixty chapters.

The fourth part is by Ylus, who writes concerning the sigils made in stones according to the faces of the signs. This has thirty-six chapters.

The fifth is by Belyenus[1] and Ylus and treats of many sorts of sigils that are made in stones for the planets when they are in their dignity and their hour.

The sixth is by Pliny and Delyenus[2] and other wise men, and treats of the sigils made in stones 'faziendo dellas fortunas.'

The seventh is by Utarit, and treats of the seven sigils made for the seven planets, in the seven stones appointed; this has seven chapters.

[1] BM. MS. Royal 12 C. xviii, fol. 12 gives a treatise *Belenus de Imaginibus* in a fourteenth century French script. The catalogue states that 'Belenus' is here apparently equivalent to 'Jirgus ibn al-'Amid.'

[2] A second and fuller Index gives the name as Hermus (? Hermes).

The eighth is by Ragiel who writes of twenty-four sigils which should be made in the appointed stones.

The ninth is by Yacoth, who treats of the waters and earths included in the mineralogy of precious stones. This has nine chapters.

The tenth is by Ayi, who tells how stones should be engraved and gives other rules for this science.

The eleventh again treats of sigils.

This bare list of the contents of the *Lapidary of Alfonso X* justifies the already quoted assertion of the compiler that he who is to understand and profit by it must be learned in astronomy, mineralogy and medicine, and of good intelligence.

The Escorial Codex is said by its Editor to contain only the first part of the lapidary, that attributed to Abolays. But the Codex contains four parts, and it is the first of these which with its three hundred and sixty stones arranged according to the degrees of the signs of the Zodiac, is clearly to be identified with that of Abolays.

The second treats of the virtues of stones according to the passage of the sun through the faces of the signs, and the symbols of the stars in those faces. This has thirty-six chapters, and it would seem extremely probable that it represents the fourth part of the lapidary on this subject mentioned in the Index and attributed to Ylus.

The third section of the Codex is devoted to the change effected in the virtues of stones according to the position of the planets and of their sigils. This attributes four stones to Saturn, four to Jupiter, four to Mars, eight to the sun, thirty-seven to Venus (including twelve repeated mentions of stones), eleven to Mercury (including four mentions of emerald), and five to the moon, including a double mention of Bezoar-stone. This gives sixty-four sections, which does not coincide with the length or any of the sections given in the Index. But the scribe has omitted to fill in the number of sections occupied by the treatise by Belyenus and Ylus, 'que fabla de muchas maneras de ymagenes que se fazen en las piedras por las planetas quando son en sus dignidades et en sus hora,' and it seems very likely that the two are identical.

The fourth part of the Escorial Codex treats of the virtues of stones according to the constellation under which they are formed, and of the shape and colour they receive at their formation, and also shows how these are affected by the virtue of the planets which engender and create them. It is ascribed to Mohammed Abenquich, and is a separate treatise, having no direct connection with the lapidary of Alfonso X.

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Ategina Turobrigensis.

One of the most important divinities in Dr Leite de Vasconcellos' celebrated work *Religiões da Lusitania* (3 vol. Lisboa, 1897, 1905, 13) is the goddess Ategina. Her worship spread further than was usual in an age of local gods, extending far and wide on either side of the river Guadiana. She was a symbol of the fertility of the soil and was also worshipped as a goddess of the underworld and as a goddess of healing. Dr Leite de Vasconcellos considers that she was 'originally a goddess of the fruits of the earth' (II, 163) and derives her name from two Celtic words corresponding to the Latin *iterum genita* (re-born). Perhaps one may be justified in describing her more specifically as 'the origin of the fruits of the earth,' i.e. water. Her name on inscriptions is nearly always accompanied by the adjective Turobrigensis or Turubrigensis or Turibrigensis, i.e. of Turobriga. This town has now vanished, but if it marked the site where a river or stream re-appeared after flowing underground or had grown up round a famous spring, what more natural than that the goddess of the place should be widely honoured in the parched south of Spain? She, the Re-born (if we accept Dr Leite de Vasconcellos' derivation), whom the Romans identified with Proserpine and also, as Dr Leite de Vasconcellos infers from an inscription (II, 157, 164), with Libera (the sister of Bacchus, as water is the pale sister of wine), flowed up from the dark underworld and brought health to men and fertility to the soil. Dr Leite de Vasconcellos is himself inclined to accept Hübner's suggestion *Iturobriga* which he connects (II, 158) with Hyrius and Hurius, men's names in Latin inscriptions, and with Iturissa, the city of the Vascones mentioned by Ptolemy. Humboldt had already (*Prüfung*, 1821, p. 35) doubtfully derived Turobrica from the Basque *iturria* and also recorded (*ib.* p. 34) the noteworthy fact that Iturissa also appears as Turissa. In modern Basque we have frequently such names as Iturbide (Fountain-way) and Iturmendi (Fountain-hill). The latter may be almost an equivalent of Turobriga, since *brĭg* is the Celtic for height or for castle on a height. Another old Lusitanian god was Turiacus (II, 324–6), the latter half of whose name Dr Adolfo Coelho believes to be Celtic. The *Turi* Dr Leite de Vasconcellos connects with Irish *tor* (noble). But we would willingly see in this also a curtailed form of *itur* and another instance of *aquae* that *augent numerum deorum nominibus variis*. We would even read Ituriaco in the inscription, believing that the I in wearing away had impishly assumed the likeness of 'a vestige of an O,' were it not that Dr Leite de Vasconcellos, whose authority and experience in these matters are very great, reads (DE)O.

S. João do Estoril. Aubrey F. G. Bell.

REVIEWS.

Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England. By Eilert Ekwall. (*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F. Avd. 1., Bd. 14., Nr. 27.) 1918. pp. xiv + 125.

In this lengthy article, forming part of the memorial volume celebrating the 250th anniversary of the University of Lund, Dr Ekwall tackles, from the evidence of place and personal names, one of the vexed problems of early English history, viz. the nature, date, and extent of the Scandinavian settlements in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire and their relations with the earlier Anglian and Celtic occupations of these districts.

The main part of the work consists of a discussion of what Ekwall calls 'inversion-compounds.' Following a well-known Irish fashion, we have numerous place-names in these counties of the type *Briggethorfin* = Thorfin's Bridge, *Polneuton* = Newton Pool, *Bek Troyte* = Troyte's Beck. These are clear evidence of Goidelic influence and Ekwall takes them to be due to Scandinavian settlers from Ireland who had for some time been familiar with this type of nomenclature and freely imitated it in their new English home.

Further evidence for Hiberno-Scandinavian settlement is found in the frequency of Goidelic personal names in independent use and in place-names in the district and in the use of certain Goidelic elements other than personal names. The best-known of the latter is the element *ergh* (M.Ir. *airge*), 'a shieling.' Here a difficulty is presented by the existence of this element in E. Yorks. and (once) in N. Yorks. as well as in a distinct group on the Lancs. border. Ekwall takes these and certain other Goidelic elements in E. Yorkshire to be due to a settlement of Hiberno-Scandinavians coming direct by sea. From the distribution of the Goidelic elements Ekwall suggests that the earliest settlements were probably those in Cheshire and North Lancashire.

The whole problem is worked out fully and clearly, and incidentally helps us to the explanation of many of the most obscure among the names in N.W. England. It supplements Sedgefield's book in that it deals with many small places, identified and unidentified, which were excluded from the scope of the latter.

A few points of detail may be noted:

p. 18. *Haresceugh* puzzles Dr Ekwall as to its first element. Is it not a hybrid formed on the well-known model of *Hareshaw* and *Harwood* where the element *Har-* is used of some boundary, cf. O.E. *hār-stān*?

p. 30. *Poltross Burn.* The forms *Poltrosk* (Iter de Wark 1279) and

Poltrosc (Camden) make it impossible to take the second element as O.N. *tros*, 'twigs, rubbish,' quite apart from any difficulties of interpretation involved in such a suggestion.

p. 48. While agreeing with Dr Ekwall as to the palatalisation of *g* before *j* in Nthb. it may be pointed out that Sedgefield, co. Durham has nothing to do with *Sedge*. It goes back to earlier *Ceddesfeld* showing the rare development of initial *c* (= ch) under French influence to *s* and the more common change from *d* + *s* to *d* + *z* > *dge* (v. *M.L.R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 342).

p. 83. It is certain that the thirteenth century name John *Lateth-waterga* found in a Durham Assize Roll does not point to a Durham place name of that form. No example of *thwaite* or *erg* is known in co. Durham. More probably the man took his name from a 'shieling' at Laithwaite in Cockerham, Lancs.

p. 107. In discussing *Carlatton*, with its Brythonic first element *Caer-*, the suggestion is made that the early *-latun* here and in Layton, Lancs. (*D.B. Latun*) is a compound of O.E. *lād* = road, water-course + *tūn*. This would leave unexplained the long vowel in Layton, Lancs. and in Layton, co. Durh. (c. 1190 *Latune*). We should expect M.E. *lătton*, for which there is no evidence in any of these names.

ALLEN MAWER.

Memoir of Kenelm Henry Digby. By BERNARD HOLLAND. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1919. 8vo. x + 251 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

The author of *The Broad Stone of Honour* was so typical a representative of the English Romantic Revival of the early nineteenth century, and so noble and lovable a character that it is strange that dying at the age of 84 he should have had to wait nearly forty years more for a biographer. Mr Bernard Holland's Memoir written *con amore* and with much literary skill at last fills the gap and calls back to memory one whom we can only forget with loss to ourselves.

Born at Dublin[1] about 1796, Kenelm Henry Digby was the youngest son of William Digby, Dean of Clonfert and rector of Geashill, Ireland, by his third wife Elizabeth Cooper[2], a widow lady from Devonshire. Besides half-brothers, he had an elder brother 'of heroic mould,' Richard Edward Digby, who was born about 1793[3], and two sisters who died when he was a child. Kenelm 'spent a happy boyhood at his father's rectory of Geashill, in the very centre of Ireland, playing by himself at imaginative games, or with rustic lads, reading poetry, Shakespeare, and

[1] When admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge, on Oct. 22, 1814, he was stated to have been born in Dublin and to be then 18. Mr Holland in his footnote on p. 6 has treated this information rather carelessly.

[2] Mr Holland calls her 'Mary Wood.' My statement is based on pedigrees and on Dean Digby's will.

[3] He died according to the *Gentleman's Magazine* at Geashill on April 25, 1820, aged 25, but he had been admitted to Lincoln's Inn on May 11, 1811, as aged 18, and had graduated the same year at Dublin. He was the author of *Hints to Radical Reformers, and Materials for New* (1817).

above all Walter Scott.' His father had been an athlete in his youth and was a man of many talents and hobbies outside his special domain of theology; and from him, as Mr Holland says, Kenelm inherited not only the pride of noble descent and connexions, but his 'love of nature, painting, riding, swimming, travelling' and a genial discursiveness of mind.

Kenelm Digby eventually went to school under Dr Sampson at Petersham near Richmond. Here he learnt to row and gained his life-long love of the Thames, and hence in October 1815 he passed to Trinity College, Cambridge. His father and mother were now dead, and his Cambridge life was untroubled by money-cares. He was over six feet in height, 'a grand, swarthy fellow, who might have stepped out of the canvas of some knightly portrait in his Father's house,' FitzGerald says in *Euphranor*. He combined physical prowess and love of daring adventures with a passion for reading[1] and writing. Before his long residence at Cambridge ended he had introduced college-boating and racing on the Cam. But in the year 1815 when he was only 19 he published a tract which showed that his mind was not solely given to active sports—*Address proving the Folly of professing Christianity if not embracing its doctrines*[2]—and at Trinity he was received into one of the most intellectual sets that that great college has ever known. His early friends included Julius Hare, with his eager contentious mind and a hitherto unexampled knowledge of German literature and thought, Thomas Thorp, William Whewell, Thomas Worsley, W. S. Walker and Hugh James Rose. He attended the lectures of Prof. Monk (Greek) and Adam Sedgwick (Geology). In his shorter vacations he stayed with his kinsman Lord Digby at Sherborne Castle, or perambulated England; in his long vacations he wandered in France, Switzerland, Southern Germany, Italy or by the Rhine. Fired by Scott, Southey's *Cid*, Berners' *Froissart*, Malory and *The Palmerin of England* he resolved to do his best to revive medieval chivalry, kept his vigil in King's College Chapel, and at the home of a Sussex friend held a tourney with him with hop poles. In 1819 Digby took his B.A. degree in spite of a weakness in mathematics; in 1820 he won the Norrisian prize for an essay on *The evidence for the divine origin of Christianity as derived from a view of the reception which it met with from the world.* As Mr Holland says, the essay is less remarkable for its force of argument than for the signs it gives of the author's wide reading and knowledge of the world. Hating, now and always, all sports involving pain to animals, he refers with horror to a Sunday bull-fight which he had himself seen at Nismes. And already we find him quoting Bossuet.

The mind of the young romanticist is taking a familiar direction.

[1] Stimulated at Trinity, he says, by Hugh James Rose.

[2] Mr Holland is not aware of this publication. But see Sotheby's catalogue of the sale of Digby's Library, Nov. 7 and 8, 1881, No. 637. Even this was not his first theological work. The same catalogue, No. 414, mentions an autograph MS: 'Essays on the Government of the Conduct by the Principles of Christianity and according to the Word of God,' to which he had added a note 'This book was written when I was 13 or 14 years old at the most.'

From a passion for medieval chivalry he is passing to a sympathetic study of the Catholic religion. He is forgetting that he is the son of an Irish Protestant Dean. But the crisis is not yet.

He starts on his book *The Broad Stone of Honour: or, Rules for the Gentlemen of England*, published in 1822. This first edition, unencumbered by the mass of additional illustrations which lengthened later editions, should surely be republished. The book enshrines for ever the spirit of a devout and chivalrous youth in the age of Bentham. Its effect is seen in the Euphranor of FitzGerald's dialogue: the 'Young England' party professed to follow its principles. Julius Hare called it 'that noble manual for gentlemen; that volume, which, had I a son, I would place in his hands, charging him, though such prompting would be needless, to love it next to his Bible.' Sterling, though not in complete sympathy with Digby's medievalism, wrote: 'We have never read a volume more full than this of a loving gentleness, and an earnest admiration for all things beautiful and excellent.' Ruskin spoke of Digby as the author 'from whom I first learned to love nobleness.'

A second edition appeared in 1823. Before a third saw the light, Digby's medievalism had found its natural haven in the Church of Rome.

Scott had prepared the way: as a schoolboy Digby had met two grave Catholic scholars, Englefield and Charles Butler; at Cambridge he had heard arguments on the Catholic side, even while he still clung to the wonderful harmonies of the English liturgy—'Lighten our darkness,' 'Now in the time of this mortal life.' But Hare praised Bossuet, and Bossuet and St Augustine did their own work. Locke, Paley, Burnet were exploded. At Hare's instigation he read de Bonald and de Maistre and the Catholic writers of Southern Germany. Strype revealed the worldly motives which underlay the Reformation in England. On the one side seemed to stand Order: on the other lay Chaos. At the end of 1825 he was received into the Roman Church[1].

Strange to say, his Cambridge friends stood by him. His action was looked on as the vagary of an enthusiast, not likely to have consequences. Whewell arranged that he should still have rooms in Trinity College. And for another four or five years Cambridge remained his home.

In 1826 another—much younger—convert entered the college, Ambrose Phillips (afterwards de Lisle), between whom and Digby grew such loving companionship that a tutor (no doubt Hare), seeing them together, said 'I wish I could make a third with you two.' On Sundays

[1] The event had been expected by Digby's friends for some time. On April 29, 1825, W. S. Walker writes to Derwent Coleridge: 'Kenelm Digby...is become as good as Catholic...indeed it seems likely that he will become one altogether,' and he encloses a 'congratulatory sonnet to the Lady of Babylon' (chiefly 'make-believe,' he adds) in which he reproaches her for tangling

> in thy chains and lies
> This nobler soul, for thee too rich a prize;
> High-minded, gentle-hearted: innocent
> As childhood, yet on manliest thoughts intent.

(Memoir of W. S. Walker by J. Moultrie, in Walker's *Poetical Remains* (1852), p. lxxxvii.)

they rode to mass to Sawston Hall or far away to Old Hall, Ware[1]. Mr Holland has some ground for saying that the 'Oxford Movement' really began at Cambridge.

Between 1826 and 1829 came out a new edition of *The Broad Stone of Honour* (now with the alternative title *or, The true sense and practice of Chivalry*) divided into four parts of which 'Morus' appeared in 1826, 'Godefridus,' 'Tancredus' and 'Orlandus' in 1828–9[2].

About 1828 Digby ended his long residence at Cambridge and settled at Paris. We could have wished that Mr Holland had given a fuller account of his life here and his relations with the brilliant society of the closing years of the Restoration. From Digby's *Halcyon Hours* it would appear that he had listened to Cuvier, Boissonade, Villemain, Guizot, Cousin, Michelet and had been a member of the 'Société des bonnes Etudes[3],' directed by M. Emmanuel-Joseph Bailly, in the Place de l'Estrapade. To the youths of royalist and Catholic sympathies gathered there Lacordaire and La Mennais were stars in the firmament. Bailly propagated his opinions in the *Correspondent*, and to enable his young pupils to engage in works of charity founded the Conference of St Vincent, which developed into the great society of St Vincent de Paul. Famous lecturers such as Hennequin addressed the school. Rides in the forest of Montmorency, boat-races on the Lac d'Enghien, swimming in the Seine—above all reading and talk under the trees of the Luxembourg Garden united the young men in ardent fellowship. Digby's life-long friendship with d'Esgrigny dated from this time.

The school was broken up by the Revolution of 1830. Digby was then in Paris and carried his coat on his arm to conceal the absence of the tricolor.

After his marriage in 1833 or 1834 (Mr Holland gives both dates) Digby still lived mostly in Paris till the Revolution of 1848. His wife spoke French like a Frenchwoman, and Digby entertained or met many of the most eminent men of Catholic sympathies in Paris. Montalembert was his constant friend and admirer. He met Chateaubriand who had

[1] Mr Holland says 'they rode over there, *fasting*, on many Sundays' (p. 52). Digby himself says:

> Thither for mass and vespers would he ride,
> The night before. *Temple of Memory* (1875), Canto xi.

[2] The bibliography of Digby's works given by Mr Holland on pp. 94, 95 is very inaccurate. He ignores the 1823 edition of *The Broad Stone*, and makes two editions of the issues of 1826 and 1828. He dates *Evenings on the Thames* 1864 (the date of the enlarged edition) instead of 1860, *Ouranogaia* 1872 instead of 1871, *Hours with the First Falling Leaves* 1872 instead of 1868, *The Temple of Memory* 1875 (the date of the enlarged edition) instead of 1874. He ignores the second editions of the Norrisian Essay (with suppressed preface) 1821, of *Chapel of St John* 1863, of *Short Poems* 1866 (mentioned however on p. 220) and the French translations of *Mores Catholici* by Daniélo 1841, and Dufour-Henry 1842. He regularly spells 'Broad Stone' 'Broadstone,' and ignores the difference in the title between the editions of 1822 and 1823 and the later editions, and the fact that the book in the first two editions was not divided into four parts.

[3] For an account of this branch of the Congregation, see G. de Grandmaison, *La Congrégation* 1801–1830 (1889), pp. 215–219, 368–372.

been his own prototype, but the older man was now disillusioned and called *The Broad Stone of Honour* 'an anachronism.'

Meanwhile Digby was still writing. His *Mores Catholici or Ages of Faith* which appeared in 11 volumes between 1831 and 1842, was designed to show that the virtues crowned by Christ in the Beatitudes were all characteristic of the medieval Church. In this long-sustained work Digby's wide reading, grace of writing and nobleness of spirit were again more conspicuous than objectivity of view or reasoning power. A new edition of *The Broad Stone* was issued between 1844 and 1848.

The Revolution of 1848 brought Digby and his wife and children back to England. One other long work, *Compitum*, illustrating the thesis that all the roads of human experience lead to Rome, appeared in seven volumes between 1849 and 1854.

From 1848 to 1851 the Digbys' home was first at Clifton and then at Tunbridge Wells, from 1851 to 1856 at Ramsgate. In that year within four months they had the anguish of losing two of their three sons, John Gerald, the youngest, aged 8, and Thomas Everard, the eldest, aged 21. Their removal from Ramsgate to Digby's final home, Shaftesbury House, Kensington, was followed by another overwhelming blow, when his eldest daughter Marcella—a brilliant well-educated girl—took the vows of a nun and was parted from him for life. These losses found a sad reflection in Digby's later writings.

Before they had befallen him, he had written a book of the 'joys in wildest commonalty spread,' and of the beauty of a tolerant and all-embracing spirit. This was *The Lovers' Seat* (1856). In spite of its length and discursiveness it had a charm for Montalembert and it will have a charm for all who see in Digby something more than the advocate of medievalism in religion and life. After the terrible loss of his boys, came a book of a different character, *The Children's Bower* (1858), on the virtues of childhood and young-manhood. It is full of personal reminiscences and manly pathos, the intimate outpourings of a father's heart, and the reader mourns for the young soldier and the engaging child as though he had known them himself.

A third prose book has still an aroma of family affection and reminiscences. *Evenings on the Thames, or Serene Hours and what they require* (1860[1]) was inspired by the recollection of happy hours spent on the great river from schoolboy days at Petersham to the years when the author in the early fifties took his still united family on boating excursions from London. Too long the book may be, but it has the old beauty of reflecting a beautiful character which fed on simple pleasures and happy memories and grew ever wider and wider in its tolerance and sympathy.

But fresh sorrows were to follow. On 2nd January 1860 came the death of Digby's mother-in-law, Mrs Dillon, who had always been a member and 'guardian angel' of his household, and on 18th July

[1] Mr Holland misdates this book 1864. It was finished early in 1860 after Mrs Dillon's and before Mrs Digby's death, but much fresh matter appears in the edition of 1864.

following his wife died suddenly at the age of 42 at Dover. Both were buried at Ramsgate with the two lamented sons in the new Digby Chantry in St John's Chapel which Mrs Digby had founded. Again the sorrow of the bereaved man found expression in a book. In *The Chapel of St John, or, a Life of Faith in the Nineteenth Century* (1861) he drew a moving picture of the beautiful and devout character of his lost wife. Mr Holland says truly: 'No picture of a wife, so complete and minute, has ever, I think, been drawn by a husband: nor one so complete of a true Catholic woman living in the world.'

In December 1863 another beloved daughter was taken from him by consumption, and this loss is echoed in the second edition of *Evenings on the Thames* (1864). Only one son and one daughter remained. But from the latter, who happily still survives, he was never parted. When she married, her husband and she made their home at Shaftesbury House and there are no pleasanter pages in Mr Holland's book than those in which Digby's granddaughter, Miss Dormer, gives her reminiscences of the old man's last years. Almost every year he published a book of verse—verse of little technical finish, but full of autobiographical touches of the greatest interest to all who care for the writer and are glad to live again in the brilliant circles at Cambridge and Paris in which he had moved in his radiant youth. He saw something of old friends, Mr Ruskin, Mr Coventry Patmore, Mr T. R. Herbert the painter, Mrs Marlay—a friend from the days of his boyhood in Ireland and grandmother of the present Duke of Rutland. He spent much time painting pictures to be given to Catholic churches. And once a year he would pay a visit to old friends in Paris and Brittany. The end came on March 22nd, 1880. He was now 84 or nearly so. His wonderful library of books, many of them rarities picked up on Paris 'quais' in the years of the Restoration, was sold in part by Puttick and Simpson, December 5th and 6th, 1876, in part by Sotheby, May 7th and 8th, 1881.

Digby's death was little noticed; he had outlived his generation, and his later books, printed at his own risk, had been little read. The fame of *The Broad Stone of Honour* lives in the pages of FitzGerald's *Euphranor*, but even *Euphranor* is not widely known. Other books are still less remembered. But we trust that a new era of appreciation will date from the publication of this memoir.

Mr Holland has skilfully gleaned biographical material from Digby's voluminous works. He has resisted the temptation to dwell at undue length on any phase, and if he sometimes disappoints our hopes, he succeeds in keeping his matter in compass and proportion, and no side of Digby's multifarious interests escapes him. He does not succumb to the biographer's temptation to idealize his subject or overrate the literary value of his works: his criticism tactfully expressed is sound and helpful everywhere. He is not altogether to be blamed for treating Digby primarily as an apologist of Catholicism, though we may sometimes be put out by his expansions of his text. Non-Catholic admirers must allow that Digby was through life a devout Catholic, even though he seems to have been attracted to the church by its appeal to his sense of

beauty and antiquity rather than by its system of dogmatic theology, and though in his later years he seems to have been somewhat repelled by the austerity of Catholic ethics and to have entered more and more into the kindly tolerance of the English mind of his age.

But if Digby must have a special meaning for Catholics, and if Mr Holland is justified from this point of view in holding up *Mores Catholici* and *Compitum* as his greatest works, Digby's appeal is certainly not to Catholics alone, but to all who can feel the attraction of his purity of soul, his love of manly sport and adventure, his travels on foot or on horseback in romantic scenes, his passion for all that was venerable and beautiful, his reading in rare and forgotten books, his fresh Izaak-Walton-like delight in nature, his deep family affections so touchingly laid bare, his sympathy with the joys and sorrows of average humanity. None who are led by Mr Holland into Digby's world but will be thankful to him for the introduction[1].

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

Shakespeare in Italy. By Lacy Collison-Morley. Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press. 1916. 8vo. 180 pp. 6*s. net.*

Shakespeare in Italia. Siro Attilio Nulli. Milan: U. Hoepli. 1918. 8vo. 245 pp. 6L. 50.

The investigation of Shakespeare's share in moulding the literatures of the world has been increasingly active in recent years; and there will soon be little left, of a general character at least, to be done. These two volumes fill a gap which urgently needed filling, and they are to some extent complementary. The view-point is not the same: Mr Collison-Morley aims at a general historical sketch, showing the growth of Shakespearean interest and influence in Italy down to the most recent times, whereas Signor Nulli, who has allowed himself nearly twice as much space, is more interested in the influence of Shakespeare on individual writers. Only two of Nulli's sections, those on Shakespeare's fame in Italy in the eighteenth century and on Shakespeare and Italian Romanticism, deal nominally with the general historical movement, while the others discuss the attitude to Shakespeare of Monti, Foscolo and Manzoni. Mr Collison-Morley's book would obviously have gained, had he had the benefit of Signor Nulli's studies; the discussion of the more important writers, and, even more so, of minor writers like Verri and the brothers Pindemonte, are in the English book colourless compared with those in the Italian. In the case of Baretti, however, where Mr Collison-Morley speaks with special authority, he gives us a more adequate account than his Italian colleague. On the other hand, Signor

[1] A few misprints should be corrected in a later edition: e.g. p. 6, 'near eighty' for 'eighty-two'; pp. 6, 7, 'Charlesville' for 'Charleville'; p. 38, 'Whateley' for 'Whately'; p. 47 mid., 'twelve years' for 'fourteen years'; p. 60, 'Achelaus' for 'Achelous'; p. 84, 'Rochejaquelin' for 'Rochejaquelein,' 'Bournoulf' for 'Burnouf'; p. 108, 'Cornelius or Lapidi' for 'Cornelius a Lapide'; p. 141 bot., for 'June,' query 'March'; pp. 225, 228, '*Last Year's Falling Leaves*' for '*Last Year's Leaves.*'

Nulli might have taken greater advantage of his predecessor's work. He mentions it, it is true, in his 'Conclusione,' but he has not made as much use of it as he might have done.

Signor Nulli lays little stress on allusions to Shakespeare in the incubatory period of the eighteenth century, but Mr Collison-Morley aims at completeness. I would add one small item. On p. 11 he writes that all that Maffei has to say of Shakespeare is that he was 'one of the sources of noble English poetry.' But in the Preface to his translation of the first book of the *Iliad* (1736)—and the passage is repeated in the following year in his *Osservazioni letterarie*—Maffei has something more to say of Shakespeare in connection with his use of rhymeless verse. Nulli has not failed to seize on Croce's paradoxical claim that Vico was the only Italian of the eighteenth century who might have understood Shakespeare. Fanciful as such a statement is, it no doubt carries a world of suggestion with it; for it was just the stamp which the *Nuova Scienza* left on Italian thought that made the Italian mind so receptive for Shakespeare as the eighteenth century approached its close. Nulli's discussion of the Shakespearean influence on the Italian romanticists leaves little to be desired; he not merely estimates that influence with balanced judgment, but what is still more valuable, shows how the evolution of Italian letters was affected by Shakespeare. One point might have been made clearer by both writers, namely, that, as the Shakespeare enthusiasm of the romantic time owed so much to the 'Bible of Italian romanticism,' Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Literature*, the Italian conception of our English poet was, in large measure, a German one; they saw Shakespeare through German, not English eyes, More might have been made in both books of the influence of the opera in familiarising the Italians with Shakespeare's world; as far as Shakespeare's popularity is concerned, this far outweighs all purely literary factors. Signor Nulli shows a wide knowledge of our literature; and yet, strange to say, there is hardly an English quotation in his book—one might almost add hardly the title of an English book—which is not disfigured by some orthographic error.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

La Escatología Musulmana en la Divina Comedia. Real Academia Española: Discurso leído en el acto de su recepción. Por D. Miguel Asín Palacios. Madrid, Imprenta de Estanislao Maestre, 1919. 8vo. 403 pp.

The relation between Dante and the East, and the possibility of his having derived some of his materials from oriental sources, have attracted the attention of several scholars. Sanskritists have adduced parallels taken from early Indian literature; Vitti in this connection quotes the *Mahabharata* and De Gubernatis suggests that the *Inferno* is a copy of the Buddhist hell and that Lucifer represents Yama, the Hindu god of death. A learned Parsee scholar, Dr J. J. Modi, has pointed out several similarities between the *Arda Viraf* and the *Divina Commedia*, but he

has wisely refrained from attempting to establish a historical connection between the two works. E. Blochet in *Les Sources Orientales de la Divine Comédie* (Paris, 1901) made a more serious attempt to investigate the channels through which Dante may have come to know of the speculations current in the oriental world, about heaven and hell, and he came to the conclusion that the ultimate source of the legend that formed the basis of the *Divina Commedia* was to be found in the *Arda Viraf*, which in its Pahlavi form was written in Persia towards the end of the Sasanian dynasty; this legend passed into Europe along the trade routes that connected Persia through Byzantium with the north-east of Europe, as well as in consequence of the intellectual contact between Byzantium and Ireland; and thus the immediate precursors of Dante, through whom the original Persian eschatology reached him, were the voyage of St Brandan, the visions of St Paul, St Patricius, and Tyndall, and other mediaeval legends current in western Christendom. This theory presents many difficulties, but the present is not a suitable occasion for discussing them.

Dr Miguel Asín's book is the first systematic attempt to work out in detail the connection between the *Divina Commedia* and its precursors in oriental literature, and to show how Dante may have come to have knowledge of them. His theory, briefly stated, is that the oriental sources of Dante's poem are to be found in Muhammadan literature and that it was from Spain that the knowledge of this literature came to Dante. Among the *ḥadīth*, or sayings traditionally attributed to Muhammad, are many describing his *isrā* (or night journey) and *mi'rāj* (or ascension). Dr Asín works out in abundant detail the correspondences between the details given in the *ḥadīth* and those in the *Divina Commedia*. In both the traveller, at the outset of his journey, is terrified by meeting a lion and a wolf (*Inf.* I, 43, 49), and realises the proximity of hell by 'the words of pain, accents of anger' (*Inf.* III, 26) that he hears. The architectural scheme of the *Inferno* follows the general lines of the Muslim Hell: a kind of inverted cone, made up of a series of circles, one below the other, the various kinds of sinners being deeper down according to the enormity of their offences. In both, the carnal sinners are swept along by a fiery whirlwind (*Inf.* V, 31); the murderers in Dante's seventh circle are submerged in a river of blood like the usurers in the Muhammadan Hell; the raging thirst that tortures the drunkards in the seventh story of the Muhammadan Hell corresponds to that of the falsifiers in the tenth chasm of the eighth circle of the *Inferno* (X). Muhammad has as his guide, Gabriel, and Dante, Vergil, and these guides appear to each of the travellers when they are wandering in perplexity, and after they have passed into Hell, defend them from the assaults of the demons. Vergil points out to Dante the city of Dis with its mosques glowing with eternal fire (*Inf.* VIII, 70), as Gabriel shows Muhammad the city of fire in which tyrants are tortured. The steep ascent of the mount of Purgatory and Dante's weariness are reminiscent of Muhammad at the foot of the precipitous mountain which he despairs of climbing until Gabriel encourages him and bids him plant his feet

in the footprints of his guide. The allegorical visions which Dante sees in Purgatory suggest reference to those in the Muslim legend, *e.g.* both Dante (*Purg.* XIX, 13—18) and Muhammad meet a charming siren whom their respective guides explain as a symbol of the false allurements of worldly pleasure. The avaricious, in both the accounts of their punishment, have their faces turned to the ground and their 'backs turned upward' (*Purg.* XIX, 94—5). A river separates Purgatory from Paradise in both legends, and the traveller has to drink of its waters before passing over. In the Garden of Eden, Dante's meeting with Matilda (*Purg.* XXVIII) has similarities with the account of Muhammad's meeting with the beautiful damsel in Paradise. The analogies between the Paradise of Dante and that of Muhammad are still more striking; the first seven heavens of the Ascension of Muhammad are named after the planets of the Ptolemaic system in the same order as Dante gives them; in each the traveller converses with the blessed souls, who occupy the particular sphere appropriated to those possessed of some distinguished virtue. Apart from these general lines of resemblance, there are particular episodes which exhibit a striking similarity, *e.g.* Muhammad sees an angel in the form of a gigantic cock, singing the praises of Allah; Dante sees, in the heaven of Jupiter, a great eagle formed of the spirits of the just, hymning the wisdom of God (*Par.* XVIII—XX). The culminating scene of the two narratives, the beatific vision of God, is in its main features identical; God is described as a point of intense light, ranged round by nine concentric circles, made up of innumerable angelic spirits, resplendent with light and ceaselessly uttering praise, all wheeling with ceaseless movement round the throne of God (*Par.* XXVIII).

Such are a few of the parallels between the Muhammadan legend and Dante's poem. Dr Asín mentions many more and discusses them minutely, giving in each instance references to the Arabic sources; he also shows in detail how the allegorical and mystical interpretations found in the *Divina Commedia* correspond to similar versions of Muhammad's Ascension as given by Muhammadan mystics, notably Ibn al-'Arabī who died in 1240—just a quarter of a century before Dante was born.

But it may be felt that these are coincidences merely, and that further evidence is needed and some method of immediate transmission must be established, before it can be accepted that these Muhammadan speculations exercised any direct influence on the Florentine poet. In dealing with this aspect of his task, Dr Asín first gives in detail the many phantasies of Muslim eschatology to be found in such mediaeval legends, as the legend of the three monks of the East, the vision of St Paul and other accounts of heaven and hell, which were current in mediaeval Europe before the time of Dante, and concludes that these may have exercised an indirect influence upon the poet. But these legends are entirely insufficient to explain the numerous parallelisms between the *ḥadīth* and the *Divina Commedia*, and some more immediate channel of transmission has to be sought for. Our author, after a comprehensive survey of the means of communication between the Islamic

world and Christian Europe, comes to the conclusion that the direct influence of Muslim eschatology made itself felt on the thought of Dante from Muhammadan Spain; he refers in particular to writings that may have come to Dante's notice, such as the *Historia Arabum* by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo, who lived between 1170 and 1247; his account of the *miʿrāj* of Muhammad was translated almost literally into Castilian in the *Crónica General*, which King Alfonso the Learned had compiled between 1260 and 1268; again, St Peter Pascual, who lived in Rome during the pontificate of Nicholas IV (1289—1292), wrote an apologetic work against Islam, entitled *Impunaçion de la seta de Mahomah*. Both these works reveal an intimate acquaintance with the Muhammadan *ḥadīth* of the *miʿrāj* of the Prophet, and through either of them Dante may have come to learn the eschatology of Islam. But a still more obvious intermediary between Dante and Muhammadan Spain was his teacher, Brunetto Latini, of whom the poet wrote in terms of affectionate gratitude (*Inf.* xv, 79—87); Dante tells us that he urged his former pupil to read his *Tesoro* (*id.* 119), a work in which some Dante-scholars have thought they have found the germ and inspiration of the *Divina Commedia*. The *Tesoro* of Brunetto Latini reveals an unusual acquaintance with the dogmas and rites of Islam, knowledge of which the author had been able to gain when he was sent to Spain in 1260 by the Guelph party in Florence as ambassador to the court of Alfonso the Learned. This prince was an enthusiastic admirer of Muslim culture and a student of Arabic literature; he attracted Muhammadan men of learning to his court, and here an encyclopaedic scholar like Brunetto Latini, eager for knowledge of all kinds, could hardly have failed to have his interest excited in Muslim thought and speculation, and he might well have communicated what he had learned to his pupil in Florence, whose insatiable curiosity made him receptive to all the intellectual influences of his age.

Such briefly is the scope of Dr Asín's work, remarkable alike for its profound scholarship, its exact logical method, and its wide outlook, based as it is on an intimate knowledge of Arabic sources and of European authorities. It will attract the attention of the large circle of Dante-scholars in this country, though they may not all accept its conclusions; but at the same time it is a valuable contribution to the literature on the intellectual relations between Islam and mediaeval Europe, and will thus be welcomed by students of the thought and history of the Middle Ages.

T. W. Arnold.

London.

Obras de Lope de Vega. Publicadas por la Real Academia Española (Nueva edición). Obras Dramaticas. Tomo II. [Edited by Emilio Cotarelo y Mori.] Madrid, 1916. xvii + 686 pp. 8vo. 10 *pes.*

The second volume of the works of Lope de Vega, edited by the Secretary of the Spanish Academy, Sr Cotarelo y Mori, contains twenty plays, all printed from manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional.

The comedia *El Casamiento por Christo* was originally in the Osuna collection, and is ascribed to Lope. According to Duran, this play is also called *Santa Justa.* The reason for this title may be found on page 13, col. 1, near the end, where the protagonist is referred to as Santa Justa. As to the authorship of the play, Sr Cotarelo has no doubt that it is Lope's. It is ascribed to him in the Catalogue of Medel del Castillo (1735), while in the Index of Juan Isidro Faxardo, of which a copy is before me, it appears as *Santa Justa o Casamiento con Cristo,* and is anonymous. In the list of Mesonero Romanos (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles,* vol. XLV, p. xlix) it appears with the latter title among the plays attributed to Lope. In the *Bibliography of Lope de Vega,* Chorley-Rennert, the play is marked doubtful, and I am still of that opinion. The jests of the *gracioso* Penuria show none of the sparkling wit to which we are accustomed in the *graciosos* of Lope: the versification is easy, but the dialogue is commonplace and often unnatural. The following suggestions may be noted: p. 1, col. 2, l. 4 from foot of page, read *su* for *sin*; p. 3, col. 1, l. 2, read: *por que*; p. 3, col. 2, ll. 22 and 23 are corrupt. Expressions like: *con resolución resuelta,* and *de obscuricidas tinieblas* (p. 3, col. 2) do not recall Lope. Page 4, col. 1, line 12, read: *y estoy en esta tremenda,* etc.; p. 4, col. 2, l. 4 from foot of page, read: *y no en cueros* (?), the passage is not clear; p. 8, col. 2, l. 12, read: *es ir a ver al enfermo*; p. 12, col. 2, last line, read: *sea mil*; p. 13, col. 1, l. 1, read *tan* for *tal*; p. 14, col. 1, l. 13 of the opening line of the ballad: *El tronco de ovas vestido,* one of the earliest of Lope's ballads, probably before 1588. It appeared in *Flor de varios Romances,* Valencia, 1590; *Romancero General* (Medina del Campo, 1602), fol 31^{v}; Duran, No. 1490. Page 18, col. 1, l. 3 from foot, read: *en que nu anego*; p. 19, col. 2, it is hardly probable that Lope wrote these lines:

> Demás que tambien podré
> buscar la hoja en que está
> inclina mujeres y a .
> la loca alcanzar podré.

Page 21, col. 1, l. 20 from foot of page *Loca del Cielo* recalls the title of a comedia by Rojas Zorrilla, which was represented before the King by the company of Manuel Vallejo in March, 1623 (see Cotarelo, *Don Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla,* p. 177). Page 21, col. 2, ll. 24—25, Lope would hardly have repeated the same adjective in two consecutive lines: p. 23, col. 1, ll. 11—12, read:

> y que allí, de sus amores
> tendrá el fruto.
> *Leonora:* ¡ Ah, traidores !

The second comedia *La Corona de Hungría y la injusta Venganza,* is a much better play. Its subject is one of the 'multiples variantes de la leyenda de la Reina Sevilla.' The autograph was formerly in the archives of the Marqués de Astorga, which archives seem to have been plundered so thoroughly that little to be desired is left. A copy of the manuscript was in the library of Agustín Duran, whence it passed to the Bib.

Nacional. From this MS. it is printed here. On this play and its relation to the earlier *Los Pleitos de Ingalaterra*, see my article in this Review (vol. XIII, p. 455). *La Corona de Hungría* is dated December 23, 1633, but this may be a mistake for 1623 (see *Bibliography of Lope de Vega*, p. 161).

Del Monte Sale is here printed from the autograph signed by Lope on October 20, 1627, formerly in the Osuna collection. As Sr Cotarelo says: 'Esta comedia es primorosamente versificada, con opulento lirismo y galanía, cosa admirable, supuesta la ya avanzada edad del insigne poeta.' Page 57, col. 1, l. 8 from foot of page, read: *vive en este monte Narcisa*; p. 57, col. 2, l. 4, read *en* for *il.* In Act III, Lope quotes the *letra*:

> Pusoseme el sol
> Salióme la luna;
> Mas valiera, madre, la noche escura,

on which there is a *letrilla* by Juan de Salinas, in his *Obras*, vol. I, p. 112.

La Devoción del Rosario is based on a manuscript of the seventeenth century formerly in the possession of Duran, in which it is ascribed to Lope. Medel gives it as anonymous. Page 94, col. 1, l. 33, read *estábamos* (?) for *hasta vamos*; p. 100, col. 1, l. 2 from foot, read: *está de la Virgen Santa* (?); p. 101, col. 2, l. 23, read: *si en mis pecados repara*; p. 103, col. 1, ll. 13—16, rhyme? p. 104, col. 2, l. 13, read: *que el hablar no es sentido*; p. 106, col. 1, l. 31, read: *Cardeña*; p. 116, col. 2, l. 14 shows that the play is later than 1621. In the last line Belardo (pseudonym of Lope) is given as the author. It is possible, in view of this line, that Lope wrote this play; but with this line omitted, there is nothing in the whole play to indicate that it was written by the great master.

La Discordia en los Casados exists in autograph in the Biblioteca Nacional, dated August 2, 1611, but is anonymous in the list of Medel. It is an average play, and adds nothing to Lope's reputation.

La Esclava de su Hijo ranks among the good comedias of our poet. As Sr Cotarelo says in the introduction to the first volume, speaking of *El Hijo Venturoso* (which was written before 1604): 'Por cierto que, años después, olvidado Lope de esta su antigua obra, o enamorado de su argumento, la volvió a escribir, plagiándose a si mismo, con el título de *La Esclava de su Hijo*, y así la registró en la lista del *Peregrino* de 1618.' In both cases we have the story of a foundling who grows up to be a soldier and rescues a woman from the hands of soldiers during the sacking of a city. This woman, whom he makes his slave, reveals herself as the mother of her rescuer. The later play is a great improvement upon the first one, which must belong to the very early plays of our poet. Lope's wider experience is plainly visible in *La Esclava de su Hijo*, a play which was supposed to be lost, but which Professor Restori discovered in a manuscript of the first half of the seventeenth century at Parma. In this manuscript the play is entitled *El Pastor soldado*, though the proper title is given in the concluding lines of the comedia. (*Una Collezione*

di Commedie di Lope de Vega, Livorno, 1891, p. 30.) *La Esclava de su Hijo* is mentioned in the second list of *El Peregrino* (1618), and is printed here from a copy furnished by Professor Restori. Page 164, col. 2, l. 24, should perhaps read: *pues no las quiero oir*; p. 165, col. 2, l. 1: *Selvas y bosques de Amor* is the first line of a ballad by Lope first published in his novel *Las Fortunas de Diana* in *La Filomena*, Madrid, 1621, fol. 70; Duran, No. 1506; p. 166, col. 2, l. 10, recalls the title of Lope's play *El mayor Imposible*, written in 1614 (*Life of Lope*, p. 221); p. 168, col. 2, l. 10, *zorra* is certainly wrong; perhaps *polla*; p. 175, col. 1, l. 12 from foot of page, read *para el triste* (?); p. 190, col. 1, l. 5 from foot of page, read *juncos* for *onsos*.

Fray Diablo o el Diablo predicador is here printed from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, in which it is ascribed to Lope de Vega. According to Paz y Melia (*Catálogo*, No. 1324), this manuscript contains emendations in the hand of D. Francisco de Rojas (1599—1660); it is signed by Diego de Anunzibay, and is dated October 1, 1630. Sr Cotarelo says the original title of the manuscript comedia was *El Diablo predicador*, to which another hand, presumably that of Rojas, added, above and to one side, the words *Fray Diablo o.* A comedia entitled *El Diablo predicador* was represented before the King by the company of Manuel Vallejo on February 26, 1623. There can hardly be a doubt that this latter play is the one commonly ascribed to Luis Belmonte Bermudez, though in the extant manuscripts, as well as in the printed copies, it is variously attributed to Villegas (Juan Bautista or D. Diego de Villegas) and Belmonte. The matter is discussed by Rouanet in the excellent introduction to his translation of the version of Villegas-Belmonte (*Le Diable prédicateur*, Paris-Toulouse, 1901), where the source of the play is first distinctly given: Fray Christoual Moreno, *Iornadas para el Cielo*, first printed at Zaragoza in 1580. An examination of the two plays shows almost to a certainty that the play by Lope here printed is the original and that Belmonte's comedia is a recast of it. Lope's play has all the appearance of a hasty first draft, while the one ascribed to Belmonte is carefully elaborated, and is, in fact, a greatly superior work. The passages of Lope's play most closely imitated by Belmonte—in many cases the very words are reproduced—will be found, chiefly, near the beginning (pages 330 and 331 of the edition of *El Diablo predicador* in the *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, vol. XLV, and pages 198—199 of the present edition), but other clear imitations occur, which are pointed out by Rouanet. There is a good analysis of Lope's play in Schaeffer, *Geschichte des spanischen Dramas*, vol. I, pp. 432—33. Page 195, col. 1, l. 1, perhaps this line should read: *como la tuya no lucía*; p. 199, col. 2, l. 19, for *desnudos* read *denuedos*; p. 201, col. 1, l. 23, for *impido* read *impida*. At p. 203, col. 2, ll. 8 and 10, the rhymes *aquí* : *aquí* and two lines below *confieso* : *confieso* show that some other hand seems to have been at work here; besides, the long passages at the beginning of the play, as Sr Cotarelo observes, are not by Lope. Page 219, col. 2, next to last line: *pies tan asados* seems to be correct, as it refers to the devil's feet. The lines on page 215, col. 2, at the end, recall the following:

O traidor hijo
. . . . . .
pero si me has ofendido
o si el cielo me otorgara
que despues que me matara
de nueuo a hazer te boluiera
pues tantas muertes te diera
quantas vezes te engendrara.

El Castigo sin Venganza (*Comedias*, Parte XXI, Madrid, 1635, fol. 110).

Comedia famosa del Gran Capitan. This play, the editor states, is included in the present volume with some hesitation, as it is substantially the same as *Las Cuentas del Gran Capitan*, printed in Vol. XI of the large edition of the Academy edited by Menéndez y Pelayo. The additions, suppressions and variants from the latter play, however, are so manifold, that no other course was left. On the title-page of the manuscript, in a modern hand, is written: 'De Aguayo.' This Aguayo, as Sr Cotarelo says, is probably Don Diego de Aguayo y Terones, author of a manuscript comedia entitled *Los Valles de Sopetran* (dated 1682), and of *Querer sabiendo querer*, which Medel ascribes to him, but of whom nothing further appears to be known. Of *Las Cuentas del Gran Capitan*, which was first printed in Vol. XXIII of Lope's 'Comedias' in 1638, Sr Menéndez y Pelayo says: 'Es seguramente comedia de sus últimos años y trazada para halagar a su patrono el Duque de Sessa, descendiente del inmortal conquistador de Nápoles.... El drama no es vulgar y está bien escrito' (Ed. Acad., Tomo XI, p. cxix).

Where, as between the two versions, the true text lies, it is difficult to say, as the editor observes, but if Lope's object was to exalt the house of Sessa, the text of 1638 is undoubtedly nearer to Lope's original than that of the present manuscript. The decree of the King, in praise of the house of the Great Captain, which in the 1638 edition is near the close, is omitted in the manuscript. The latter, however, frequently serves to correct the text of the early impression.

El Loco por Fuerza is ascribed to Lope in manuscript No. 15029 of the Biblioteca Nacional (Paz y Melia, *Catálogo*, No. 1900), to whom it is also attributed in the catalogue of Medel. The argument of the play, as Sr Cotarelo says, is 'algo inverosímil, pero ingenioso, si bien no creemos que pueda accrecentar la gloria del poeta.' The third act is quite feeble. Page 258, col. 1, l. 10, omit *yo*; p. 258, col. 2, near end, Feliciano's speech should begin with: *Yo haré por no ser largo*; p. 259, col. 2, l. 16, perhaps these lines should read:

En esta fiesta (¡ Ay de mé !
qué principios tan diversos !)
pues siendo comedias de agua,
fueron tragedias de fuego, etc.

P. 261, col. 2, near end, if the allusion is to the great Duke of Osuna, it would give a date for the play—1623 or 1624; p. 262, col. 2, l. 4, read *esfuerza*; p. 263, col. 1, l. 30, read *habéis* for *hacéis*; p. 269, col. 2, l. 6, read *en* for *el*; p. 272, col. 2, Osuna says that he is considered mad, yet:

Nunca papel he firmado
que primero no leyese,
tiré arcabuz que estuviese
de mucho tiempo cargado.

P. 273, col. 2, stage-direction, read *por que*; p. 274, col. 1, line 21, read: *y pues poco es estimado* (?); p. 275, col. 2, l. 5 from foot of page, read *en* for *el*; p. 279, col. 2, l. 9 from foot of page, read *venís* for *venir*; p. 279, col. 2, l. 7 from foot of page, read: *y que hacéis que mal trato* (?).

Lo que pasa en una Tarde is preserved in an autograph manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, dated November 22, 1617, and is printed here for the first time. An edition was announced years ago by Professor Petrof, but, as far as I know, it has never appeared. The action of the play is contained within a few hours, in fact, between two and five o'clock in the afternoon (cf. p. 292, col. 2: 'Las dos presumo que dan,' and Act III, p. 313, col. 2: 'Qué hora es? Las cinco ymás.') The play is thereby rendered wholly improbable. This is an excellent comedia, written in Lope's happiest manner, with many characteristic epigrammatic lines:

'Nunca las mujeres son
con mujeres liberales.' (p. 296, col. 2.)
'Porque es un reloj amor,
y el despertador los celos.' (p. 296, col. 2.)
'Porque la mayor desdicha
es haber sido dichosa.' (p. 317, col. 2.)

Page 293, col. 2, l. 12 and following, are a translation of the line of Terence: *Amantium irae amoris integratio est.* Page 295, col. 2, read:

llamó en su vida 'merced,'
sino 'vos, primo o hermano.'

Page 297, col. 1, l. 5 from foot of page, is evidently a reference to the 'frayles de la Merced' and their redemption of prisoners in Algiers. The time of the action is given in Act I (p. 300), where Marcelo states that he is just returning from the wars in the Milanese, in which Don Alonso, 'gloria y honor de los Pimenteles,' found his death.

Such deeds, Marcelo says, are worthy of the pen of a Góngora:

Pero estas cosas merecen
la pluma del cordobés
Góngora, ingenio eminente,
no la rudeza del mio.

On p. 304, col. 2, mention is made of the Conde de Lemos and the 'fiestas de Castilla,' and on p. 305, col. 1, we read:

La comedia que escribió
el Conde os alabo yo
porque no le son iguales
las de Plauto y de Terencio.

If this be a reference to the comedia *La Casa confusa,* it furnishes an earlier date than the generally accepted one. The play was represented at the festivities at Lerma in the presence of the King and Court, on

October 16, 1618, by the company of the famous Pinedo, Baltasar Osorio, *Rey de los graciosos*, and Mari Flores, a celebrated actress, taking part.

Interesting also is the observation:

> Bárbara un tiempo yacía
> en España la poesía;
> ya está en lugar eminente. (p. 305, col. 1.)

The subsequent remarks about the Italian metres and the reference to the Conde de Saldaña are also interesting. Characteristic is the incident in which Teodora gives to Doña Blanca a paper signed by Don Juan, in which is contained a promise of marriage to Teodora. Doña Blanca reads it, and we then have the stage-direction: *Métase la cédula en la boca y huya.*

> *Teodora:* ¿Qué haces, Blanca?...
> ¿La cédula comes?

which draws forth the remark of Teodora:

> No me pesa lo que has hecho,
> porque su firma perdí,
> mas pésame porque ansí
> quede su nombre en tu pecho.

In Act III there is a fine sonnet to Jeronymo de Ayansa, 'el nuevo Alcides.' *Lo que pasa en una Tarde* is an excellent play; the poetry is beautiful and the dialogue of the brilliance that is characteristic of the great poet.

La mayor Corona is contained in a manuscript formerly in the Osuna library, but now in the Biblioteca Nacional. The ascription to Lope is in a modern hand. Medel also attributes it to him. Like the previous play, it is printed here for the first time. It may be added that it is not found in either list of the *Peregrino*, unless, as the editor conjectures, it be *El Godo ilustre*, contained in the list of 1618.

It is hard to believe that Lope had any part in this play. A passage may be given here in support of this statement:

> *Hermenegildo:* Contento y premiado estoy,
> señora, sin mereceros,
> que hoy ha sido dicha el veros;
> por veros dichoso soy.
> Ya en vos adorando estoy,
> como el cielo me lo advierte,
> la paz que al tálamo vierte
> con suerte siempre dichosa,
> porque en suerte tan hermosa
> no puede haber mala suerte. (p. 333, col. 2.)

And this:

> Es error
> de ese Leviatán serpiente
> que en los montes de Samaria
> fuego vierte y rabia vierte.
> Ah, monstro de Europa y Asia,
> Arrio, a quien decir pueden
> con mas propiedad *a rio*,
> donde pie las almas pierden, etc. (p. 341, col. 1.)

The conversion of Leovegildo in Act II is without apparent motive. There is only one good character in the play—the *gracioso* Cardillo. The dialogue does not bear the slightest resemblance to Lope's.

La mayor Dicha en el Monte is ascribed to Lope in a manuscript, also formerly in the Osuna collection, and now in the Nacional. This manuscript bears the alternative title: *y Gloria en el Martirio* (Paz y Melia, *Catálogo*, No. 2084). The ascription to Lope, according to Sr Cotarelo, is in a modern hand, while the manuscript is in various hands of the seventeenth century. Medel also ascribes it to Lope; whether he saw this manuscript, or some other, or a *suelta* it is impossible to determine.

The passage:

> En este apacible sitio
> que de enebros se corona
> . . . . . .
> puedes, Teopiste, quedarte... (p. 374, col. 2.)

seems to be a reminiscence of Cipriano's speech in *El Magíco prodigioso*:

> En la amena soledad
> de aquesta apacible estancia
> . . . . . .
> podeis dejarme.

If this be so, the play was written after 1637.

The unnatural, inflated style bears no resemblance to Lope. In the second Act the distressed father Eustaquio appears upon the stage 'en calzoncillos y camisa'; his son has been seized by a lion (stage direction: *Sale un león poco a poco*), and cries for help, but the father makes no attempt to rescue him. Instead, he breaks forth in a speech of some twenty-two lines, which are followed by the intelligent stage-direction: *Mira hacia el vestuario*, and continues:

> Un oso con él se abraza
> como si fuera colmena, etc.,

and finally, at the end of the scene, concludes by saying: Let us go to some near village, etc. One is curious to know what effect such a scene had upon an audience. Lope's plays are not all free of absurdities, but we are unwilling to charge him with this one. Sr Cotarelo (p. x) is inclined to believe that Lope had no share whatever in this piece, and we concur in this opinion.

La mayor Hazaña de Alejandro magno is ascribed to Lope in a manuscript originally in the Osuna collection, and now in the Bib. Nacional. Medel also attributes it to Lope, but probably on no other evidence than this manuscript. The same subject—the loves of Alexander and Campaspe, and the cession of the latter to the painter Apelles—was afterwards treated by Calderón, in *Darlo todo y no dar nada*. Lope wrote another comedia *Las Grandezas de Alejandro*, which appeared in Part XVI (1621) and which has been reprinted by Menéndez y Pelayo in Vol. VI of the large edition of the Academy. This also includes Campaspe among its characters. Of this piece Menéndez Pelayo says: 'Es una de las pocas obras enteramente malas que nos ha dejado Lope,' a statement which Menéndez himself qualifies by quoting a beautiful ballad that

occurs in this play. In the present comedia the versification is rough and halting, at times, due, perhaps, to a vitiated text, but the piece bears all the marks of Lope, and, what is rather uncommon, the last act is one of the best in the play.

La mejor Enamorada la Magdalena. There are two manuscripts of this play in the Biblioteca Nacional. The first proceeds from the Osuna collection, the second, which lacks the first Act, was formerly in the library of Don Pascual de Gayangos. In both the play is ascribed to Lope, to whom it is also attributed by Medel. A comedia entitled *La Magdalena* is mentioned in the second list (1618) of the *Peregrino.* Concerning the authorship of *La mejor Enamorada,* Sr Cotarelo says that, while he admits that 'en fondo esta comedia sea de Lope, en manera alguna podemos convenir en que su redacción actual corresponde al gran poeta.' He calls attention to the defective rhymes which are never found in Lope, such as: *es* : *vez* ; *plazas* : *casas* ; *ofrece* : *supiese* ; *taza* : *casa* ; *esposa* : *goza,* etc., due to an Andalusian. He accordingly thinks that we have to deal here with a *refundición* by some southern poet, and conjectures that this poet may be Luis Vélez de Guevara. He is, moreover, of the opinion that it is impossible to determine what has remained of Lope's original in this recast, but thinks that perhaps the second and third Acts retain more of the primitive author. To the reviewer, the latter part of the third Act, beginning with the entrance of the Conde de Marsella, ruins an otherwise good play. What seem to be traces of the hand of Lope are visible in a few instances in Act first. The frequent use of *asina* or *ansina* for *asi* shows the hand of another poet, and it is hard to believe that Lope wrote the sonnet in this play. Upon the whole the ascription of this play to Lope is doubtful.

El Poder en el Discreto is preserved in an autograph, dated May 8, 1623. It is, as the official censor Pedro de Vargas Machuca says : 'todo en el estilo dulce y suave tan natural en este autor.' No judgment could hit the mark more truly, and the contrast between this play and the one just considered, is striking. The manuscript at the beginning contains two casts of characters. The one, containing the names of Jusepa Vaca and Mariana, shows that this is the company of Juan de Morales Medrano in 1624. The other cast contains the name of María Calderón, but with the data at hand, it is impossible to say with certainty whose company represented it ; it may also have been the company of Morales. María Calderón and Jusepa Vaca, who played the part of *Serafina* in these two casts, were among the most celebrated actresses of the time. Concerning María Calderón, called *La Calderona,* much has been written. The actual facts of her life, so far as we know them, are few. In March 1623 her husband was Pablo Sarmiento, and both belonged to the company of Juan Bautista Valenciano. In the following year (1624) her husband was Tomas de Rojas, and both appeared in the cast of Lope de Vega's *Amor con Vista* in 1626. In 1624 *La Calderona* turned manager, and with a company represented two *autos sacramentales* and two comedias in the town of Pinto, she acting the principal parts, receiving 1050 *reales* for the four performances. The purchasing power of a *real* at that time

was probably equal to about a shilling. In the same year she took part in the festival of Corpus Christi at Seville, leaving the company of Valenciano, to which she then belonged. María Calderón was the favourite of Philip IV, and the mother of his son Don John of Austria, who was born April 17, 1629. After her retirement from the stage she is said to have professed in the convent of Villahermoso, in the province of Guadalajara, where, 'esteemed by the whole community, she became abbess, and, having repented of her sins, there are those who say that she died in the odour of sanctity.' Apparently, she was still living in 1646.

More celebrated, perhaps, as an actress than *La Calderona*, was Jusepa Vaca, daughter of Juan Ruiz de Mendi and Mariana Vaca. She married the famous theatrical manager Juan de Morales Medrano on December 27, 1602. At that time she must have been very young and her name does not appear in theatrical annals till the following year. Jusepa Vaca had eight children, two of whom, Maximiliano Eustaquio de Morales and Mariana de Morales became celebrated players. The latter also appeared in the cast of *El Poder en el Discreto*. Jusepa Vaca retired from the stage about 1632, and died, a widow, on July 11, 1653. For her Luis Vélez de Guevara wrote his comedia *La Serrana de la Vera* (1613), and Lope de Vega his play *Las Almenas de Toro* (1618). That the date 1613 which is assigned to *La Serrana de la Vera* by Menéndez Pidal, is the true date, and not 1603, as was formerly believed, finds confirmation in the fact that at the latter date Jusepa Vaca could have been but little known upon the stage, while in 1613 she was at the height of her popularity. With two such famous actresses in the role of *Serafina*, a beautiful character, we may well believe that *El Poder en el Discreto* was a great success upon the stage, for it is a brilliant comedy, replete with beautiful verse and abounding in the freshness of youth—a remarkable production for a poet past sixty.

In *El Rey por Semejanza* we are again confronted with the question of authorship. In the manuscript from which it is here printed, and which proceeds from the Duran collection, the play is entitled 'Acto primero del *Rey por Semejanza*, compuesto por Graxales,' but at the beginning of the second Act, written in a hand of the same period as the manuscript, we read: 'La famosa comedia del *Rey por su Semejanza* de lope felix de bega carpio.'

In his *Viage entretenido* (Madrid, Francisco de Robles, 1603) Rojas says:

> De los farsantes que han hecho
> farsas, loas, bayles, letras,
> son Alonso de Morales,
> Grajales, Zorita, Mesa,
> Sanchez, Rios, Avendaño, etc. (p. 131.)

All these are more or less known actors or theatrical managers. The Grajales here mentioned is, in all probability, Juan de Grajales or Graxal, who, with his wife Catalina de Peralta belonged to a stock-company in March 1604, and to the company of Alonso de Villalba in February 1614. In March 1614 they contracted with Andres de Claramonte (also a play-

wright) to act in his company for one year. In 1628 (?) they belonged to the company of Juan de Morales Medrano, and their names appear in the cast of Lope's *La Conpetencia en los Nobles.* This Juan de Grajales was living in Granada in June 1633, as is shown by a power of attorney executed by the distinguished dramatist Juan Ruiz de Alarcon to D. Diego Castroverde, to recover from Juan Grajales, actor, the sum of 500 *reals* which the latter had owed since July 17, 1616. This sum may well have been the price of a comedia. (Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña,* Vol. III, p. 465.)

There are three plays now extant that are ascribed to *el licenciado* Juan de Grajales, two of which, *La adversa Fortuna del Cavallero del Espírito Santo* and *La próspera Fortuna del Cavallero del Espírito Santo,* are contained in the *Parte tercera de las Comedias de Lope de Vega y otros Autores,* etc., of which the first edition was, probably, printed at Valencia in 1611 (v. Salvá, *Catálogo,* I, p. 538), while the other play, *El Bastardo de Ceuta* appeared in *Flor de las Comedias de España de diferentes Autores,* Recopiladas por Francisco de Avila, Parte V, of which the earliest known edition is Alcalá, 1615 (Schack, *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien,* Vol. II, p. 452). In the documents published by Pérez Pastor, concerning the actor Juan de Grajales, the name is once spelt Juan de Graxal, once Juan de Graxales, and three times Juan de Grajales, but the person indicated is the same, as his wife Catalina de Peralta is mentioned in every case. No data seem to be at hand to enable us to decide with certainty whether the actor Juan de Grajales and the *licenciado* Juan de Grajales are one and the same person. All the evidence at present available, however, seems to point to their being one person. In the first place there is no reason why a *licenciado* should not turn actor, especially at a period when penniless licentiates were in plenty, while the stage was at the height of its popularity. Besides Grajales, the actor may well have attached the title to his name on printing his plays. Secondly, no obscure *licenciado* ever wrote the plays ascribed to Grajales. It is true that the first two mentioned above have not been favourably judged by Spanish critics, but that is not the opinion of a very competent judge (see Schaeffer, *Geschichte des Span. Dramas,* I, p. 270). The third play of Grajales, *El Bastardo de Ceuta,* is available in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (in *Dramaticos contemporaneos a Lope de Vega,* Tomo I, p. 411). It is a powerful play and the work of a writer who has had experience with the stage and its 'business.' Moreover it is not a little strange that the 'licentiate' (if he were different from the actor) should have all his plays published in the two volumes which are generally reckoned as parts of the *Comedias* of Lope, while it could cause no surprise if he were a well known actor, and precisely at the time of the appearance of these two volumes Grajales, the actor, was well known. We are therefore strongly inclined to think that there was only one Juan de Grajales, and that he was the licentiate and actor Juan de Grajales.

The play here printed, *El Rey por Semejanza,* it can be said almost with certainty, is not Lope's. Schaeffer (Vol. I, p. 270) gives an analysis

of it, and ascribes it unhesitatingly to Grajales, to whom we also think it belongs.

The chief claim that *La gran Comedia del Rey por trueque* has for appearing in the present volume is because it is ascribed to Lope in a seventeenth century manuscript, formerly in the Duran collection and now in the Biblioteca Nacional. Neither Medel nor Faxardo mentions it. The play contains the same imperfect rhymes to which attention was called in *La mejor Enamorada la Magdalena*: *estés*: *vez*; *razon*: *son*; *belleza*: *pavesa*, etc. The editor says: 'If Lope wrote it, it must have been recast by some Andalusian poet.' The text of the play is in a deplorable state, but even making every allowance for the vitiated text, the play does not read like the work of Lope. If the play was originally due to his pen, we have here an example of those mutilated plays of which Lope complains in his works—plays which came back to him so changed that they were scarcely recognizable, containing six lines of his to one hundred by a stranger (*Life of Lope*, pp. 272, 287, 292). The skill of the editor has done much to improve this play, but much still remains that is unintelligible. Page 536, col. 1, l. 23, for *Amasia* read *Samaria*; l. 36, read *del* Pirú (?); l. 37, read *de Persia* (?); *ibid.* col. 2, l. 4, read *del Ostro*; p. 537, col. 1, l. 14 for *acierto* read *cierto*; p. 539, col. 2, l. 4, for *Aulestias* read *Alkestias* (?); p. 540, col. 1, l. 10, read *Estentor*.

The Latin on page 550, col. 1, is intended for: 'O fortunata mors quae naturae debita pro patria est potissimum reddita.' Cicero, *Philippics*, XIV, 31. *El Rey por trueque* must be reckoned among Lope's doubtful plays.

Santa Casilda. On the first page of the manuscript, written carelessly and badly by two hands of the seventeenth century, we read: '*Santa Casilda.* Comedia de Phelipe de Medina Pores.' The latter name is crossed out and 'de Lope de Vega' is substituted. Whether Pores is the scribe or the former owner of the manuscript is not known. *Santa Casilda*, in Sr Cotarelo's opinion, has greater claims to be considered authentic than the play just considered: 'nadie mejor que Lope era capaz de idear una figura tan dulce, divina y humana a la vez, como la protagonista... La versificación abundante y numerosa, con muchos versos de arte mayor combinadas en formas por Lope muy usadas y con romances llenos de gallardía y riqueza de frases poéticas, son indicios poderosos de autenticidad.' The text, unfortunately, is corrupt in many places; these have, however, to a considerable extent been emended by the editor. The play has all the appearance of being Lope's, and in the absence of further evidence to the contrary, may be provisionally assigned to him. At the end of the play a second part is promised, which, so far as known, does not exist.

El Toledano vengado y Celoso vengado; this, according to Sr Cotarelo, is the title of the Osuna manuscript. The last lines are:

que se dé fin, es razon,
al *Toledano vengado.*

These lines were substituted for the following, which are crossed out:

aqui se dé, que es razon,
fin al *Marido engañado.*

In this case an interesting play is spoiled by an absurd third Act. The editor calls attention to the fact that this third Act is far from correct, 'donde las tentativas de enmienda son descarriadas y a veces indican que hubo una refundición o arreglo anterior.' If Lope wrote this play, and there is much in favour of his authorship, he certainly was innocent of every line of the text after page 620 of this edition. It may well have served, as the editor asserts, as a model for Tirso de Molina's *El Celoso prudente* and Calderón's *A secreto Agravio secreta venganza. El Toledano vengado* was written after 1605, as the reference (p. 600) to 'Sancho con su rocin' shows. Sr Cotarelo, who is convinced of Lope's authorship, says, 'one is inclined to think that this play was written in Toledo in 1606 or shortly thereafter.' In the strange manner of the heroine's death, by the falling of a wall, the play recalls the comedia *Casarse por vengarse* by D. Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla.

El valiente Juan de Heredia is an excellent play. The action proceeds with great rapidity from the very beginning, and the interest is never allowed to flag. There is a truth, a naturalness about this play that is refreshing. There is nothing theatrical; no effort of the imagination is required; the scenes are painted with such master strokes that they are brought vividly before our eyes. The scene with 'el Capitan Negron'; the street-scene at night outside the gambling house in the 'cal de Bayona'; the scene at the inn, where the guests are joined by three highwaymen; all these are drawn by a master hand, which is undoubtedly Lope's. The calle de Bayona in Seville, mentioned above, had long been known for its inns. Doña Ana says:

No dudo que facilmente
en ella (i.e. Sevilla) halléis posada,
que muchas y buenas tiene. (p. 641.)

We know that Cervantes, during his short stay in Seville in 1585, stopped at the inn of his friend Tomás Gutierrez, a former actor, in the calle de Bayona (Rodríguez Marín, *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, p. 134). And in a ballad entitled *Trato de las Posadas en Sevilla*, we read:

Lo primero, si llegares
a aquella braua posada
que está en calle de Bayona.
Revue Hispanique (1905), p. 137.

El valiente Juan de Heredia is here printed from a manuscript which is defective, formerly in the Osuna collection, and from a suelta without date—in both of which the play is ascribed to Lope. Sr Cotarelo in this second volume of Lope's works has fulfilled his task as editor very well. He has added a list of corrections to this volume, as well as to the preceding one, and has furnished many ingenious emendations. His is the task of a *segundo Alcides* (to use a term that occurs in several of these plays), and this should always be borne in mind.

Hugo A. Rennert.

Philadelphia, U.S.A.

Studies in the Syntax of the Lindisfarne Gospels. By MORGAN CALLAWAY, Jnr. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1918. 8vo. xvi + 240 pp.

If we may judge by this work, which deals only with the Participle and the Infinitive, and which Professor Callaway presents as an 'instalment,' his projected 'Studies' will, when completed, be of truly majestic proportions. The main object of the present work is 'to determine whether the syntax of these verbals in the Northumbrian dialect differs essentially from that in the W. Saxon dialect.' Professor Callaway, whose life-work is O.E. syntax, is quite aware that he has to justify the acceptance of forms occurring in an interlinear gloss as trustworthy evidence of the normal syntax of the dialect in which it is written. This vital question he answers as follows: 'As to the normal order of words, this Northumbrian gloss, like most interlinear translations, gives next to no evidence of value, since, as a rule, the glossator adheres strictly to the order of his Latin original. As to the normal idioms to be used in the combining of words into sentences, however, it gives invaluable evidence, especially in those locutions in which the Northumbrian gloss consistently diverges from the idiom of the Latin original. In a word, if in the syntax of any part of speech, as of the participle or of the infinitive, the glossator consistently shuns a Latin idiom, and consistently substitutes therefor another idiom, we are justified in holding that the substitute idiom represents his native usage,—a principle that seems to me to hold perfectly in the syntax of the verbals.' As Professor Callaway bases his whole work and conclusions on this supposition it would have been more reassuring if he had devoted more space to establishing its validity.

A valuable feature of the present work is the detailed comparison which he makes between O.E. syntactical usage and that of the kindred Germanic languages. 'With slight modifications here and there for individual languages,' he says, 'the theories derived from a minute study of the West Saxon and the Northumbrian dialects seem to apply equally well to the other Germanic languages.' Yet he admits that his interpretation of the idioms of the participle and of the infinitive in the Germanic languages other than English 'rests upon statistics which, though carefully gathered by others, are for several of the languages incomplete, and in some instances take little account of the original Greek or Latin.' The Bibliography, though it contains some 400 entries, 'lays no claim to exhaustiveness'!

W. J. SEDGEFIELD.

MANCHESTER.

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THE LINCOLN FRAGMENT OF THE O.E. VERSION OF THE HEPTATEUCH

WANLEY (*Catalogue*, p. 305) gives his friend Dr Tanner of Norwich as his authority for the statement that there were certain fragments of the Old English Version of the Heptateuch in the library of Lincoln Cathedral. Until recently all trace of these fragments seems to have been lost. In 1898 Dr Frank Chase, an American scholar, was unsuccessful in a personal search for them in the cathedral library[1]. Their rediscovery is due to Rev. R. M. Woolley, who has been engaged in cataloguing the library of Lincoln Cathedral; and it is thanks to his kindness and courtesy that I am able to reproduce them here.

The fragments, or, more correctly, fragment (for it is a continuous portion) consists of two leaves (Lincoln MS. 295. 2) containing an extract from the book of *Numbers*, beginning with ch. IX, 1 and ending with ch. XVI, 2. The version corresponds exactly, apart from merely phonological variations, with that contained in MS. Bodley, Laud Misc. 509, which is the source of Thwaites' text (1698) and of Grein's text which is a reprint of Thwaites'.

The fragment is written in a fine, regular, eleventh century hand, and can hardly be dated later than about the third quarter of the eleventh century. The language is pure Late West Saxon, and there are only a few peculiarities requiring comment. Among these may be noted:

(1) *ē* for W.S. *ēo* in *wep* (= W.S. wĕop) XI, 10, *wepan* (= W.S. wēopon) XI, 4 and *fellon* (= W.S. fĕollon) XII, 37. The regular forms *weopon* and *weopan* also occur.

(2) *-an* frequently replaces *-on* in the pret. pl.: *sudan, weopan, wrohtan, cyrdan* etc.

(3) The spelling *sælost* (= W.S. *sēlost*) occurs in X, 32. The spelling *ngc* for *ng* occurs in *þingc*, XI, 6, and *gemengced*, XII, 18.

(4) Medial *-ig-* often loses its *g*: *sarie, winberien, hunie, meniu* etc.

(5) *Spræce*, XI, 25, is a scribal error for *spræc*, and the same explanation probably applies to *wat*, XII, 9, for the regular *gewat*.

[1] See F. Chase, *Herrig's Archiv*, vol. C (1898), pp. 241 ff.

Except for adding the numbering of the chapters and verses, I have reproduced the fragment exactly as it occurs in the manuscript; but where the leaves are damaged I have supplemented the text with the help of MS. (Bodley) Laud Misc. 509, the supplementary matter being printed in italics.

(Lincoln Cathedral MS. 295. 2.)

[*Numbers, cap.* IX] (1) Ða hi þa utforan of egipta lande swa him god wissode. [*cap.* X] (29) þa cwæð moyses to iobabe *his* mæge ragueles suna þā madianitiscean we willað faran to þā lande þe god us syll*an wille* far mid us ðæt we ðe weligne gedón forðanðe drihten behet gód israhela folce (30) *he* 7swarode 7 cwæð ne fare ic mid eow ac ic gewende to minū earde þær ic geboren wæs (31) *þa* cwæð moyses ne forlæt þu us þu canst wegas geond þæt wæsten ac beo ure ladm*ann* (32) 7 *þonne* þu mid us cymst we ðe syllað swa hwæt swa ðær sælost byð of þā æhtum þe drihten us *sylþ* (33) hi foron of drihtnes munte þreora daga færeld. 7 drihtnes earc fór beforan *him* ðry dagas sceawigende þa wícstowe (34) drihtnes genip fór ofer hi on dæg þonne hi for*on*. (35) Ðonne se earc wæs wæs (*sic*) upahafen þonne cwæð moyses. aris drihten 7 todrif þine *fynd* þæt þa fleon frā þinre ansyne þe þe hatedon. (36) 7 þonne heo aset wæs he cwæð gewend d*rihten* to israhela folce. [*cap.* XI] (1) Gemang þā aras mycel murcnung on þā folce ongean drihten 7 hi wæron sarie for heora geswince. þa he ðæt gehyrde þa wearð he yrre 7 drihtnes fyr wearð onæled 7 forbærnde þone ytemestan dæl þæs folces. (2) þa clypode þæt *folc* to moyse. 7 moyses gebæd to drihtne 7 þæt fyr geswác. (3) 7 he nemde þære stowe nam*an* onal forþanþe drihtnes fyr wæs þær onæled ongean þæt folc. (4) Ðæt gemeng*ede* folc wearð gefylled mid gyfernysse 7 sæton 7 wepon mid hisrahela folce 7 cwædon hwa *sylð* us flæsc to etanne. (5) we gemunan hu fela fixa we hæfdon to gife on egipta lande 7 we hæfdon *cucu*meres þæt synd eorðæppla. 7 pepones 7 porleac. 7 enneleac 7 manega oðre þing (6) *nu we* synd hlæne nabbe we nan þingc to etanne butan mán. (7) swa hi heton þone heofonlican *mete* þe hi god mid fedde. þæt wæs swilce coriandran séd hwites bleos swa cristalla (8) þæt hi ga*derod*on 7 grundon on cwyrne oððe brytton 7 sudan on croccan 7 wrohtan hlafas þærof *þa wæ*ron swilce hi wæron elebakene (9) þonne þæt deaw com on niht þonne com þær mid se heo*fon*lica mete þe hi man heton. (10) Moyses gehyrde þæt þæt folc wep ælc æt his geteldes *dura* 7 godes yrre astah swyðe 7 hit þuhte moyse swiðe hefigtyme (11) 7 he cwæð to drihtne *hwi* swenctest þu ðinne ðeow hwi nabbe ic nane gife beforan ðe 7 hwi settest þu þyses *folces* swarnysse uppan me.

(12) cwyst þu geeacnode ic hi ealle oððe acende ic hi þ ðu me bude *þæt* ic hi bære on minū bosme swa fostormoder deð cild 7 þæt ic bære on þæt land þe ðu *heora* fæderū foreswore. (13) hwanon scolde me cuman flæsc þæt ic sylle *þysū folce. hi wepaþ on*gean me 7 cweðaþ syle us flæsc to etanne. (14) Ne mæg *ic ana acuman eall þis folc. hit is* me swiðe hefig (15) butan þu elles wille ic bidde þe *þæt þu me ofslea.* 7 *ic hæbbe gife befo*ran ðe þ ic ne sy mid swa mycclū *yfele geswenct.* (16) *drihten cwæð to moyse, geceos me hund*seofontig manna of isr*ahela folces ealdrū þe þu wite þ synd staþulfæste* 7 *lareowas* 7 læd hi to ðære eard*ungstowe dura þ hi standon þær mid ðe* (17) *oð ðæt ic nyðer astige* 7 wið ðe sprece 7 ic *nime of ðinū gaste* 7 *sylle him* 7 *hi underfoð þis folc mid ðe þ ðu ne* sy ana gehefegod. (18) *sege þā folce. beoð geheorte to merien ge etað flæsc forþanþe* ge weopan beforan me 7 *cwædon hwa sylð us flæsc. wel us wæs on egipta lande, drihten* eow sylð flæsc 7 ge etað (19) næs *to anum dæge ne to* · ii · *ne to* · *v* · *ne to* · *x* · *ne to* · *xx* · (20) *Ac ful*ne monað oð hit gæð þurh eowre næsðyrela 7 si gewend to wlættan forðamþe *ge* gremedon drihten. 7 weopan beforan him 7 cwædon hwi foran we ut of egipta lande (21) *M*oyses cwæð to drihtne þises folces is six hund þusend gangendra manna 7 þu segst ic *syl*le him flæsc to etanne fulne monað · cwyst þu byð sceapa oððe hryðera swa fela ofsla*gen* þæt hi genoh habben oððe byð ealle sæfixas gegaderod tosomne þæt hi gefyllon *þ*is folc. (23) Drihten him andswarode 7 cwæð. Cwest þu is drihtnes hand unmihtig. Nu rihte *þu* gesyxt hwæðer min word beo mid weorce gefylled. (24) Moyses com 7 rehte þā folce go*d*es word he gegaderode hundseofontig manna of israhela folce þa he let standen ymbe *u*tan þa eardungstowe. (25) Drihẗ astah nyðer þurh genip 7 spræce to him 7 nam of þā gaste *þ*e wæs on moise 7 sealde þā hundseofontigū mannū. þa se gast gereste on him hi witegodon 7 syððan ne geswicon. (26) Ða belifon twegen men on þā wicstowū þæra oðer hatte eldad. 7 o*þ*er meldad ofer ða se gast gereste hi wæron awritene 7 ne eodan ut to ðære eardungstowe. (27) þa hi witegodon on wicstowe þa arn an cnapa 7 cwæð to Moyse eldad 7 meldad witegiað on wicstowū. (28) 7 iosue nunes sunu cwæð hlaford min moyses forbeod him ðæt. (29) Ða cwæð Moyses ne of*þ*ince þe þæ^{t} drihten sylle his gife þā þe he wille. (30) Moyses 7 israheles folces *e*aldras cyrdan to þā wicstowū. (31) Wind com frā drihtne 7 brohte ofer sæ þa fugelas þe *m*an cothurnices hateð 7 sende on þa wicstowa swa feorr swa man on anū dæge gefaren *m*æg on ælce healfe ymbe utan þa wicstowa hi flugon on twegra elna heahnysse *b*ufan. (32) Ða aras þæt folc 7 gaderode ealne dæg 7 ealle þa niht mycle menigeo þæra *f*ugela. Se ðe lytel gegaderode he hæfde tyn gemetu þæs gemetes þe hi chorus

*h*atað 7 hi behwurfon hi butan ðære wicstowe. (33) þa gyt wæs flæsc on heora toðū ne ateo*r*ode him þyllic mete. þa wearð drihten yrre 7 sloh þæt folc mid swiðe mycelū wite 7 hi genemdon þa stowa gewilnunga byrgena þær hi byrgdon þæt folc. (35) 7 hi foron þanon 7 wunedon on asteroth. [*cap. XII.*] (1) Maria 7 aaron ciddon wið moyses for his sigel-hearwanan *w*ife (2) 7 cwædon segst ðu spræc drihten wið moyses ænne. ne spræc he eac wið us. Ða *d*rihten þæt gehyrde þa yrsode he swiðe. (3) moyses soðlice wæs se bilehwiteste man *o*fer ealle men ðe on eorðan wunedon. (4) 7 he cwæð to him 7 to aarone 7 to marian, gað ut *ge* ðreo to ðære *ear*dungstowe. þa hi wæron utagane (5) drihten astah nyðer on genipe 7 *stod on þære stowe dura* 7 *clypode* aaron 7 marian. ða hi eodon (6) þa cwæð he to him gif *hwilc man of eow byð drihtnes witega* ic him æteowe on gesihðe oððe þurh swefen ic *sprece to him.* (7) *nis nan man moyses gelica mines* ðeowan on minū huse se is me eal*ra getreowost* (8) *ic sprece to him muþe to muþe* 7 *openlice* næs ðurh rædels ne ðurh *hiwwinge ondræde ge eow þæt ge ciddon wið moyses minne* ðeow (9) 7 he wat yrre on*gean hi* 7 *þæt genip geswac.* (10) *ða ætywde hrædlice on Marian sc*inende hreofnysse *swa snaw. ða aaron hi beheold* 7 *geseah þæt hyre* lichama wæs afyl*led mid hreoflan.* (11) *ða cwæð he to moyse, ic bidde þe hlaford* min þ ðu ne asette on *unc þas synne þeah wit dyslice dydon.* (12) *þ. maria un*cer swuster ne forwurðe nu is healf hire lichama mid hreofnysse fornumen. (13) moyses þa clypode to drihtne 7 cwæð. drihten god ic bidde þe hæl hi. (14) Drihten hī andswarode 7 cwæð. Gif hire fæd*er* spigette on hire neb hu ne sceolde hire huru þinga sceamigean · vii · dagas. Beo heo asỳndrod · vii · dagas frā oðrū mannū 7 clypie hi man siððan ongean. (15) Maria wæs belo*cen* · vii · dagas buton ðære wicstowe 7 ðæt folc ne styrode na hwider ærðamþe maria wearð *hal* geworden. [*cap. XIII.*] (1) Æfterðamþe moyses se mæra heretoga mid israhela folce swa swa h*im* god bebead ofer ða readan sæ ferde *7* farao adrenced wæs 7 siððan se ælmihtiga go*d* him é geset hæfde ða þa se fyrd com to pharan þā westene (2) Ða cwæð se heofonlica g*od* to þā halgan moỳse. (3) Ceos þe nu men þæt magon sceawian ðone eard chanaan lan*des* þe ic israhela folce forgifan wille to heora gewealde. 7 asend twelf heafodmen of þa*m* twelf mægðū. (4) Ða dyde moyses swa god him bebead 7 sende of þā wæstene þe is genē*ned* pharán twelf sceaweras (5) þe heora naman her synd awritene. Of ruben semmua sechor*es* sunu. (6) Of simeon saphat uries sunu. (7) Of iudas chaleb ieppones sunu. (8) Of isachar ig*al* iosepes sunu. (9) Of effraim osee nunes sunu. (10) Of beniamin psalthi raphues sunu. (11) Of z*a*bulon iedidel sodiys sunu. (12) Of iosep gaddi susius sunu. (13) Of dan

amihel iemallies sunu. (14) Of asér stúr michaheles sunu. (15) Of neptalim naabdi uaphsies sunu. (16) Of gad guel mac*hi*es sunu. (17) Ðis synd þæra manna naman þe moyses sende to sceawigenne chanaan land (18) 7 *þus* cwæð farað geond þone suðdæl 7 sceawiað þ land hwæðer hit wæstmbære sy 7 mid wudu*m* gemengced (20) 7 þa burga gebette. oððe butan weallū 7 hwæðer dæt landfolc sy to gefeoh*te* stranglic oððe untrūlic feawa on getele hwæðer þe fela. (21) 7 feriað mid eow of ðære eor*ðan* wæstmū þonne ge eft cumað. Hit wæs þa se tima þe winberien ripodon. (22) 7 hi ferdon *þa* sona 7 sceawodon þone eard 7 geond feowertig daga ymbferdon þone eard. (24) 7 of þā w*in*bogū mid beriū mid ealle 7 æpplū 7 ofetū eft mid him brohton (27) 7 coman to moyse *þær* he mid þære fyrde wæs on pharán þā westene (28) 7 þas word hī to cwædon. We coman to þā e*arde* þe ge us hetan faran þe flewð witodlice meolce 7 hunie swa swa ge of þissū wæstmū wel oncnawan magon. (29) ac þa strengestan weras wuniað on þā lande 7 mycele burga þær synd 7 mærlice geweallode. Ðær we gesawon enachus *cynryn*. (30) amalech eac *swilce eardað* on þā suðdæle. Etheus on þam muntlandū. 7 *Iebuseus* 7 amorr*eus*. *chanaaneus wið* þa sæ 7 ymbe þa ea iordan. (31) hwæt ða israh*ela bearn endemes hrymdon* 7 *ongean moysen* mycclum ceorodon ac caleph hi *gestilde* 7 *cwæð mid gebylde. uton faran to þā earde* 7 geahnian us þæt land forþan*þe we magon mid mihte hit begitan* (32) Ða *oðre soðlice cwædon* þe mid him asende wæro*n ne mage we faran nateshwon to þā folce þus forþanþe hi* synd strengran þon*ne we* (33) 7 *we þær gesawon of þā entcynne Enachus bearna mycelra* wæstma. þā we ne sy*nd þe gelicran þe lytle gærstapan.* 7 *hi tældon* þ *land mid heora teon*wordū. [*cap. XIV.*] (1) hwæt þa eall s*eo menigeo endemes weop sona* (2) 7 *mycclum ceorodon* 7 cwædon (3) we wisceað ðæt w*e on egipta lande wæron ær dead* 7 *na on þissū westene. we* wisceað swiðor þæt we forwur*ðon her* 7 *us Drihten ne læde us in to þā lande* þ *we þær licgon of*slagene 7 ure wif 7 cild gehergode wurðon. Nis us la betere þæt we bugan ongean to *e*gipta lande (4) 7 ælc cwæð to oþrum utan us gesettan efne nu heretogan 7 uton gecyrran *to* egipta lande. (5) Moyses ða 7 aaron mycclū wurdon astyrode 7 feollan astrehte ætfo*r*an þære meniu. (6) Caleph þa 7 Iosue cwædon to þā folce. (7) þæt land ðe we sceawodon is swiðe *þ*earle gód. (8) Gif drihten us arfæst byð he us in gelæt to þā 7 sylð us þa moldan þe meolce 7 hunie flewð (9) Ne beo ge wiðerræde wið eowerne drihten ne ge ne ondrædan eow. drihten *is* mid us. (10) Ða rymde eal seo meniu 7 mid stanū woldon hi oftorfian. ac godes wuldor *w*earð sona wundorlice æteowod ofer ðæt godes scrin. þær hi on locodon. (11) 7 god cwæð to moyse hu lange tælð þis folc me 7 hu lange ne

gelyfað hi me on eallū þā tacnū þe ic ætforan him dyde. (12) Ic ofslea hi mid cwylde 7 hi fordo mid cwealme 7 ic þe gesette syððan to heretogan ofer myccle þeode strengron þonne þeos. (13) Moyses þa clypode 7 þus cwæð. *to* drihtne. Gif ða egiptiscean gehyrað (14) 7 þa þe her eardiað abutan (15) þ ðu þas meniu *of*slihst. 7 swa swa anne mannan. (16) þonne secgað hi sona þæt ðu ofsloge hi forði þæt ðu ne mihtest hi gelædan to þā lande ðe þu him behete. (17) ac sý þin strengð gemærsod swa *s*wa þu swore. (19) Drihten ic þe bidde þ ðu forgife þisses folces synna æfter mycelnysse *þ*inre mildheortnysse. (20) drihten cwæð to moyse. ic hit forgife æfter þinū worde. (22) swa þeah soðlice ealle þa þe gesawon mine mægenðrymnysse 7 þa mycclan tacna þe ic *w*rohte on egipta lande 7 on þisū westene 7 costnodon me nu tyn siþon 7 mine stemne ne gehyrsumodon (23) ne geseoð hi þæt land þe ic þe foreswor heora fæderum ne nan þæra þe me tælde ne gesihþ þæt land. (24) Caleph 7 Iosue cumað to þā lande. eowre bearn ic læde to þam lande soðlice. (32) 7 eowre líc sceolan licgan on þisū westene. (33) eowre bearn beoð worigende on *þ*isū westene feowertig wintra 7 eower forligr berað oð þæt heora hreaw beon fornumene. (34) æfter þæra feowertigra daga getele þe ge þæt land besceawodon. Gear byð for dæge geteald 7 on feowertigū gearū ge underfoð eowre unrihtwisnysse þæt ge witon mine wrace. (37) Ða wurdon sona ofslagene on godes gesihþe þa tyn sceaweras þe sceawodon þæt land 7 deade nyðerfellon forþanþe hi þæt folc mistihton 7 þæt land tældon (38) 7 þa twegen leofodon *Iosue* 7 *Caleph* 7 hi comon *to þā lan*de. (39) Ða weop þæt folc sare (40) 7 sona on ærne merien *eodon gewæpnode up to* þære *dune* 7 *cwæd*on we synd gearwe nu to gewinnene þæt land. be *þam þe drihten spræc forþanþe we syngodon.* (41) Ða cwæð moyses to andsware hwi ofergæge *ge godes word. Hit ne becymð eow na to nanre spede.* (42) *ne* fare ge ic bidde forþanþe god nis *mid eow* þ *ge ne feallon ætforan eowrū feondū.* (44) *Hi swa* þeah ablende beotlice astigon to *þæs muntes cnæppe.* (45) 7 *þa comon heora fynd amalechitisc folc* 7 Chananeus samod þe ear*dodon on þā munte* 7 *hi mycclū slogon* 7 *ehtende adrifon* oððæt hi comon to horma 7 *moyses wæs stille on ðære wicstowe.* (*God gesette þa moyse mænig*fealde beboda) [*cap.* XVI.] (1) 7 æfter *þā færlice arison feower weras Chore* 7 *Hon Dathan* 7 *Abi*ron (2) ongean moysen *mycclū astyrode* 7 *þridde healf hund of þā yldestū m*annū 7 cwædon to moyse 7 to *aarone·þam sacerde. eall þeos menigeo soðlice syndon hali*gra bearn. 7 god wunað on him. (*Explicit.*)

S. J. Crawford.

Madras.

MILTON ON THE POSITION OF WOMAN.

Writers on the life of Milton usually give prominence to his supposed views on the position of woman, and it is proper that they should, for men, like nations, may be judged in part by the place they give to women. Indeed, because of the beliefs best represented by Dante and Petrarch, whom Milton calls 'those famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura,' a literary critic can hardly escape asking what opinion any poet he considers held on the character, privileges, and duties of women. The student of Milton has an additional reason for examining his author's sentiments about the relations of men and women—namely, that Milton wrote on divorce. But though critics often allude to his interest in divorce, and express positive opinions on the place he assigned to women, no one, not even Masson, has given a sufficiently thorough analysis of his beliefs. The present paper is intended to supply this lack. It deals, however, only with the opinions Milton expressed in his writings, and not with the practice of his life, chiefly because Milton's biographers have not studied his treatment of women so thoroughly and critically that their conclusions can be relied upon[1]. And moreover, notwithstanding Milton's desire to make his whole life 'a true poem,' we may assume that in his writings we have 'the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them.' Since my chief purpose in this study is to make clear Milton's beliefs, I rely largely on quoting his own words, from both his prose and his poetry.

I. Prose Works.

To the subject of divorce Milton devoted four pamphlets, and a considerable portion of Book 1, chapter 10 of his *De Doctrina Christiana*. The first of his pamphlets, *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, Restored to the Good of Both Sexes*, appeared, according to Masson, in August, 1643; there was a second and enlarged edition in February of the next year. Of the two books into which the second edition is divided, the first sets forth the writer's position, and his reasons for

[1] A thorough study of, for example, the reminiscences and traditions about Milton's relations with his daughters is much to be desired.

holding it; the second is concerned with objections and their answers, and makes much use of the Bible. This work substantially gives Milton's theory; the succeeding works amplify, explain, and develop what is laid down in it, but they can hardly be said to modify, and certainly not to contradict, its principles. The work next in order, *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*, appeared in July, 1644. Milton himself contributed a preface, headed *To the Parliament*, and a *Postscript*, but the body of the piece consists of chapters translated by Milton from the Second Book of Bucer's *De Regno Christi*[1]. Milton tells us in his preface that he found himself in complete agreement with Bucer, and published the translation to support what he had previously written. Hence it is proper to regard the opinions expressed in this work as Milton's own. This is the more true because, as he says in the *Postscript*, he has 'epitomized' Bucer, and has followed the 'well-warranted rule not to give an inventory of so many words, but to weigh their force'; yet, so far as I have observed, he is right in asserting that he has done so 'without injury to either part of the cause[2].' Milton's next and longest work is *Tetrachordon: Expositions upon the Four Chief Places in Scripture which Treat of Marriage or Nullities in Marriage.* It appeared in March, 1645, and was written largely in deference to those who wished fuller explanation of the passages of Scripture dealing with divorce, and the citation of more authorities, than had been given in the first pamphlet. It was the result of Milton's zeal to make his theory acceptable to the public[3], and, as he knew, added to what he had already written nothing essential. His remaining work, published in the same month, is entitled *Colasterion: A Reply to a Nameless Answer against The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, Wherein the Trivial Author of that Answer is Discovered, the Licenser Conferred with, and the Opinion which They Traduce Defended.* It is worth the reading of any disposed to carp at Milton's opinions on divorce.

It is apparent from the mere bulk of these works that Milton spent much labour on them. They occupy more pages than his anti-episcopal pamphlets, and almost as many as his Latin *Defences.* During the two years or more in which he was engaged on them he produced, it is true,

[1] Milton used this work as it appears in the volume entitled *Scripta Anglicana*, Basel, 1577, the only volume issued of a projected complete edition of Bucer's works. For other editions of *De Regno Christi* see J. W. Baum, *Capito und Butzer*, p. 609.

[2] See p. 24, *infra*.

[3] On the state of public opinion on divorce, see Masson, *Life of Milton*, vol. III, books 1 and 2, and Chilton L. Powell, *English Domestic Relations, 1487–1653*, chaps. 2 and 3. See also Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, chaps. 9–11.

the tractate *Of Education* and the *Areopagitica*, but these two must have demanded much less time than did the other four.

Moreover, Milton considered these treatises on divorce a significant part of the work of his life. It is apparent from their tone that he regarded them quite as seriously as he did most of his prose writings; in addition he states that he did not take his task lightly, calling heaven to witness 'with what severe industry and examination' of himself he 'set down every period[1].' In fact the prefatory portions—addressed to Parliament—of the three longer works abound with references to his diligence in searching after the truth. This search probably had its beginning long before the time, perhaps early in the year 1643, when Milton began the actual preparation of *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.* At least we read in his earliest biography:

> The lawfulness and expedience of [divorce], duly regulate in order to all those purposes for which marriage was at first instituted, had upon full consideration and reading good authors been formerly his opinion; and the necessity of justifying himself now concurring with the opportunity, acceptable to him, of instructing others in a point of so great concern ... he first writ *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*[2].

But Milton's devotion to truth required of him more than 'study and true labour' in the search for it. As may be learned from the address *To the Parliament* preceding the second edition of *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,* he had been attacked because of the first edition, and expected further attacks because of the second[3]; the addresses prefixed to the two following works show that they were published against a storm[4]. Indeed Milton relieved his feelings by writing the two sonnets *On the Detraction which Followed upon My Writing Certain Treatises.*

Not only did Milton prepare these works with labour and meditation, but he continued to hold the opinions he had announced in them, as is witnessed by his *De Doctrina Christiana,* published posthumously, in which he again sets them forth, with a reference to *Tetrachordon.* In his *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda,* which appeared about ten years after the treatises on divorce, he assigns them a position in the work of his life quite in harmony with the feeling shown in the treatises themselves, writing as follows:

> Since I had decided that there were three kinds of liberty in all, without which any life could scarcely be satisfactorily lived, namely, ecclesiastical liberty, domestic

[1] *The Judgment of Martin Bucer, To the Parliament*, p. 297. This and other references to the works on divorce depend on the Pickering edition (1851) of Milton's *Works*, vol. IV.

[2] *The Earliest Life of Milton*, in the volume entitled *Of Education*, etc. *by John Milton*, edited by Laura E. Lockwood (Riverside Literature Series), p. xxviii.

[3] Cf. *The Judgment of Martin Bucer, To the Parliament*, p. 297.

[4] See also Masson, *loc. cit.*

or private liberty, and civil liberty, and since I had now written on the first, and had seen that the magistracy was zealously engaged on the third, and that the second remained, I took domestic liberty for my province. Since this also seemed threefold, if the conjugal relation and the training of children[1] should be properly ordered, and if there should be opportunity to think freely[1], I explained what I had perceived not merely on the proper contracting of marriage, but also on the proper dissolving of it; and I justified divorce according to the divine law which Christ did not remove, and for which he did not, like a civil lawyer, substitute another more severe than the whole Mosaic law. On what ought to be believed concerning fornication, which alone was excepted, I expressed my own opinion and that of others, and a very famous man, our countryman Selden, has more fully demonstrated it in his *Uxor Hebraica*, published about two years after. For it is vain for a man to make a great outcry about freedom in public assemblies and in the market-place, if at home he serves his inferior with a servitude most unworthy of a man. Hence on this matter I published several books, especially since at that time husband and wife were often the bitterest enemies, and the husband was at home with the children, while the mother of the family resided in the camp of the enemy, menacing death and ruin to her husband[2].

This passage reveals the connexion between Milton's writings on divorce and his lifelong effort for liberty. The amount of labour spent on these treatises, the permanence in the author's mind of the opinions he expressed in them, the tone in which in later years he mentioned them, and above all the spirit animating them, declare them representative expressions of Milton's character and beliefs[3].

The problem of marriage and divorce, as the quotation shows, was in his mind inseparably associated with matters of the utmost importance to the individual and the state. Public affairs could not go well when domestic matters went badly. We frequently meet such expressions as the following:

> Farewell all hope of true reformation in the state, while such an evil as this [i.e., household unhappiness] lies undiscerned or unregarded in the house. On the redress whereof depends not only the spiritual and orderly life of our grown men, but the willing and careful education of our children[4].

[1] Milton here refers to *Of Education* and the *Areopagitica*, composed during the period when he was writing on divorce. He speaks of them in sentences following those here quoted.

[2] *Defensio Secunda*, Pickering ed., vol. vi, p. 291.

[3] Since preparing my paper I have consulted Chilton L. Powell's *English Domestic Relations, 1487–1653* (New York, 1917), and found his conclusions on Milton's beliefs generally in agreement with what I had written. He gives evidence (pp. 225–31), in part consisting of biographical details outside the scope of my paper, to show that the first of Milton's tracts on divorce was written so early that it 'had no connection whatever with his own domestic life.' I am sure that Milton's interest in divorce was at least the result of something in addition to, and much higher than, a mere feeling that he had been injured by his wife, yet I cannot wholly accept Dr Powell's conclusion, though it would fortify my own. He overlooks *The Earliest Life of Milton* (see p. 9, *supra*), which plausibly, and I suspect truly, represents Milton as moved to write on divorce partly by zeal for the public welfare, and partly by resentment at the conduct of his wife; thus it suggests that Phillips' statement, that the poet wrote on divorce as a result of his own experience, has more weight than Dr Powell gives it. If this is true, Dr Powell's biographical discussion, though valuable, is not final.

[4] *Divorce, To the Parl.*, p. 10. For a similar expression see *Bucer: Divorce, To the Parl.*, p. 294.

Milton often declares that the troubles of an unfortunate marriage make men 'dead to the commonwealth[1],' and 'unprofitable and dangerous to the commonwealth[2].' Yet the connexion between happy marriages and the training of children is in itself sufficient to account for Milton's interest in divorce, for he believed that nothing was more necessary to the vitality of the state than suitable education[3].

Turning to the doctrines set forth in the treatises, we find Milton certain that the husband should be the head of the house, and that the wife should be subordinate; he asks: 'Who can be ignorant that woman was created for man, and not man for woman?[4]' Yet this rule that the husband should be the head is subject to exceptions. It is, Milton admits, 'something reasonable' for a wife to contend 'who shall be the head in point of house-rule' 'for any parity of wisdom[5].' Also, saying of man that 'it is no small glory to him that a creature so like him' as is woman should be made subject to him, Milton continues:

> Not but that particular exceptions may have place, if she exceed her husband in prudence and dexterity, and he contentedly yield, for then a superior and more natural law comes in, that the wiser should govern the less wise, whether male or female[6].

But these exceptions serve to make clear his general opinion, founded on the Scriptures, for example 1 Corinthians 11. 3–9. As a result Milton was contemptuous of a man under the government of an inferior wife. One of his charges against the character of Salmasius was that he lived in fear of a shrew. And he remarks on King Charles' praise of his Queen that she may have been a good wife, but was a bad subject, and continues:

> He ascribes rudeness and barbarity worse than Indian to the English parliament, and all virtue to his wife, in strains that come almost to sonneting. How fit to govern men, undervaluing and aspersing the great council of his kingdom, in comparison of one woman. Examples are not far to seek, how great mischief and dishonour hath befallen to nations under the government of effeminate and uxorious magistrates, who, being themselves governed and overswayed at home under a feminine usurpation, cannot but be far short of spirit and authority without doors, to govern a whole nation[7].

As Milton said in the extended quotation from the *Defensio Secunda* already given, the slave at home could not be the free man abroad.

Yet though Milton is sure of the superior position of the husband,

[1] *Tetrachordon*, Deut. 24. 1, 2, p. 193.
[2] *Divorce* 1. 2, p. 24.
[3] *Of Education*, first paragraph; *Defensio Secunda*, p. 291.
[4] *Divorce* 2. 15, p. 99.
[5] *Ibid.* 2. 15, pp. 99, 100.
[6] *Tetrachordon*, Gen. 1. 27, p. 147.
[7] *Eikonoclastes*, Sect. 7, Pickering ed., vol. III, p. 388.

he is far from placing the wife under despotic power, and depriving her of all independence.

In the first place, unlike many of his contemporaries, he would have marriages contracted only with the free consent of the parties; for example he writes:

> As for the custom that some parents and guardians have of forcing marriages, it will be better to say nothing of such a savage inhumanity, but only thus, that the law which gives not all freedom of divorce to any creature endued with reason so assassinated is next in cruelty[1].

Marriage should result from love on both sides, and the cause that leads 'them both at first to think without other revelation that God had joined them together' is 'their esteemed fitness one for the other[2].' It is only 'the uniting of another compliable mind[3]' that constitutes a true marriage. It would be well if before marriage both parties had 'thoroughly discerned each other's disposition,' but if this has not been done, and the couple find a 'powerful reluctance and recoil of nature on either side blasting all the content of their mutual society,' 'such persons are not lawfully married[4].' In the following passage consent before marriage is taken for granted, and 'consent' further interpreted:

> As for consent of parents and guardians, it seems rather a concurrence than a cause [of marriage]; for as many that marry are in their own power as not; and where they are not their own, yet are they not subjected beyond reason....Until [the parties' consent] be, the marriage hath no true being. When I say consent, I mean not error, for error is not properly consent. And why should not consent be here understood with equity and good to either part, as in all other friendly covenants, and not be strained and cruelly urged to the mischief and destruction of both? Neither do I mean that singular act of consent which made the contract, for that may remain, and yet the marriage not true nor lawful; and that may cease, and yet the marriage both true and lawful, to their sin that break it....That consent I mean which is a love fitly disposed to mutual help and comfort of life[5].

This passage on 'consent' is part of Milton's comment on his definition of marriage, which is as follows:

> Marriage is a divine institution joining man and woman in a love fitly disposed to the helps and comforts of domestic life[6].

As further comment on the definition shows, this 'love' and these 'helps and comforts' are mutual, and intended for the benefit of women as well as for that of men; and the same thought often appears elsewhere. Even the title of Milton's first pamphlet speaks of divorce as 'restored to the good of both sexes.' In the Bible we read that 'it is not good that the man should be alone,' but Milton, going beyond the Scripture,

[1] *Divorce* 1. 12, p. 52.
[2] *Ibid.* 1. 13, p. 54.
[3] *Ibid.* 2. 16, p. 102.
[4] *Ibid.* 1. 10, p. 47.
[5] *Tetrachordon*, Gen. 2. 24, p. 173.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

though evidently depending on it, would have husband and wife 'be to one another a remedy against loneliness[1].' To illustrate 'matrimonial love' Milton relates a Platonic myth, which he calls a 'deep and serious verity, shewing us that love in marriage cannot live nor subsist unless it be mutual[2].' In commenting on 1 Corinthians 7. 12 he says it is plain that 'there must be a joint assent and good liking on both sides[3].' Further, 'marriage was ordained ... for mutual help and comfort of life[4].' Again we read:

> Marriage to be a true and pious marriage is not in the single power of any person; the essence whereof, as in all other covenants, is in relation to another; the making and maintaining causes thereof are all mutual, and must be a communion of spiritual and temporal comforts. If then either of them cannot, or obstinately will not be answerable in these duties, so as that the other can have no peaceful living, or enduring the want of what he justly seeks, and sees no hope, then straight from that dwelling love, which is the soul of wedlock, takes his flight,...but the true bond of marriage, if there were ever any there, is already burst like a rotten thread[5].
>
> And who of weakest insight may not see that this creating of them male and female cannot in any order of reason or Christianity be of such moment against the better and higher purposes of their creation, as to enthrall husband or wife to duties or to sufferings unworthy and unbeseeming the image of God in them?[6]

Obviously marriage exists for the benefit of wives as well as for that of husbands.

Hence husband and wife are both under obligation so to conduct themselves as to assure the happiness and benefits of marriage to each other, the husband as head of the house, and the wife as meet help. As we read in Milton's translation from Bucer:

> [It is necessary] that the husband bear himself as the head and preserver of his wife, instructing her to all godliness and integrity of life; that the wife also be to her husband a help, according to her place, especially furthering him in the true worship of God, and next in all the occasions of civil life[7].

The duties of the husband are summed up and put on the highest level by the several times repeated likening of the relation of husband and wife to that of Christ and the Church, Milton's type, taken from St Paul, of a perfect marriage. For example, he writes that the 'woman ought in such wise to be loved as the Church is beloved of Christ[8],' and translates from Bucer:

> God requires of them both so to live together, and to be united not only in body, but in mind also, with such an affection as none may be dearer and more ardent among all the relations of mankind, nor of more efficacy to the mutual offices

[1] *Divorce* 1. Pref., p. 16.
[2] *Ibid.* 1. 6, p. 33.
[3] *Ibid.* 1. 8, p. 43.
[4] *Ibid.* 2. 17, p. 105.
[5] *Tetrachordon*, Deut. 24. 1, 2, p. 191.
[6] *Ibid.*, Gen. 1. 27, p. 150.
[7] *Bucer: Divorce*, chap. 39, p. 330. See *ibid.*, chap. 38, p. 329, and also *Tetrachordon*, Gen. 2. 24, p. 169.
[8] *Tetrachordon*, Gen. 1. 27, p. 149.

of love and loyalty. They must communicate and consent in all things both divine and human which have any moment to well and happy living. The wife must honour and obey her husband as the Church honours and obeys Christ her head. The husband must love and cherish his wife, as Christ his Church[1].

Milton does not specify duties, knowing that particular actions would at the proper time be suggested by helpful love and consent; and moreover he is writing primarily on divorce, not on the duties of marriage. His power of confining himself to his subject explains also why he does not speak of qualities, possessed by husband or wife, other than those directly concerned with marriage. He recognizes this in commenting on his definition of marriage:

If any shall ask, why *domestic* in the definition? I answer that because both in the Scriptures and in the gravest poets and philosophers I find the properties and excellencies of a wife set out only from domestic virtues; if they extend further, it diffuses them into the notion of some more common duty than matrimonial[2].

As many of the preceding quotations suggest, in Milton's view mental harmony and helpfulness are essential in marriage, and physical relations are subordinate, though the poet declares them blameless and holy. For example, he says that when marriage was instituted, the words 'they shall be one flesh' were used 'to prevent and abolish the suspect of pollution in that natural and undefiled act[3].' He attacks those who grant divorce for a failure to fulfil the physical, and hence less important, end of marriage, and refuse it for failure to fulfil its higher ends:

This I amaze me at, that though all the superior and nobler ends both of marriage and of the married persons be absolutely frustrate, the matrimony stirs not, looses no hold, remains as rooted as the centre; but if the body bring but in a complaint of frigidity, by that cold application only this adamantine Alp of wedlock has leave to dissolve, which else all the machinations of religious or civil reason at the suit of a distressed mind, either for divine worship or humane conversation violated, cannot unfasten....They can neither serve God together, nor one be at peace with the other, nor be good in the family one to other, but live as they were dead, or live as they were deadly enemies in a cage together; 'tis all one, they can couple, they shall not divorce till death, no, though this sentence be their death. What is this besides tyranny, but to turn nature upside down, to make both religion and the mind of man wait upon the slavish errands of the body, and not the body to follow either the sanctity or the sovereignty of the mind unspeakably wronged, and with all equity complaining? What is this but to abuse the sacred and mysterious bed of marriage to be the compulsive sty of an ingrateful and malignant lust, stirred up only from a carnal acrimony, without either love or peace, or regard to anything holy or human?[4]

He more than once attacks this 'fathomless absurdity' of putting the body first, though he was equally opposed to those who rated celibacy higher than marriage. Indeed, he thought that adultery was 'not the

[1] *Bucer: Divorce*, chap. 38, p. 329.
[2] *Tetrachordon*, Gen. 2. 24, p. 174.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 174.
[4] *Ibid.*, Gen. 2. 18, p. 158.

greatest breach of matrimony[1],' declaring that 'a perpetual unmeetness and unwillingness to all the duties of help, of love and tranquillity... much more breaks matrimony than the act of adultery though repeated[2].'

Milton's great assertion is that marriage is concerned first with the mind and then with the body, and this is reiterated:

> It is a greater blessing from God, more worthy so excellent a creature as man is, and a higher end to honour and sanctify the league of marriage, whenas the solace and satisfaction of the mind is regarded and provided for before the sensitive pleasing of the body. And with all generous persons married thus it is, that where the mind and person pleases aptly, there some unaccomplishment of the body's delight may be better borne with, than when the mind hangs off in an unclosing disproportion, though the body be as it ought; for there all corporal delight will soon become unsavoury and contemptible[3].
>
> I suppose it will be allowed us that marriage is a human society, and that all human society must proceed from the mind rather than the body, else it would be but a kind of animal or beastish meeting; if the mind, therefore, cannot have that due company by marriage that it may reasonably and humanly desire, that marriage can be no human society, but a certain formality[4].
>
> God is no deceitful giver, to bestow that on us for a remedy of loneliness, which if it bring not a sociable mind as well as a conjunctive body, leaves us no less alone than before[5].

Since it is Milton's basis of argument that marriage consists 'not so much in body, as in unity of mind and heart[6],' this thought is continually expressed or implied. This harmony of the mind, or agreement of soul, amounts to full spiritual sympathy and understanding, the ability to see and appreciate the character of the consort, and to furnish reviving help and solace.

The companionship Milton has in mind can be furnished to a man only by a woman, and not by a male friend. The belief of St Augustine, who thought that 'manly friendship had been a more becoming solace for Adam, than to spend so many secret years in an empty world with one woman,' the poet refutes as follows:

> Our writers deservedly reject this crabbed opinion; and defend that there is a peculiar comfort in the married state besides the genial bed, which no other society affords....We cannot always be contemplative or pragmatical abroad, but have need of some delightful intermissions, wherein the enlarged soul may leave off a while her severe schooling, and like a glad youth in wandering vacancy may keep her holidays to joy and harmless pastime; which as she cannot well do without company, so in no company so well as where the different sex in most resembling unlikeness and most unlike resemblance cannot but please best and be pleased in the aptitude of that variety[7].

An essential to mental sympathy is obviously harmony of nature, and if this does not exist marriage fails of its ends without any blame on

[1] *Divorce* 1. 9, p. 45.
[2] *Tetrachordon*, Matt. 19. 9, p. 240.
[3] *Divorce* 1. 2, p. 24.
[4] *Ibid.* 1. 13, p. 52.
[5] *Tetrachordon*, Gen. 2. 18, p. 156.
[6] *Ibid.*, Gen. 2. 23, p. 162.
[7] *Ibid.*, Gen. 2. 18, p. 155.

the part of either husband or wife. Milton clearly understood that there are great and inborn differences in the dispositions of men, and had little patience with the unduly stern moralist who would force to remain in union those whose natures could not become harmonious. In fact, one of his purposes in writing on divorce was to give relief to those innocent ones whose happiness was destroyed, without their sin, by marriage with one who proved to have a nature wholly unsuitable; for he scorned the uncharitable advice that such should bear their affliction with patience as something given for their discipline. He rather wished the nature of a man to be developed in happiness by what best suited it, writing as follows:

> How miserably do we defraud ourselves of that comfortable portion which God gives us, by striving vainly to glue an error together which God and nature will not join; adding but more vexation and violence to that blissful society by our importunate superstition, that will not hearken to St Paul—1 Cor. 7—, who, speaking of marriage and divorce, determines plain enough in general that God hath called us to peace and not to bondage[1].

Milton believed that a marriage of those whose minds were not by nature compliant was not a true marriage, and compassion demanded its dissolution because of the sorrow it would bring. Love and hatred in man were often not moral, but natural, and hence, as the work of the Creator, to be respected. That like should feel love for like, and join with it, was proper, but to endeavour to force together unlikes was to oppose God, nature, and reason. Milton's theory of divorce is based, then, on a conception according to which unions should take place only between those whose natures are mutually attractive, and should be continued only so long as the natures of husband and wife remain harmonious; the unwise and disastrous attempts of men to uphold marriages in which the parties are by nature repellent should cease.

It is evident, then, that the chief ground for divorce in Milton's eyes was what we now call incompatibility. He was not so foolish as to suppose that marriages could now be 'in perfection, as at first[2],' and evidently expected, as a result of human frailty, some disagreements between husband and wife, without rupture of their union, but when the conditions became intolerable, destroying the happiness of one or both of the partners, making them useless or dangerous to the state, and even driving them to atheism, then a divorce was, he believed, a 'less breach of wedlock...than still to soil and profane that mystery of joy and union with a polluting sadness and perpetual distemper[3].'

[1] *Divorce* 1. 6, p. 34.
[2] *Ibid.* 2. 9, p. 84. Cf. also *Colasterion*, pp. 350, 375.
[3] *Divorce* 1. 6, p. 35.

Since natural repulsion, which may not have issued in any overt act, is the chief reason for separation, Milton does not require legal proofs and processes for divorce, but makes it a private matter for the couple themselves, to be decided according to their own consciences. Three reasons are given why it should not be given over to trial by law[1]. First, such trial is 'impertinent,' 'because ofttimes the causes of seeking divorce reside so deeply in the radical and innocent affections of nature, as is not within the diocese of law to tamper with.' The inmost affections of man do not lie in the province of the law. Second, the law is 'helpless' because it cannot, by forbidding divorce, cause husband and wife to have for each other the love essential to a true marriage. Third, trial by law is 'hurtful.' The exposures of private matters in a trial are unseemly; to attempt to force love, or to link together the unwilling, produces only hate; and to prohibit divorce is to punish the innocent with the guilty.

The law, however, does have its place. It is, in case of need, to indicate the disposal of the children[2], and always to see that the conditions of divorce[3], as in respect to property, are 'just and equal.' But over the separation itself the law has no control. Obviously, then, there is no such thing as the legal device of separation from bed and board without annulment of the marriage, and there is no forbidding even the guilty party to marry again. All divorces are absolute.

The form of divorce is copied from the law of Moses, specifying that the husband may give his wife a 'bill of divorcement.' Milton would have it carried out as follows:

> This only must be provided, that the ancient manner be observed in presence of the minister and other grave selected elders; who—after they shall have admonished and pressed upon him the words of our Saviour, and he shall have protested in the faith of the eternal Gospel, and the hope he has of happy resurrection that otherwise than thus he cannot do, and thinks himself and this his case not contained in that prohibition of divorce which Christ pronounced, the matter not being of malice, but of nature, and so not capable of reconciling—to constrain him further were to unchristen him, to unman him, to throw the mountain of Sinai upon him, with the weight of the whole law to boot, flat against the liberty and essence of the Gospel, and yet nothing available either to the sanctity of marriage, the good of husband, wife, or children, nothing profitable either to Church or commonwealth, but hurtful and pernicious to all these respects[4].

Milton was well aware that such facility of divorce might be abused by the licentious, but he was willing to incur the risk, and rather than deprive the guiltless of their due redress, would permit the evil to be

[1] *Divorce* 2. 21, p. 120 ff.
[2] *Tetrachordon*, Deut. 24. 1, 2, p. 193.
[3] *Divorce* 2. 21, p. 120 ff. passim.
[4] *Ibid.* 2. 22, p. 129.

bound over to the court of conscience alone. He courageously declares:

> No man denies that best things may be abused; but it is a rule resulting from many pregnant experiences that what doth most harm in the abusing, used rightly doth most good. And such a good to take away from honest men, for being abused by such as abuse all things, is the greatest abuse of all[1].

Divorce, like marriage itself, is for Milton properly and preferably a matter of agreement between husband and wife, at least in the case of those who, being morally blameless, discover after marriage that they cannot, because of irreconcilable natures, properly be united. Commenting on Matthew 19. 3, he remarks:

> It may be questionable whether the rigour of [Christ's] sentence did not forbid only such putting away as is without mutual consent, in a violent and harsh manner, or without any reason but will....If divorce be no unjust thing,...and can be no injury where consent is, there can be nothing in the equity of law why divorce by consent may not be lawful[2].

And divorce, including the disposal of children, by mutual consent, is several times mentioned, as in the following:

> The absolute and final hindering of divorce cannot belong to any civil or earthly power, against the will and consent of both parties, or of the husband alone[3].

If divorce by consent is the most desirable kind, yet, as the last quotation shows, and as is made plain by Deuteronomy 24. 1—the passage, often used by Milton, giving the husband the power of writing a bill of divorcement—the right of divorce also resides in the husband without the consent of the wife, though he may not injure her by harshness in the terms. Yet divorce is also free to the wife, as might be inferred from what has been pointed out on the mutual character of the relations of husband and wife, and the necessity that marriage be made happy for both, and not for one only. The point is not laboured, for Milton's purpose in writing was not to assert that women as well as men were entitled to divorce, but to assert the principle that divorce 'to the good of both sexes' should be freely permitted. Yet he makes clear that wives have the privilege of divorce, writing as follows:

> If divorce were granted, as Beza and others say,...to release afflicted wives, certainly it is not only a dispensation but a most merciful law, and why it should not yet be in force, being wholly as needful, I know not what can be in cause but senseless cruelty[4].

In the translation from Bucer the idea appears often, and the wife is given practically the same rights as the husband. For example, Bucer

[1] *Tetrachordon*, Deut. 24. 1, 2, p. 195.
[2] *Ibid.*, Matt. 19. 3, pp. 208–9.
[3] *Divorce* 2. 21, p. 120.
[4] *Ibid.* 2. 15, p. 99.

concludes that a husband or wife deserted is not bound, but may lawfully marry again[1]. Milton, instead of translating Bucer's chapter entitled, 'An liceat et mulieribus repudiare viros adulteros, et aliis nubere,' merely renders the title, 'That it is lawful for a wife to leave an adulterer, and to marry another husband,' and adds: 'This is generally granted, and therefore excuses me the writing out[2].' In fact Milton's hearty commendation of Bucer's treatise, which, especially in its complete form[3], plainly grants divorce to women as well as to men, is in itself a sufficient argument that Milton also favoured liberty of divorce for wives[4]. If he had objected to Bucer's free grant of divorce to women he would not have hesitated to express his difference of opinion. In *Tetrachordon* he often allows divorce to wives, as in the following:

> If there be found between the pair a notorious disparity either of wickedness or heresy, the husband by all manner of right is disengaged from such a creature, not made and inflicted on him to the vexation of his righteousness; the wife also, as her subjection is terminated in the Lord, being herself the redeemed of Christ, is not still bound to be the vassal of him who is the bondslave of Satan, she being now neither the image nor the glory of such a person, nor made for him, nor left in bondage to him, but hath recourse to the wing of charity, and protection of the Church, unless there be a hope on either side; yet such a hope must be meant as may be a rational hope, and not an endless servitude[5].
>
> A bad wife is a help for the devil[6], and the like may be said of a bad husband. Since, therefore, none but a fit and pious matrimony can signify the union of Christ and his Church, there cannot hence be any hindrance of divorce to that wedlock wherein there can be no good mystery[7].
>
> Conclude, therefore, by all the power of reason, that where this essence of

[1] *Bucer: Divorce*, chap. 41, p. 334.

[2] *Ibid.* chap. 34, p. 323. [3] See p. 24, *infra*.

[4] Selden, for whose *De Jure Naturali et Gentium* Milton expressed great admiration (*Divorce* 2. 22, p. 126; *Areopagitica*, p. 410), states in that work that women have by nature rights to divorce equal to those of men, and points out that this right has at various times in the past been recognized (book 5, chap. 7). Compare also his later work, *Uxor Ebraica, seu de Nuptiis et Divortiis...Veterum Ebraeorum* (chaps. 19 and 22), approved of by Milton in his *Defensio Secunda* (Pickering ed., vol. VI, p. 291). Perkins, in a work mentioned by Milton in *Divorce* 2. 13, p. 95, writes: 'The straitness of this law appears in this, that the man only was permitted to give this bill unto his wife, but the wife might not give it to her husband;...neither is there any place in Scripture to prove that the wife had this liberty so to deal with her husband. If it be asked whether the wife in a just cause, as for adultery, had not the like liberty, I answer: If we respect God's institution touching marriage, the right of divorce is equal to them both, for in regard of the bond of marriage they are equally bound one to another....If it be alleged that a man is the woman's head, I answer: That is for regiment and direction in her place, but not in regard of breaking the bond of marriage, whereby he is bound to his wife, as well as she to him' (*An Exposition of Christ's Sermon on the Mount*, on Matthew 5. 31, 32). In his *Christian Oeconomie* (chap. 10) he states: 'In requiring of a divorce, there is an equal right and power in both parties, so as the woman may require it as well as the man' (quoted by Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 80). Dr Powell says further that in holding 'the equality of man and woman in divorce suits' 'Milton does not go beyond the views of the more radical Puritan writers' (*op. cit.*, p. 95; compare also p. 98).

[5] *Tetrachordon*, Gen. 1. 27, p. 149.

[6] This clause, Milton says, 'Paraeus cites out of Chrysostom.' Paraeus is at present not accessible to me, and I have not been able to find the exact words in Chrysostom. All signs indicate, however, that the second half of the sentence is Milton's own.

[7] *Tetrachordon*, Gen. 2. 24, p. 168.

marriage [*i.e.*, 'consent'] is not, there can be no true marriage; and the parties, either one of them, or both, are free, and without fault, rather by a nullity than by a divorce, may betake them to a second choice; if their present condition be not tolerable to them[1].

In commenting on Deuteronomy 22, which forbids a man to divorce a wife he has falsely accused of coming to him not a virgin, Milton says that the prohibition was in part the punishment of a defamer, 'yet not so but that the wife questionless might depart when she pleased[2]'; and elsewhere he explains that 'liberty to depart from her false accuser' is granted 'lest his hatred should prove mortal; else that law peculiarly made to right the woman had turned to her greatest mischief[3].' In his exegesis of 1 Corinthians 7, as the clause 'a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases' makes natural, Milton explicitly grants liberty of divorce to either husband or wife; and he gives the permission the widest scope by explaining that the unbeliever to whom, according to St Paul, the brother or sister is not bound, is one who is either unable or unwilling to 'perform what the main ends of marriage demand in help or solace[4].' Milton also quotes with approval a passage from Bucer which he had previously 'for brevity omitted':

> It will be the duty of pious princes, and all who govern Church or commonwealth, if any, whether husband or wife, shall affirm their want of such who either will, or can tolerably perform the necessary duties of married life, to grant them that they may seek them such, and marry them; if they make it appear that such they have not[5].

It is especially important to understand, as the foregoing passages, and others that might be instanced, reveal, that Milton grants to wives substantially the same rights of divorce as to husbands[6], for, unfortunately, writers on divorce and on the life of Milton often incorrectly state that he did not give consideration to the wife.

This regrettable error is so wide-spread that it is well to enquire why it has come to be so general.

One of the chief reasons is to be found in the traditional opinion

[1] *Tetrachordon*, Gen. 2. 24, p. 174.
[2] *Ibid.*, Deut. 24. 1, 2, p. 189.
[3] *Colasterion*, p. 352.
[4] *Tetrachordon*, 1 Cor. 7. 10, p. 260.
[5] *Tetrachordon, That the Pope's Canon Law*, etc., p. 278. Misled by a misprint in the edition of Bucer he used (see p. 8, note 1, *supra*), Milton refers this to chap. 49; it is from chap. 45. Other passages giving the right of divorce to women are quoted on pp. 12, 13, *supra*, and 23, *infra*.
[6] My conclusion agrees with that of Dr Powell (*op. cit.*, pp. 74, 96, 98). The same opinion was held by the anonymous author of *An Answer to...The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, whom Dr Powell (p. 96) quotes as follows: 'All his [Milton's] arguments to prove a man may put away his wife for disagreement of mind or disposition, except it be his argument from Deuteronomy 24. 1,...prove as effectually that the wife may sue a divorce from her husband upon the same grounds.'

about Milton, formed by men to whom his liberal ideas on Church and state—which led him to attack Anglican bishops and defend regicide—had made him personally an object of abhorrence, however truly the same writers may have appreciated his poetry. One of the most powerful in forming and transmitting this tradition that Milton, though a great man, was detestable in character, has been Dr Johnson, who remarks in his *Life of Milton* that 'there appears in his books something like a Turkish contempt for females.' However, notwithstanding this misleading tradition, an attentive perusal of even one of the works on divorce, as I hope the preceding pages have made clear, could not fail to show that Milton gave women much consideration, and held a lofty ideal of their relation to men. Certainly any writer who can state that Milton did not allow wives the right of divorce must have the eyes of his understanding so blinded by the tradition that he cannot properly be said to have read what Milton has written. Nevertheless it is possible to find some excuse for a hasty reader, innocently affected by the tradition, and not familiar with Milton and his age.

In the first place, Milton, like Bucer[1], holds to the doctrine that wives should be subject to their husbands. It has been observed, however, that the power given the husband is not so terrible as it sounds in the ears of our generation, that the husband is far from being a despot, and that the wife, when finding him a consort not to her liking, has the remedy of divorce. In other words, the wife is not obliged to submit to the husband's headship of the family further than her sympathy with him inclines her to. A wife who has these rights, who is the image and companion of man only as man, through holiness and wisdom, is the image of God, and who is to be loved by her husband as the Church is loved by Christ, is not exactly in servitude. Yet Milton's references to the subordination of the wife are not mere words. He undoubtedly did believe that, with exceptions[2], a wife should follow rather than lead; still in writing on divorce for 'the good of both sexes' he shows that a wife, being entitled to the privileges of a free Christian, has, as he puts it, in divorce a 'just appeal against wrong and servitude[3].'

The second reason why the husband's side of the matter is more obvious in the treatises than the wife's is that Milton deals with the Biblical passages on divorce, most of which, especially in the Old Testa-

[1] *Bucer: Divorce*, chaps. 21, 38, pp. 311, 329. Bucer writes to the same effect in his comment on Matthew 19. 5 (*Enarrationes Perpetuae in Sacra Quatuor Evangelia*, Strassburg, 1530, p. 150 c).

[2] See p. 11, *supra*.

[3] *Tetrachordon*, Deut. 24. 1, 2, p. 186.

ment, refer to Oriental society. Naturally, when Milton writes about these passages he falls into their language. But Milton is far from applying the language of the Old Testament to men alone, though he only occasionally pauses to explain this. In his comment on Deuteronomy 22, which under certain conditions forbids divorce to the husband, Milton adds, without a shred of support in the text, that 'the wife questionless might depart when she pleased[1].' Similarly, in his first comment on Deuteronomy 24. 1, he brings in the proviso, 'especially that there be mutual consent[2],' wholly unsuggested by the text itself. He later specifically applies the same verse to wives:

> Although there be nothing in the plain words of this law that seems to regard the afflictions of a wife, how great so ever, yet expositors determine, and doubtless determine rightly, that God was not uncompassionate of them also in the framing of this law. For should the rescript of Antoninus in the Civil Law give release to servants flying for refuge to the Emperor's statue, by giving leave to change their cruel masters, and should God, who in his law also is good to injured servants, by granting them their freedom in divers cases, not consider the wrongs and miseries of a wife which is no servant?[3]

Bucer also, as paraphrased by Milton, speaks of this law as 'provided for injured husbands and wives ('conjugibus')[4].' It is sufficiently evident that, in Milton's writings, quotations from the Scriptures giving the right of divorce to the husband are to be assumed to allow it, by inference, also to the wife.

Yet some of the passages where he specifically allows it to the wife have caused difficulty. Beza and other commentators thought that Deuteronomy 24. 1 allowed divorce solely for the relief of 'afflicted wives.' Milton accepts the grant to women, but refutes the idea that it is granted to them alone, on the ground that if allowed to wives, it surely is allowed to husbands, who are the heads of their wives. His insistence on the greater worthiness of men has led hasty readers to suppose that he was denying the right of divorce to wives, when on the contrary he is granting it, and using it *a fortiori* to prove that divorce must also be a right of husbands[5].

In the New Testament women are given more consideration than in the Old. St Paul, for example, recognizes that a Christian sister deserted by an unbeliever is as free as a brother. Milton himself

[1] *Tetrachordon*, Deut. 24. 1, 2, p. 189. [2] *Divorce* 1. 1, p. 21.
[3] *Tetrachordon*, Deut. 24. 1, 2, p. 187. See also p. 191.
[4] *Bucer: Divorce*, chap. 27, p. 320.
[5] *Divorce* 2. 15, p. 99; *Tetrachordon*, Deut. 24. 1, 2, p. 188. Similarly Bucer (*Enarrationes in Evangelia*), in his comment on Matthew 19. 5, says that in the perfect state of man, divorce would not be allowed to husbands, much less to wives ('non igitur licebit marito repudiare uxorem, multo minus uxori virum').

realized this, and wrote concerning the law of marriage made in the time of Theodosius and Valentinian, 'pious emperors both,' as follows:

> And further saith that law...we desire that a husband or a wife distressed by some adverse necessity should be freed, though by an unhappy, yet a necessary release. What dram of wisdom or religion (for charity is truest religion)...is not virtually summed up in this most just law? As for those other Christian emperors,...finding the Roman law in this point so answerable to the Mosaic, it might be the likeliest cause why they altered nothing to restraint, but if ought, rather to liberty, for the help and consideration of the weaker sex, according as the Gospel seems to make the wife more equal to her husband in these conjugal respects than the law of Moses doth[1].

A third reason, in addition to Milton's assertion of the authority of the husband, and his citation of passages of Scripture in which the wife is not mentioned, why a hasty reader may suppose that Milton overlooks the rights of the wife, is that he uses 'man' in the sense of 'mankind,' and, necessarily, 'he' as the pronoun of common gender. For example, in the following 'he' is obviously of common gender, as the word 'either' at the beginning shows:

> If then either of them cannot...be answerable in these duties, so as that the other can have no peaceable living, or enduring the want of what he justly seeks, and sees no hope, then straight from that dwelling love...takes his flight. Then follows...temptation even in the faultless person, weary of himself, and of all action public or domestic....Therefore God...when through another's default faith and concord cannot be, counts it neither just to punish the innocent with the transgressor, nor holy[2].

In the following, the pronoun is used for both the good and the evil partner in the same marriage:

> Man or wife who hates in wedlock...cannot be said to care for who should be dearest in the house; therefore is worse than an infidel in both regards, either in undertaking a duty which he cannot perform, to the undeserved and unspeakable injury of the other party so defrauded and betrayed, or not performing what he hath undertaken, whenas he may or might have, to the perjury of himself more irreligious than heathenism. The blameless person hath therefore as good a plea to sue out his delivery from this bondage as from the desertion of an infidel[3].

I do not intend to suggest that there are not a large number of passages to which the qualifications suggested apply only indirectly, and in which Milton speaks from the side of the husband. Being a man himself, in an age when women had fewer 'rights' than at present, he naturally spoke often as though for the husband alone. But since in a number of cases he does give consideration to the wife, and does clearly allow her liberty of divorce on the same terms as the husband, his less specific references to the rights of the husband in divorce are to be understood as implying something for the wife as well. This

[1] *Tetrachordon*, *Who among the Fathers*, etc., p. 269.
[2] *Tetrachordon*, Deut. 24. 1, 2, p. 191.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1 Cor. 7. 10, p. 260.

appears in his rendering of Bucer's forty-third chapter. In the original the rights of the wife to the privilege of divorce are made plain with legal fullness, for after making a statement about the husband, Bucer repeats it with application to the wife. Milton, in his greatly abridged version, omits the specific references to the wife, and seems to be writing only for husbands until toward the end, where he speaks of 'men and women' and of a 'brother or sister,' and continues in the common gender. Milton was concerned to present Bucer not as an advocate of equal rights of divorce to husband and wife, but as an upholder of the righteousness of divorce for other causes than adultery. His purpose was to assert that divorce is justifiable, Bucer's to give advice in such a form that it could easily be made into a statute. Bucer's long discussion of divorce in his note on Matthew 19. 5[1] is more with the purpose and in the method of Milton; indications that he allows liberty of divorce to women are not lacking, but he writes as though thinking chiefly of men, as is made natural by the passages of Scripture he deals with.

In fact, though Milton believed that woman was made for man, being created in the image of God indirectly through man, while man was created directly in the image of God, this belief has little practical bearing on his theory of divorce, partly because softened by his certainty of the Christian privileges of women. We have here an instance of the conflict between what Milton held on authority, and what he arrived at through reason. When his theory is that either husband or wife finding marriage intolerable has the right of escape through divorce, a belief that the husband has some sort of superior right is of little real effect, for in fact husband and wife stand on the same level of privilege. This is the inevitable result of the belief in the necessity of mutual consent which is all-important for Milton's theory of marriage, because if the wife—justly, when the union has already been essentially dissolved by unworthy conduct on the part of her husband, unjustly because of her own faults, or innocently because of natural antipathy—becomes unwilling or unable to give the 'consent' essential to marriage, she thereby in truth ceases to be a wife.

Milton's grant of divorce for incompatibility, and his willingness to extend the privileges of divorce to women, were in his day signs of an independent mind; yet the method of his argument often seems

[1] *Enarrationes in Evangelia.* This passage is earlier than *De Regno Christi*, but the writer's attitude is apparently the same. As Milton observes (*Divorce: Bucer, To the Parl.*, p. 296), Bucer discusses divorce in two other places in his commentary on Matthew, namely, in the notes on 5. 32 and 8. 4.

to be that of one who relies on authority, for his works abound with the names of those who in the past allowed divorce. But however glad he may have been to find writers of note in agreement with him, and however much he may have learned from them, he does not hesitate to declare that the presentation of testimony is not a valid argument, and that those who follow authorities are of the weaker sort. Indeed it is a commonplace with him that the strong man relies on his own reason, and that only the weak man needs to have his beliefs supported by great names[1]. Notwithstanding his pleasure in bringing the testimony of Martin Bucer to support the opinions he had himself independently expressed in his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, Milton writes as follows:

> I leave him also as my complete surety and testimonial, if truth be not the best witness to itself, that what I formerly presented to your reading on this subject was good, and just, and honest, not licentious. Not that I have now more confidence by the addition of these great authors to my party; for what I wrote was not my opinion, but my knowledge, even then when I could trace no footstep in the way I went; nor that I think to win upon your apprehension with numbers and with names, rather than with reasons[2].

But Milton was very far from using such independent language about the Bible; on the contrary he regarded it as an unquestionable authority. Yet he believed that every man should read and interpret it for himself. His willingness to let Deuteronomy 24. 1, beyond the plain words of the text, allow divorce to wives as well as to husbands, is characteristic, for with all his respect for the Bible he was not a literalist. In fact, a mere literal interpretation was not to his liking, and he condemns that bondage to the letter which attempts to arrive at conclusions without even comparing pertinent passages in various parts of the Bible, much less keeping in mind the dictates of reason. Indeed, he powerfully insists that it is necessary to interpret the whole Bible according to charity, which is 'the greatest, the perfectest, the highest commandment.' Naturally such a principle as this, joined with Milton's esteem for the Bible, results in strained interpretations, for he is determined to bring from the Scriptures a sense in accord with what he believes the principles of right reason and charity. For example on Deuteronomy 24. 1 he writes:

> This law graciously determines [that divorce is permissible], not unmindful of the wife, as was granted willingly to the common expositors, though beyond the letter of this law, yet not beyond the spirit of charity[3].

[1] *E.g.*, *Tetrachordon, Who among the Fathers*, etc., p. 262; *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, p. 466. Pickering ed., vol. IV.
[2] *Bucer: Divorce, To the Parl.*, p. 303.
[3] *Tetrachordon*, Deut. 24. 1, 2, p. 191.

Yet, as the quotation suggests, he often has good authority for his strained interpretations, as in his explanation of 'fornication' in Matthew 19. 9 as 'not only fornication itself but other causes equipollent and proportional to fornication[1],' such as 'intractable carriage of the wife to the husband.' For this he has the support of Grotius[2] and Selden[3]. Yet in whatever particular interpretations Milton goes too far, his belief that one should get at the spirit of the Scriptures, rather than worship their letter alone, is the best of all principles for their practical exposition.

By making his interpretation of the force of any passage to bind the consciences of believers depend on 'the direct analogy of sense, reason, law, and Gospel[4],' Milton made his doctrine in reality prior to any passage of Scripture. First having formed the doctrine, he then turned to the Scriptures to find support for it. However eager he may be to find there a foundation for his belief, his procedure is essentially not that of appeal to authority, but rather that of appeal to reason, with which he then attempts to show that authority agrees. This is especially clear in the First Book of *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, where the outlines of his opinion are most clearly presented. The actual appeal to authority is very little; every reference to the Scriptures could be omitted without essentially impairing the work. As Milton says, it 'had in it of reason a sufficiency,' but since some 'who were thought judicious' required that the Scriptures there alleged might be discussed more fully[5],' he undertook *Tetrachordon*, determined to show that all references to divorce in the Bible supported his beliefs. Yet because his life was largely moulded by the Bible, his theory of marriage and divorce is in the same measure ultimately dependent on it. His actual reliance on reason rather than on Scripture was not perceived by himself, and would have been disclaimed by him, with the explanation that right reason and Scripture are one—a doctrine with consequences likely to damage the absolute authority of Scripture more than Milton dreamed. Yet Milton's courage in insisting on his own interpretations of the Bible, for the sake of the truth as he saw it, reveals him as a strong and devout man willing to work out his own salvation at the price of fear and trembling.

Book 1, chapter 10 of the treatise *De Doctrina Christiana* is important as a later, briefer and less polemical statement of Milton's

[1] *Tetrachordon*, Matt. 19. 9, p. 237. [2] *Divorce* 2. 18, p. 111.
[3] See the quotation from *Defensio Secunda*, pp. 9, 10, *supra*.
[4] *Bucer: Divorce, To the Parl.*, p. 295.
[5] *Tetrachordon, To the Parl.*, p. 140.

views on marriage and divorce than the works thus far examined. It is in substantial agreement with them. Marriage is still said to consist in the 'mutual love, comfort, aid, and society of husband and wife[1].' As in the earlier works, and for the same reasons, the husband is given more prominence than the wife, yet here some of the conditions modifying this prominence are clearer than before. It is plain, for example, when the author intends to speak of mankind and when of the male sex, because of the distinction between *homo* and *vir*[2]. The privilege of divorce is given to both husband and wife[3].

(*To be concluded.*) – P 240

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[1] Book 1, chap. 10, p. 162. Cf. pp. 171, 173. References are made to the only Latin edition, Cambridge, 1825.

[2] *E.g.*, pp. 177–8.

[3] Pp. 174, 175, 177.

THE ORIGINS OF THE ESSAY COMPARED IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH LITERATURES.

I.

LITERATURE is the record of how man has reconciled himself to life and it should be studied in order that each generation may appreciate the experiences of their ancestors. To accomplish this end, most students content themselves with mastering the thoughts of certain writers and with absorbing their interpretation of existence on earth. This, in itself, is no ignoble nor easily accomplished task, but it misses half of the author's significance. Such a method conveys the impression that every great book came straight and complete from the writer's brain, exactly as he willed it. But the more one studies different civilisations, the more it becomes evident that every work of art is infinitely limited in its means of expression, and is moulded by countless other influences beyond the control of the artist. It is the fruit of endless experiments with contemporary ideas and means of expression, and even in its consummation, it does not fully embody all that its creator had to tell. As we have said, it contains only half of his message. The other half is to be found in the history of the genre; in the causes which shaped its style and form; in the thoughts and emotions (perhaps peculiar to one stage of social evolution) which had to recast and adapt themselves to the literary expression within their reach; and lastly in the actual opportunities which writers enjoyed at that particular period.

There is only one method by which such a course of study can be pursued. It consists in disregarding national and chronological boundaries and in seeking out the countries and periods in which any one type of literature met with the most varying fortunes. The investigator must, for the moment, free himself from the academic passion for sources and influences. He must search for differences. If he wants to know why a genre throve in one place, he must first see why it languished in another. The following pages are an attempt to apply this method to the history of the essay.

The first requisite is to decide in what author the type reached its most characteristic development. The second step is to deduce from his

work what are the essential features of the essay and what the conditions under which it was developed. The critic then turns to other ages or countries in which the essay has flourished in order to test his estimate of its qualities, and to other ages and countries in which it has languished in order to test his view of the causes which affected its growth. The present writer proposes to take Montaigne as the most complete type of essayist, and as his genre grew and throve unaided by example or literary tradition, we may consider his age to have been specially congenial to this type of self-expression.

Let us begin by inquiring what are the peculiar qualities of the *Essais*, what the characteristics which distinguish them from the tractates, meditations and confessions of contemporary and previous times. It will be found that this genre has nothing singularly new in form or subject, but only in treatment. It is the temperament and personality of the writer, which are distinctive. Montaigne is a moralist, at first sight indifferent to form and style, but profoundly interested in the characters and conduct of men. He is principally concerned with their deeds and with the qualities which lead to deeds—courage, patience and generosity—and, consequently, he is more interested in men than in women. But it is a world that belongs to a certain class of thinkers, because it comprises the past as well as, or even more than, the present. For Montaigne, time does not exist. Caesar, Homer, Epaminondas, and Alexander are as real as François de Lorraine, Montmorency, Mayenne or Brantôme. We observe, too, that his art does not study to conceal itself. Like all students of men he looks in his own heart for most of his opinions on other people, but unlike most other moralists he does not hide this process. He is frankly an egoist and, like all self-centred writers, his phraseology has unexpected turns and touches of humour, and he is so fond of pointed and graceful expressions that he quotes other people's poetry even after his meaning has been fully developed in his own prose. Above all, it will be noticed that Montaigne's reflections range over an enormous number of miscellaneous and ill-assorted topics and that some of them are discussed at length, some merely touched, and none treated thoroughly and methodically. But if the student will look in vain for uniformity of subject and treatment, he will find that the point of view is always the same. The *Essais* are like an infinity of objects, some picked up in the street and others borrowed from the show-cases of a classical museum, all looked at in the same light and from the same angle, and none of them fully examined from all sides.

And what is Montaigne's point of view? It is that of a man who finds life full of difficulties. His creature comforts are supplied for him, but neither his mind nor his body will serve his will and fully play their part. As a boy he could not accommodate himself to the system of instruction at the College of Guyenne. As a man, he was bored by his magistracy at Bordeaux, especially when no longer inspired by the contagious public-spirit and energy of La Boétie. His memory will not obey his orders; his self-possession is apt to desert him; he is an embarrassed conversationalist. His well-being is marred by colic and stone; he is disquieted by the foreknowledge of death which often begins to haunt men on the threshold of middle age. There is always some lack of adjustment between that composite thing, himself, and his little niche in the world, which promises so fair. In the thirteenth century, he would probably have found refuge in a monastery. But he lived in a time when, in spite of Calvin or Ignatius de Loyola, the most enlightened were beginning to develop that confidence in themselves which we now call the assertion of individuality. So he is constantly turning his eyes inward into himself and his faculties. He is always holding an inquiry on his own mental state and then comparing it with the conventionalities and ideals of the sixteenth century to see which are playing him false. This attitude of mind has been condemned as scepticism by Pascal and by Victor Cousin. The expression is misleading. Except possibly in his *Apologie de Raymont Sebond*, Montaigne is not so much a sceptic as a reactionary. Thanks to one of those coincidences of circumstances, which have so large an influence in directing the careers of authors, he began to live and to think at a time when neither religion nor government was such as could absorb him and engross his activities. The Wars of Religion, though of vital importance to his country and to his class, repelled him by their savagery, and the new learning with its encyclopaedic aspirations and its demands on industry, offended his ideal of a gentleman's accomplishments. Men of this type, who cannot find their life-work ready and waiting for them, have first to make peace with themselves and then to look elsewhere for a field for their energies.

In passing through this long mental crisis which lasted, perhaps without ever being definitely realised, for the greater part of his life, Montaigne was accompanied by two allies, who happen to have made his name immortal. One was a knowledge of classical literature, especially of Plutarch and of Seneca, and the other was the habit of writing, a practice common in that age of commonplace-books and perhaps derived from the confessions and meditations of the Middle Ages. With these

aids and under these impulses, Montaigne accidentally created the essay. Without that touch of disillusionment and misgiving which led him to criticise a social order in which he felt himself unqualified to play a leading part, a man of his taste and temperament would probably not have written at all. Without an almost religious reverence for the pronouncements of Seneca, and an almost idolatrous admiration for the great men of antiquity as portrayed by Plutarch, his judgments would have been tinged by that calumnious and gladiatorial spirit which Scaliger's orations against Erasmus had made fashionable in controversy. As it was, he enjoyed a new and humane revenge on his age; he compared it with the calm and superb ideals of Greek and Roman writers. Thus he developed a habit of thought at once inquisitive, critical and forgiving, and by judging the present in the light of the past, he discovered the only genre which makes literature a guide to life.

So peculiar a frame of mind needed a medium of expression equally peculiar. After the first perusal, the student is tempted to decide that the *Essais* have no form and little style—that they lack continuity of thought and concentration of expression, without which none but the simplest ideas can be transferred from one brain to another. In reality Montaigne created a style highly effective but easily misunderstood, because it is proper to the only genre which was never meant to be read aloud. It is the style of musing. The subject is only an excuse: As befits an essayist who merely 'tests' or 'tastes' his subject, Montaigne is not trying to exploit a theme. He is bent merely on exploiting his own habit of mind. Other literary types are media used technically to create something. Lyric poetry creates a passion; the drama creates a mental or emotional crisis; the epic creates action, and none attain their full effect till they are recited. The essay also creates something: its author's point of view. But the essay needs an idiomatic, sinuous and desultory style which can guide us through the labyrinth of a fellow creature's mind, and it does not attain its full effect unless it is read leisurely and in seclusion. Montaigne's way of writing is admirably adapted to this purpose. It has neither the precision of phrase nor the diffusion of thought requisite for public reading. In many cases the *Essais* first came into existence as marginalia in books. But, except for certain obscurities due to the undeveloped state of the language, it never fails to portray the alchemy of his mind. Its tentative and colloquial atmosphere lends an indefinable grace to his apparent indecision of thought and horror of dogmatising; while the frequent digressions are largely due to inadvertence in the disposal of chapter headings.

Such are the chief features of the essay as seen in Montaigne. As a first characteristic it stands for the self-expression of a man who, being disappointed or at any rate unsatisfied in his world, withdraws into the other world of books, and having there learnt new values and new ways of looking at things returns to his own world to test it anew by these criteria. The second characteristic is a style of writing studiously informal and at first sight fragmentary, because it ranges over an assortment of disconnected topics, but really uniform and concentrated, its true subject being not the objects seen, but the author's eyes and the angle from which he gazes. Thus the essay is a history of moods and impressions. But if Montaigne was by temperament and circumstances suited to invent this type, the age was equally propitious to its production. The bitterness of religious and political feuds excluded a thoughtful man from devoting himself to the world of action, while if the intelligence of Europe was just awakening to the new culture, it was also just opening its eyes to the vast overgrowth of imposture, superstition and intellectual uncertainty which at that time seemed bound to clog all progress. At the same time the revival of classical learning had brought to light a literature which, in its inspiring novelty, seemed to be as real as life itself. For generations, devout authors of meditations and confessions had communed in solitude with their own souls or with the Fathers. But a moralist of this age could commune with the antique world. At the same time, though a latinised rotundity of phrase was in use among the tractarians, men were just discovering that they could not only think but could even express themselves without the aid of Latin. A potter like Palissy, freed from scholastic tradition, and not yet fettered by literary artistry, naively indulged his interest in chemistry, agriculture and man in *Discours Admirables* (1580) and a surgeon like Paré could give his impressions of life and character as well as of leechcraft in *Apologie et Voyages* (1584). Modern prose had not yet been formed and a thinker could slip easily into an intimate and conversational way of writing, untrammelled by the seductive exigencies of later French style.

But, it may be urged, these characteristics are merely the result of a number of lucky accidents which produced—or at any rate influenced —one great essayist, but throw little or no profitable light on writers of other ages or countries. The essay is of all genres the most spontaneous and the least subject to the tyranny of schools, and any writer, gifted enough to combine an enthusiasm for books with an interest in life, may, by reconciling these two, develop his own personality on paper.

He does not need, like the dramatist, the cooperation of two other professions supported by a public accustomed to see its emotions symbolised on the stage, nor again, like the compilers of folk-epics, does he depend on an age unfamiliar with books but possessed by a dream of human achievement which it gratifies by idealising its ancestors. Essays are the product of two elements which defy scientific explanation: coincidence and human individuality. And yet, though no two human temperaments are identical, each generation produces many of similar quality and tone. It will be shown that many authors, especially in Latin, French and English, possessed the habit of mind and point of view without which a so-called essay becomes an abbreviated discourse or a modernised *fabliau*. At the same time, many writers, though admirably qualified for the art, have devoted their talents to other types of literature. Take, as an example, the history of the Essay in France. If the foregoing estimate of Montaigne is at all correct, no nation in the world is so well adapted as the French to produce a long series of great essayists. No other national habit of mind is so whimsical, or enjoys such subtle curiosity in life. Again, no nation is so competent to control its own eccentricities of spirit, especially when there is some bubble of sentiment to be pricked. And as if to make probabilities certain, the genius of the language has provided potential essayists with a prose style which blends *argot* with artistry and adapts itself to the individuality of the writer more completely than Latin, English or German does. And yet the literature, which created the essay and offers so many facilities for its continuance, has failed to produce a successor at all comparable to Montaigne, while another nation, apparently less adapted to the cultivation of this art, can claim all the great essayists of the world from Bacon to Lamb. It is the purpose of the present article to investigate the causes of this apparent anomaly.

Let us begin by a glance at the influences which stifled or rather diverted the French genius for essay-writing. At first it looked as if Montaigne was bound to create and to perpetuate a new mode of thought and expression. The success of his reflections was immediate. Even followers of Rabelais, like Du Fail and de Cholières, and confirmed theologians like Charron, felt his influence. But as the rising generation came into its heritage, it found itself in a new and irresistible tendency: an immense desire to rely on authority. After the controversies of the Renascence, and the disorders of the Civil Wars, the younger men were bent on intellectual calm and reconstruction. Instead of ruminating on questions of morality and conduct, they were glad enough to refer them

to the criterion of Christianity or to the dictates of reason, and confined their interest to the portrayal and regulation of character. Literature gave to this tendency an expression which was then, as always, partial and imperfect, but which is unmistakeable. Writers began eagerly to study Greco-Roman types of literature so that they could lose sight of disquieting and heterodox thoughts in the cultivation of form. Du Vair and François de Sales, who might have become essayists, accepted, instead, the impress of religious dogma and created the eloquence of the pulpit. . Vauquelin and Regnier, not wishing to meddle with ideas, developed formal satire. Hardy established tragedy and Malherbe lyric poetry. As imitation and tradition play a great though not exclusive rôle in moulding the arts of human expression, the rise of this spirit counts for much in explaining the decay of the essay. But neither the new-born enthusiasm for classical form, nor the desire for intellectual conventionality explains everything. Both forces were in full power when Addison and Steele wrote for the *Spectator*. But whereas the age of Queen Anne developed not only the atmosphere but the practical means of escaping from the academic tyranny of the Augustan era, the age of Richelieu did just the opposite. It brought into existence a social atmosphere in which the Essay could not live: a new ideal of breeding and culture, which centralised literature, first in the *salon* and then in the court of Louis XIV. By 1630 all that was cultured and refined in France could be found at the hôtel de Rambouillet, and on its decline in 1650, Mlle de Scudéry succeeded with the so-called 'samedis de Sapho' in the 'Quartier d'Eolie' (really le Marais, Rue de Beauce). By this time, the vogue was so universal that Richelieu, Albret, Mme de Sablé, Mme de Bouchavannes, comtesse de Brégis and even 'la Grande Mademoiselle' at the Luxembourg had turned their hôtels into 'bureaux d'esprit.'

It is difficult to overrate the importance of this influence. Under Henri IV Malherbe set himself to 'dégasconner' the court and in his efforts to create a literary language had become 'un tyran des mots et des syllabes.' Yet Sprat, Waller, Dryden and Evelyn had succeeded in purifying English without diverting or prejudicing the development of their literature. Honoré d'Urfé had adapted Italian pastorals into parables of modern refinement and gentility—almost into studies of the 'honnête homme'—in *Astrée*. Yet neither he nor his school would by themselves have exercised a more revolutionary influence than the authors of *Euphues* and *Arcadia*. But the institution of the *salon* meant something more lasting and more fundamental. It meant that the author

must in future be shut out from the privacy of his own thoughts. In those days there was no large and miscellaneous public among whom the most eccentric writer could hope to find an echo to the expression of his personality. Now that the patrons and votaries of literature were organised into a coterie, he was obliged to conform to their requirements or to miss the response without which no work of art can live. Literary clubs and circles have at different times and places exercised a noteworthy influence on the expression of thought. Not to mention the part played by the 'Göttinger Hain' at the beginning of the *Geniezeit* or by the 'Petit Cénacle' which gathered round Petrus Borel in Paris, it is almost certain that the dialogues of Cicero, the Odes and Sermones of Horace and the Overbury collection of characters, were inspired, and in some cases modified, by groups of critics and enthusiasts, whose approval took the place of the larger atmosphere of ideas in which Shakespeare, Heine or Vergil worked. But intellectual societies almost invariably tend to become sects; they form a school in which the chief bond of union is rivalry in the observance of a self-imposed cult; and in the cultivation of literature, this mutual competition leads them to eliminate what is personal or peculiar and to insist chiefly on form. In the first half of the seventeenth century, while the founding of an absolute monarchy was attracting all people of talent and ambition to Paris, French civilisation passed through a phase in which the *ruelle* and the *salon* became centres of progress. Social refinement became a stepping-stone to the higher life, and writers, whose aspirations soared above the grotesqueries of Scarron or the trivialities of Sorel, found themselves absorbed by a coterie whose ideal was neither sincerity nor erudition, but distinction of manner.

This is no place to discuss the influence of Bartoli, Marini, Ledesma or Góngora. Wherever *précieuses* and *alcôvistes* first learnt and then developed the art of refining their thoughts and emphasising their expressions, their enthusiasm, following on the purely literary tendency to imitate the classics, profoundly modified the course of French literature. Poetry and prose alike became things to be graced and polished for the publicity of a levée. Many trifles were composed with no other object than a recitation before one of these critical if appreciative audiences. A writer was not expected to reveal his own soul but to play a part. His works were not required to mirror life but to idealise it: to recreate the artificial conception of sentiment and of conversation, which found favour among the *élite* of that age. It does not concern us to consider the influence—for the most part beneficial—which this movement exercised

on the development of the more formal types of literature. For the present purpose it is enough to record that writers who might otherwise have followed in the steps of Montaigne fell under the dominion of the *ruelles*. One of these is Balzac. His aim was to 'civiliser la doctrine en la dépaysant des Collèges et la délivrant des mains des Pédants.' This has always been one of the chief purposes of the essayist. But Balzac, instead of working the commonplaces, which he drew from antiquity, into the tissue of his own reflections and then, by the candour and intimacy of his style, persuading his readers to do the same, preferred to elaborate the 'phrase oratoire' and rather pretentiously to indoctrinate the *beau monde* in the sayings of the Fathers and of the classics. Chapelain was a man of the world as well as a man of almost universal knowledge and he might well have employed his vast learning to explain life as he knew it. Yet instead of assuming this function of the essayist, he was drawn to maintain his position in the *salons* by legislating on points of literary criticism. Pascal, though he had some of the gifts which might have produced the greatest book of essays in the world and though he has proved his aversion from the intellectual fashion of his age with the celebrated 'diseur de bons mots, mauvais caractère,' yet, in any case, was too passionately devoted to the cause of Port-Royal, to seek his peace of mind after the leisurely and tolerant manner of Montaigne. His *Pensées* are notes for the *Apologie de la Religion chrétienne* which he did not live to complete. But with La Rochefoucauld and La Bruyère it is different.

La Rochefoucauld had by nature every gift requisite to make him a great essayist. He suffered from that innate shyness which so often drives a man to develop his individuality among his own thoughts. He had also that touch of melancholy and of disillusionment which leads a man of culture to find in books an antidote for life. At the same time he was every inch an *honnête homme*, with not only a taste for intellectual conversation, but with a talent for observation unsurpassed in this age of humourists. Yet *Maximes et Refléxions Morales* cannot be classified as essays, except to conform to the exigencies of a primer of French literature. It is not merely the form which disqualifies them. *Pensées* and *dicta* may very well contain the spirit of the true essay. In fact some of Bacon's best 'counsels' are little more than a tissue of aphorisms. But La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes* are different in their essence. This is not a book of counsels or of inquiry or even of self-rectification. It is an exposition. It is creative in the sense that it explains simply by reproducing. It mirrors the spirit of competition in one section of society

at one phase of its development: court life under an absolute monarchy. He gives expression to the mutual criticisms and comparisons which kept alive the ideal of the *honnête homme*. For him 'le monde n'est composé que de mines[1].' Human nature has no depths to be sounded. All the world is a stage on which men struggle, in the full limelight, to cling to their self-esteem. Education is merely the instilling of a second amour-propre into the young[2], and the perfect gentleman is he who is ready and willing to be continually before the eyes of other gentlemen[3]. If there is any mystery in man, it is only in the impressive manner by which he hopes to hide his intellectual defects[4]. Such and similar thoughts were bound to make up the outlook of men and women engaged in outdoing each other in the exigent and almost tragic business of courtiership, and La Rochefoucauld has merely given this atmosphere literary form through the medium of his incomparable prose. He is giving expression to the task of every *bel esprit*, he is discovering behind every attitude and action the motive power: egotism. Had his fortune in life been similar to that of Molière or of Le Sage, he might just as well have employed comedy or the picaresque novel to reproduce this aspect of society. As it was, he found himself a distinguished member of Mme de Sablé's circle, and so he made use of another genre, just as formal and as studied, which this *ruelle* supplied him. This was an age of wit, which had learnt from Balzac to value conversation as the chief civilising force of society[5]. La Rochefoucauld, a man of fashion, was drawn into its influence and perfected in print the spirit of epigram and of antithesis, which *beaux esprits* believed so devoutly to be the consummation of the spoken word that the Abbé de Pure defined a *précieuse* as 'un précis de l'esprit, un résidu de la raison[6].' Here and there La Rochefoucauld produces a reflection in the true spirit of the essay[7]. But for the most part, the influence of his age and of his milieu was so strong that he lost the art of counselling and persuading men and of bringing to bear on the perplexities of his own time the wisdom or the resignation of another epoch.

But it may be objected that La Rochefoucauld was a man of rank and fortune. One could no more expect him to be an essayist than one could expect Lord Chesterfield to write for *The Rambler* or Petronius to imitate *De Officiis*. Then let us take the case of La Bruyère. La Bruyère suffered from no disadvantages of rank or of breeding, but he was suffi-

[1] No. 264. [2] No. 269. [3] No. 211. [4] No. 265.
[5] Discours deuxième. Entretien de vive voix (*Œuvres Diverses*, 1644).
[6] *Relation Véritable du royaume de coquetterie*, 1654.
[7] *E.g.*, p. 528.

ciently conspicuous as a man of culture to be introduced by Bossuet to the great Condé and to be appointed tutor to his son. He did not dabble in literature; he had in some sort the pretensions of a professional man of letters and so he attached himself, at least nominally, to a classical celebrity and published his writings under the authority of Theophrastus. He was a disappointed man in the sense that he moved in a world in which he could not find his proper place, and, far more than La Rochefoucauld, he had developed a profound insight into the complexity of character which obscurely ramifies beneath the conventionalities of society. He was a student, fully equipped with a knowledge of the past, who reacts from the present, and is yet gifted with a remarkable sympathy for human nature, and with its outcome, the faculty of observing men. Add to these qualities a mastery of French prose more versatile and less laboured than that of La Rochefoucauld or of Bossuet and you have the potentialities for the greatest of essayists at the greatest period of French literature. Yet La Bruyère never realised these possibilities, except as regards his point of view. He does indeed stand apart from the society which he criticises, and he founds his censure partly on a skilfully concealed familiarity with the Latin authors of the Silver Age, and partly on an amazingly unbiassed sense of fitness. Yet he is an essayist neither in form nor in spirit. His character sketches, for the most part, have nothing in common with the Theophrastan method of generalisation, which La Bruyère rather slightingly dismissed as 'description et énumération,' and (whether or no we accept the *clefs*) they conform to the fashion, though not the spirit, of the *salons* and become portraits. In succeeding editions, it was these brilliant and malicious studies of individuals, and not the reflections which were augmented. And yet the meditations and comments are the most significant part of his work, though they have not attracted the most attention. The chapter 'Des ouvrages de l'esprit' proves how well qualified he was to be an essayist. Here he is discussing a subject in which he had toiled lovingly and in which he could counsel and criticise as a master. Many passages in 'De l'homme' are charged with the constructive wisdom and the conciliating reproval of a clear-sighted and sympathetic moralist. But the main current of his thought is diverted into the channels which society had already formed. The vice of the age was a disproportionate attention to manners and mannerisms. The *beau monde* was so interested in the superimposed and artificial character developed by the cult of reason and of refinement, that writers and readers alike mistook the poses of society for life. La Bruyère never belonged to this brilliant

class, and he is far from being blinded by its glitter, but he was absorbed by the same curiosity. Though a careful student of Montaigne, he lost touch with his master's method and point of view. He ceased to meditate and to guide others by the discoveries which he had made in his own soul, and instead he cultivated satire and emphasis of phrase. As he admits in his preface, 'Je rends au public ce qu'il m'a prêté.'

But if certain social conditions deprived France of a succession of essayists, it is instructive to note that the same conditions helped her to surpass her neighbours in some kindred genres. The *portrait*, which may have been imitated from Holland, or copied from the *relazioni* in which Venetian ambassadors depicted courtiers, was assiduously cultivated at the Luxembourg and became the envy of Europe. This art is just sufficiently different from English character-writings to illustrate the divergence of the two civilisations. The *portrait* consists in a description of the physiognomy, complexion, figure, appearance, and bearing of some individual, then of his intellect and disposition. In such romances as *Le Grand Cyrus* and *Clélie*, in the collection formed under the auspices of Mlle de Montpensier, and in Sorel's *Description de l'isle de Portraiture*, it established the standard of refinement and breeding for all countries which claimed to have emerged from the 'barbarism' of former ages. For the same reason the taste for *mémoires*, which had flourished in the sixteenth century, increased enormously in the seventeenth and produced in the hands of Sully, Rohan, Richelieu, Tallemant des Réaux, Bassompierre, Mme de la Motteville, Mlle de Montpensier, La Rochefoucauld, Villars and Bussy-Rabutin a literary art of great importance, which studied motives, manners and personalities. The peculiar influence of this age is most unmistakeably demonstrated in its effect on so informal and fugitive a kind of composition as letter-writing. As early as the correspondence of Balzac and of Voiture, we realise that the necessity for social intercourse was beginning to call into existence the graces and refinement of epistolary style. But with Bussy, Saint-Évremond, Mmes de Sévigné, de la Fayette, de Maintenon, de Montausier, de Motteville, de Coulanges, de Scudéry, d'Aligre de Boislandry, conversations committed to paper have become classics. And if these *recueils* have a felicity of phrase and a delicacy of sentiment which are not found in English or German letters till the latter half of the eighteenth century, it is due to the influence of women who reigned in the *salons* and almost reigned at Versailles.

According to the foregoing review, certain social and literary con-

ditions gave Montaigne the opportunity and the impulse to create the essay, but before the type could take root in the intellectual life of the country, the conditions changed. The most important influence was that of the *salons*. Succeeding humanists and humourists adapted themselves to the new requirements so successfully that their books became models to their descendants. When Boileau discredited 'la préciosité' and established the ideal of classicism, he only strengthened their influence by substituting the cult of form for the cult of subtlety and of emphasis. Thus the old art of essay-writing was definitely supplanted. When viewed by itself, the decay of this genre awakes no general interest and the study of its causes can be left to specialists in French literature. Its wider significance appears only by comparison with English literature. When the circumstances which eliminated the French essay are compared with those that fostered its British counterpart, the histories of both types acquire a new meaning, and the student has his eyes opened to questions which generally escape notice. His view of literature will not lose in a sense of academic values, but it will become more philosophical and more in touch with life. The present article was written with the intention of attempting some such comparison. As editorial exigencies have rendered it necessary to divide the contribution into two parts, the other half will have to await the next number.

(*To be concluded.*)

H. V. Routh.

London.

LA CHANÇUN DE RAINOART.

Material for a Critical Edition.

I. Textual Criticism.

Ever since 1903, when Mr G. Dunn brought out anonymously at the Chiswick Press the *editio princeps*, *La Chançun de Willame* has been the subject of lively controversies. At first, even the authenticity of the poem was doubted, and the mystery in which Mr Dunn, the owner, chose to shroud the newly discovered epic lent colour to the insinuations of those who suspected some clever mystification or *supercherie littéraire* in the style of Macpherson[1]. In the meantime, however, Paul Meyer[2] had convinced himself of the genuineness of the find, and upon his evidence *La Chançun de Willame* was definitely admitted into the epic literature of ancient France. But critics were by no means agreed as to its intrinsic or relative merits. From enthusiastic admiration to cold disdain, the whole gamut was run through by the numerous scholars who commented upon the poem[3]. Furthermore, those who, like Weeks[4] and Rechnitz[5], investigated the problem more closely came to the conclusion that the text, as preserved in the unique MS., was not homogeneous, but consisted of at least two distinct sections which were of different origin and showed traces of different dialects. Acting upon these suggestions, Suchier subjected the work to a careful examination, and gave a critical edition of the first section (vv. 1–1982[6]), which he called *La Chançun de Guillelme*[7], whilst the remaining portion (vv. 1983–3556) he referred to as *La Chançun de Rainoart*, intending, presumably,

[1] Cf. E. Tron, *Trouvaille ou pastiche? Doutes exprimés au sujet de la Chançun de Willame*, Bari, 1909; and J. Archer's interesting article in *Revue des Langues romanes*, 1912, pp. 60 sq.

[2] *Romania*, xxxii (1903), pp. 597 sq.

[3] The appreciations have been conveniently summarized by M. Wilmotte, in *Romania*, xliv (1915), pp. 55 sq. See also J. Schuwerack, *Charakteristik der Personen in der altf. Chançun de Guillelme* (*Romanische Arbeiten*, C. Voretzsch), Halle, 1913.

[4] R. Weeks in *Mod. Philology*, iii, No. 2 (1905), pp. 233 sq.

[5] F. Rechnitz, *Prolegomena und erster Teil einer kritischen Ausgabe der Chançon de Guillelme*, Bonn, 1909.

[6] It should be noted that v. 1982 in Miss Tyler's edition corresponds to v. 1979 in the *editio princeps*, and to v. 1983 in Suchier's edition.

[7] H. Suchier, *La Chançun de Guillelme, französisches Volksepos des xi. Jahrh.* (*Bibliotheca Normannica*), Halle, 1911.

to edit it on a future occasion. This intention he never realised, and the latter poem remained accessible only in the imperfect edition of the Chiswick Press, and the reprints which Baist gave of it in 1904 and 1908, under the title of *L'Archanz*. Considering its importance for the study of the 'Cycle of William of Orange' and the history of epic poetry generally, the need of a critical edition has long been felt. An American scholar, Miss E. S. Tyler[1], has recently attempted, in some measure at least, to supply this need. After carefully collating the manuscript and removing many blunders committed by the first editor, she published once more the poem in its entirety, i.e. *La Chançun de Guillelme* and *La Chançun de Rainoart*, adopting for the whole the title which actually appears in the manuscript, viz., *La Chançun de Willame*[2]. The chief merit of this new edition is to provide a trustworthy transcription of the manuscript, and a reliable basis for further investigations. For this Romance scholars will be grateful, even though they may feel disappointed with some of Miss Tyler's attempts at textual criticism. The extant version is the work of a careless scribe, and numerous corrections are necessary to restore the metre and the sense. For the first section (vv. 1–1982) the task of correcting the manuscript was comparatively easy, and the last editor has adopted, on the whole, the emendations of Suchier (without acknowledgment). In the second part—for which we retain the convenient title of *Chançun de Rainoart*, proposed by Suchier—she had to walk by her own lights, and she has not been nearly so successful. Her punctuation is apt to be very disconcerting, and as a result, the meaning of several passages has been quite obscured. The changes which she has made in the text are often satisfactory, but many lines could, in my opinion, be further improved, whilst in some cases the manuscript reading has been altered for the worse.

Considering the importance of the poem, and the little attention which has so far been paid to the critical study of the text, I trust it will not be unprofitable to treat the matter in detail.

[N.B. The numbers of the lines are those of Miss Tyler's edition. Her emendations are quoted in brackets and introduced by T.]

[1] *La Chançun de Willame*, an Edition of the unique MS. of the Poem, with Vocabulary and a Table of Proper Nouns, edited by Elizabeth Stearns Tyler (*Oxford French Series by American Scholars*), New York, 1919.

[2] In the article referred to above, Wilmotte also favours the retention of the form 'Willame' in preference to 'Guillelme,' suggested by Rechnitz and Suchier; but he appears to have overlooked the fact that the word, when at the end of the verse, invariably shows an *e* assonance; cf. laisses v, xv, xix, etc.

1997 Punctuate and emend :

U[1] reis u quons, ja ne fust tant poanz.

2031 Se en aveit de vus le col passé.
(MS. Se de vus le col en aveit passe; T. Se cil de vus le col aveit passé.)

2039–40 E de la Virgne en Belleem fu nez,
E se laissad en sainte croiz pener, etc.

2073 Del nevou l'uncle quil poeit tant amer.
(MS. L'uncle del nevou quil ; T. L'uncle del nies (!) qu'il.)

2083–4 Cum se decline ma grant nobilité !
Cum est destruit mun riche parenté !
(MS. Cum se vait declinant ma ...E cum est destruit tut mun ; T. Vait declinant ma... Est destruit tut mun.)

2085 Guiot, amis, ore es enprisoné.
(MS. Gui, amis, ore ; T. Gui, amis, ore es tu.) Elsewhere, in the Rainoart, always *Guiot*, cf. 1989, 2074.

2088–90 Devant le cunte l'unt mené a lur niefs.
Li quons Guillelme s'est mult adolusez,
Turne as paiens cum hom qui est irrez.
(MS. Par devant le cunte l'unt mené as niefs.) Perhaps the line could be further improved by reading ' si l'unt mené as niefs.'

2095–7 Ne maint cheval ne hom qui sist en sele.
Enz en l'Archamp remist tut suls Guillelme,
Fors Dampnedeu, de tuz homes de terre.

2112 Sil vols receivre ...
(T. Si l'uols receivre.)

2113–4 Dist Alderufe : 'Sez dunt t'ared, Guillelme ?
Que hom ne femme crestïen ne deit estre.'
(T. Sez dunt redes.) The emendation proposed by T. is not warranted ; *ared* is from *areer*, a verb which sometimes means 'give orders,' 'enjoin'—Godefroy quotes an example from *Enfances Ogier* : ' Droit a son tré fu Namles retornans, Car d'arreer Ogier fu desirans.'

2129–30 D'une ure en altre les freignent e deserrent,
E lur halbercs desrumpent e desmaillent.

2138–9 Mais Deu nen out—par tant est tut perdu—
Ainz creit le glut Pilate e Belzebu.

2167 Si Deu m'aït, unques nel forfesis.
(T. Si Deu maït, unc mais nel forfesis.)

2186–8 Pur colp ferir e mun cors aloser ;
Cil qui t'ameine ad mun quer vergundé :
A ses dïables le puisse comander !
(MS. Pur colp ferir e pur mun ; T. suppresses ' e.')

2212–5 Dunc le parcurent li paien de Palerne,
De Nichodeme, d'Alfrike e de Superbe ;
Dreit a Orenge les paiens de la terre
S'en vont chasçant le bon marchis Guillelme.
(MS. Dunc se parcurent.) *Parcourre*, as a hunting term, means to run a beast to earth. This meaning fits the context admirably, but apparently it is not recorded elsewhere in Old French before the sixteenth century.

[1] I have given *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*, respectively, their modern values. In my opinion, Miss Tyler, in her edition, has been ill-advised in slavishly following the erratic usage of the MS. Nothing is gained by retaining, for example, the form *neuov* for *nevou*, and the reader is unnecessarily hampered.

2218 'Oi, porter, frere, lai mei laïnz entrer!'
(MS. Ohi porter; T. Ohi, beau (!) frere.)

2222 'Va dunques, frere, gardez ne demorez.'
(MS. Va dunc frere; T. Va dunc, amis.) It is, however, by no means certain that the poet did not occasionally introduce a *césure lyrique*, cf. vv. 2223, 2266, 2718, 3205, in which the reading of the MS. should perhaps be retained.

2294–5 Mais cil mis sires est vers vus adulez,
Pur la bataille de l'Archamp desur mer.

2324 Veit le la dame si le conuit assez.
(MS. Veit la dame sil conuit; T. Veit le la dame si l'ad conut.)

2348–50 'Seor, bele amie, mult i fu combatanz;
A quinze esturs i fu pleners el champ,
Mais al seszime, si l'en donerent tant.'
(T. l'en donerent il.)

2354–5 Iloec le pristrent la pute adverse gent,
Si li lïerent e les piez e les mains.

2364 L'halberc e l'healme a Tebbald l'Esclavun.
(MS. E le halberc e le healme Tebbald; T. l'healme rei Tebbald.)

2378–9 'Deus, dist la dame, quel duel e quel pecchié,
Si cum tu diz, ne repeire un pié!'
(T. ne repeirer un pié.) The reading of the MS. is quite satisfactory, and Guiburc's words mean: 'What a pity if, as you say, no one returns.'

2385 Uncor nen ad mie dous jurz entiers.
(T. Uncor n'en ad.)

2388 En petit d'hore mult ai grant desturbiers.
(MS. En petit hore ai; T. En petit d'hore par ai.)

2410 Plure Guillelme, Guiburc si est pasmée.
(T. s'i est pasmée.)

2424–5 Sire Guillelme, al Dampnedeu congié,
Par main a l'albe....

2459–60 L'hanste fu grosse, si li pesad formanz [= forment],
E li escuz vers terre traïnant.

2538–9 N'en tendrai mais un jur un demi pié!
Qui que te plaist, le refai ottriier.
(T. le refai jo ottrier.) The emendation proposed by T. quite spoils the meaning. *Refai* is imperative; Guillelme gives up his fief and tells Loowis he may confer it on whom he pleases.

2558 De nostre ami, sil laissïum confundre.
(MS. si le laissium; T. Si nostre ami i laissïum.)

2577 Tuz ces baruns devant le rei en vindrent.
(MS. rei vindrent; T. rei dunc vindrent.)

2599–600 Ot le Guillelme, a poi n'esraga [=esraja] d'ire,
'Que as tu dit? Dampnedeu te maldie!'

2603 Tant par sunt veires les vostres felonies.
(MS. veires lermstes felonies; T. veires vos lermstes felonies.) But T. does not attempt to explain the meaning of *lermstes* (!).

2605 Pute reïne, pudneise surparliere.
(T. pudueise surparliere.) T. also retains the spelling *pudueise* in v. 2613, but does not attempt to explain the sense. *Pudneis*, 'fetid,' 'stinking' occurs in St Gilles, cf. Godefroy.

2608 Garder deüssent l'Archamp de gent paiene.
(MS. Cil deüssent garder; T. Durent garder.) A hypothetical clause requires the imperfect subjunctive.

2617 E tu mangües [= manjües] tes pudcins en pevrées.
(T. enpeyrées.)

2624 Enz en l'Archamp les sanglantes testées.
(MS. les sanglantes testes; T. unt les testes colpées.) The emendation of T. is quite inadmissible. *Testées* was first suggested by P. Meyer.

2651 Deschalz, en langes, ni out point de solders.
(MS. Deschalcez e en; T. Nus piez en.) *Solders* of the MS. may stand for *sodlers*, a form of the word recorded by Godefroy. The word occurs again in 2917.

2688–9 E Reneward le fer [= fiert] si del tinel,
Tut estendu l'ad al feu craventé.

2696 Tant le demande qu'om li ad endité.
(MS. que l'om li ad; T. l'om li l'ad.) T. does not appear to know that in Old French *li* commonly represents a contraction of direct and indirect object in the third person; cf. also 2788 and 2850.

2698 Prent feu a faire e ewe a porter.
(T. ewe a aporter.)

2768 Mais ainz que nuit seiez vus a l'hostel.
(MS. seie a vus a l'hostel.)

2773 Unques Franceis nes furent tant hasté [or hastez].
(MS. haster.)

2777–8 'Dites mei, frere, avez vus le tinel?'
'Oïl, bel sire, jo l'ai, la merci Deu.'
(MS. bel sire l'averai Deu merci; T. jo l'avrai merci Deu.)

2788 Bataille quert, e Deus si li doinst pesme!
(MS. Deus li doinst; T. Deus li la doinst.)

2850 Ele li ceinst.
(T. El la li.)

2887 Si jo puis el, ja vif nen estortrez.
(MS. Si jo puis ja vif ne m'estorterez.) *Estortre* for *estordre*, 'se sauver, échapper,' is quite common in Old French; but *estorter* only occurs late and in the sense of 'se donner une entorse,' i.e., 'sprain one's foot.' T. translates *estorter* by 'tease,' but quotes no authority.

2929 Nen i ad nul si fier ne si osé.
(MS. Ni ad nul; T. Ni i ad nul.)

2936 Bien est de guere qui tost est definée.
(MS. est finée; T. serat finée.) In the poem the future of *estre* is always *ert*; *serrai* 3367, and *serrad* 3391 belong to the conjugation of *seeir*.

2978 Ceste est ma torbe, mun pople, e mun barnez.
(MS. ma torche.)

2981–4 'Si ferai jo,' dist Guillelme li bers,
'Si Deu m'aït, ja nen ert tresturné.'
Ices cowarz dunt vus m'oëz parler,
Puis furent cels en l'Archamp cume bers.
(MS. i n'ert mes tresturné.) The expression *ja nen ert tresturné* is very common in epic poetry; Godefroy quotes numerous examples and translates: 'rien ne pourra l'empêcher,' i.e., 'nothing will prevent it' or 'it shall be so.'

3008–9 Sire Guillelme, ci vus pri m'atendez,
E jo irrai la jus vers cele mer.
(MS. ci vus pri que m'atendez; T. suppresses *ci*.)

3014 Si s'enfuirunt as undes d'halte mer.
(T. a la halte de mer.) No emendation is required here, nor in 3079.

3015 Par Deu celestre, nes poüm recovrer.
(MS. puis n'i poum.)

3090–1 Devant lui garde, si veit un rei errer,
E chevalcher un destrer sojurné.
(MS. E chevalche; T. E chevalchat.)

3112–3 Ço dist Bertram: 'Ja ne verrez vus tel,
Ke en botant ne le poëz tuer.'
(MS. nel poez; T. ne les poez.)

3117 E chevalchout un destrer abrivé.
(MS. chevalcholt.)

3136 Il ne fu unc ne laner ne couard.
(MS. unc laner; T. mie unc laner.)

3175 Lunges les denz, si est velu cum urse.
(T. E lungs.) No emendation is required as *denz* is feminine.

3180–1 E cil le fiert de l'espiet en la loigne:
Ja l'eüst mort, quant sa hanste li fruisse.
(MS. E cil le fer.)

3205–6 Ses mains dresçat contremunt vers le ciel,
Dist: 'Reneward, beneït seit tun chief.'
(T. Dist Reneward: Beneït.) The context shows clearly that these words are spoken by Guillelme not by Rainoart.

3212–4 Ne porte arme fors un flael de fust.
De quatre quirs de cerf tut envols fu:
Caplers ne crient quant li tienent desus.
(MS. Caple e caplers dunt le tienent adesus.) A comparison with *Aliscans*, 5724–5, 'Car envols ert d'une pel de serpent, K'i ne crient arme d'acier ne ferrement,' shows that the hides were not wrapped round the flail (as T.'s punctuation suggests), but round the body of Balan. Line 3214, as emended, would mean 'he fears not the blows when they (the hides) are upon him.'

3262 De quant qu'ait mal, unc nel sent l'adversiers.
(MS. Mal ait le quant que unc le sent; T. Mal ait de quant qu'unc nel sent.)

3275–7 Es vus poignant un fort rei Aïldré—
Celui fud uncle Reneward al tinel—
Un mail de fer ad en sun col levé.

3300 Si mielz n'i fier, perdu ai ma bunté.
(MS. fert.)

3413 Passad avant, si enracad les pels.
(T. enraçad.) The N.E. French form of *enrachier*, *arrachier*, was *enrakier*.

3446 Qui il consiut, en sum le chef li crote.
(T. consuit.) According to the *editio princeps* the MS. has *consiut*.

3463 Car ne pren dreit de mun seignur Guillelme.
(MS. Car pren; T. Car nun pren.)

3517–8 Ainz m'en turnai tost e ignelemant
Solunc la rive, ma pelotte culant.

3543–4 Si cum se crienst mun pere e mes parenz,
Sim comendat a son cu, Jaceram.
(MS. Si suz crienst; T. Si suz cremeit.)

3551 Guiburc l'oï si li passad avant.
(T. loï.)

II. Vocabulary.

Opinions may differ as to the literary merits of *La Chançun de Rainoart*, but everyone will admit its importance as a very early specimen of the French language. It suggests many an interesting problem to the grammarian and the lexicographer. Not only does it include a number of rare words or hitherto unrecorded meanings, but in not a few instances it furnishes the earliest known example of the use of words still current in the present-day language. The vocabulary deserves therefore to be studied with care, and it is indeed one of the chief blemishes of Miss Tyler's edition that she dismissed the subject in a most cursory manner. The following words, at least, should have been included in her glossary:

Aaisié *adj.* well provided or supplied, 2532.
abrivé *adj.* fiery, spirited, 2276.
adoluser *vb. refl.* give oneself up to grief, 2089.
adominer *vb.* control, master, 3108.
afebleier *vb.* weaken, diminish, 3263.
alemandeis *s.* German language, 2173.
al tur *prep.* towards? 3271; cf. mod. Fr. *autour* which apparently is not recorded before the sixteenth century.
ambleüre *s.* amble, 2205.
areer *vb.* order, command, 2113.
avoué *s.* advocate, protector, 2279.

Baier *vb.* gape, 3178, 3187.
boisnard *s.* deceiver, traitor? 2811. The word is not given in Godefroy, but appears to be connected with *boisie* (Germanic, bausi).
bouele *s.* entrail, heart, 2789.
brace (*pl.* of braz) *s.* arms, 3106.
bruant *adj.* violent (of the wind), 3521.
bruser *vb.* break to pieces, 3163; cf. Engl. *bruise*. See also below *combruser* and *debruser*.
buz [=brus?] *s.* blow? 2623. Not mentioned by Godefroy.

Chargier *vb.* entrust, 2636, 2643.
combruser *vb.* same meaning as *bruser*, 3303.
crute *s.* crypt, 3170.
cu *s.* cook, 3544.
cuilte *s.* quilt, 2897.
culer *vb. culer la pelotte*, roll (or throw?) the ball, 3518.
cumbe *s.* valley, 3194.

Debruser *vb.* same meaning as *bruser*, 3100, 3119, 3151.
desercler *vb.* remove the hoops or iron bands, 2746.
desprisoner *vb.* free from captivity, 3040.

Eé *s.* age, life, 3348.
enrakier *vb.* tear up, 3413.
escrier *vb. escrier l'eve*, give the signal to wash, 3351.
escurge *s.* whip, scourge, 2268.
espleitier *vb.* journey, 2947.
esquasser *vb.* break, 2845. Not mentioned by Godefroy.

esvigurer *vb.* slacken, 3345. In Old French the verb generally means 'strengthen,' but in this case the context does not admit of this interpretation, for we are told that 'no more enemies were to be seen,' therefore the battle could hardly have 'grown more fierce.'

Feé *s.* fief, 2429.
finement *s.* the end of the world, 3230, not a Pagan deity (!), as Miss Tyler suggests.
flael *s.* flail, 3212.
flaguler [=flajuler] *s.* flail, 2268.
foer *s.* fodder, 2335.

Graver [=gravier] *s.* beach, 3066.
grezeis *s.* Greek language, 2173.
guïer *vb.* guide, 3128.
guische *s.* trickery, 2594.
gule *s.* mouth, 3178.

Haste *s.* spit, 2734.
helt, *s.* hilt, 3330.

Jarit *s.* evergreen oak, 3215; cf. *jarris* in Godefroy. Miss Tyler's translation 'projection, prong' is purely conjectural.
jugler *s.* minstrel, jongleur, 2249.

Loigne *s.* loin, 3180.

Menbré *adj.* wise, sensible, 2629.
mescine *s.* medicine, 2595.

Paleïm *s.* palatine, officer of the King's household, 3480; cf. *palaïn* in Godefroy.
paltoner *s.* rogue, 2924.
parcurre *vb.* run to earth, 2212.
pevrée *s.* peppered dish, 2617.
premier *s.* first cousin, 2544. This meaning is, I believe, unrecorded in Old French; cf. Spanish, *primo*.
provende *s. mettre en provende*, live upon alms? 2431.
pudcin (=pulcin) *s.* chicken, 2617.
pudneis *adj.* fetid, stinking, 2605, 2613. See note to v. 2605.

Rebracier *vb. refl.* brace oneself up, 3312.
richeté *s.* riches, 2254.

Seé (=sié) *s.* capital, see, 2530.
serrement *adv.* quickly, 2217; cf. *serreement* in Godefroy.
solder *s.* boot, 2651, 2917. See note to 2651.
surcillier *s.* eyebrows, 3260; cf. *sourcilliere* in Godefroy.
surparliere *s.* shrew, evil tongue, 2605, 2613; cf. *sourparlier* in Godefroy.

Terrail *s.* land, estate, 2445.
testée *s.* blow on the head, 2624.
transglutre *vb.* swallow, 3178, 3197; cf. *transgloter-ir* in Godefroy.

Venal *adj.* for sale, 3530.
volure *s.* flight, 2206.

III. Dialect.

The Dialect of *La Chançun de Rainoart* will form the subject of a separate article. In her edition, Miss Tyler has entirely omitted this important matter.

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NOTES SUR LE PATOIS DE CUNFIN (CHAMPAGNE).

La Champagne passe assez généralement pour un pays ayant perdu ses patois de bonne heure et n'en possédant pas à l'heure actuelle. Cependant la *Revue de Philologie* a publié en 1909–10 un travail de M. A. Guérinot sur le parler de Messon; et l'*Atlas* de MM. Gilliéron et Edmont donne un certain nombre de formes dialectales pour des localités champenoises. Ce qui est vrai, je crois, c'est qu'il n'y a pas en Champagne de patois bien vivants, parlés d'une manière consciente par des personnes les distinguant nettement du Français d'école; et que les restes de patois qu'on trouve encore sont menacés d'une disparition très prochaine.

Dans la région qui m'intéresse—partie du Bassigny, vallées de l'Ourse et de son affluent le Landion, et plateau immédiatement au Nord, spécialement communes de Cunfin, Fontette et St Usage—j'ai été longtemps sans remarquer rien qui ressemble à un patois proprement dit: seulement un certain nombre de particularités régionales, dont la plus frappante est l'absence de consonne de liaison pour le pronom masculin *il, ils,* devant voyelle: i ɛ:m, *il aime,* ou *ils aiment,* i ari:v, i atɑ̃, i atɑ̃:d—d'où pour les étrangers une confusion fréquente entre *il a* et *il y a*: i a œ̃ ʃɑ̃, *il a un champ,* est facilement perçu comme i j a œ̃ ʃɑ̃, *il y a un champ.*

Plus tard, causant familièrement avec des paysans, j'ai remarqué des formes très différentes de celles de mon Français. Ce n'est jamais un patois conscient: si on se rend compte de parler autrement que les 'messieurs,' on croit simplement mal parler; aussi les formes dialectales sont-elles d'autant plus rares que le sujet s'observe davantage. Chez quelques vieux, pourtant—surtout à Cunfin—elles sont assez marquées pour rendre le langage difficilement intelligible au premier abord. On a d'ailleurs le souvenir du temps où il y avait des vrais patois, se différenciant nettement de village à village.

Les notes qui suivent se rapportent presqu'exclusivement au parler d'un natif de Cunfin nommé Ferdinand Van, maçon et bûcheron, âgé de soixante-huit ans. Ce brave homme, illettré mais doué d'une excellente mémoire, est un peu sourd, et par conséquent peu sensible aux influences

du dehors. Cependant il sait bien qu'il ne parle pas 'correctement,' et il lui arrive constamment de dire une phrase d'abord en patois, puis en Français d'école; surtout quand il s'aperçoit qu'il n'a pas été compris du premier coup.

Le parler que j'ai observé n'est donc nullement un patois pur, même au sens relatif du mot; encore moins un patois complet. Ce sont des formes appartenant à un patois en voie de disparition. Telles quelles, ces observations, qu'on ne pourra plus faire dans quelques années, ont sans doute un certain intérêt, surtout au point de vue de la géographie linguistique.

Phonétique.

Le système de sons du patois paraît à peu près identique à celui du Français. Notons seulement que h n'existe nulle part; et que r est toujours lingual et franchement roulé (en parlant Français aussi, et dans toute la région; même chez les tous jeunes enfants).

Le groupement des sons, lui non plus, ne présente guère de particularités. De même encore les phénomènes d'accentuation, de durée, d'intonation. Je note que e (fermé) peut être long, comme dans beaucoup d'autres patois et parlers régionaux: vuz e:t, *vous avez*. Il y a aussi quelques cas de voyelles brèves en positions où elles seraient longues chez nous.

Par contre, la phonologie—j'entends par là la distribution des sons considérés par rapport à leur origine—diffère souvent sérieusement de la nôtre. C'est d'ailleurs sur cette question que porte la presque totalité de mes observations. Voici les faits les plus intéressants:

Consonnes.

Le phénomène qui frappe le plus un observateur même superficiel, c'est le passage de l à j après consonne, comme en Italien, dans beaucoup de nos parlers de l'Ouest, et, je crois, dans tous ceux de la Lorraine et de la Franche-Comté: pjɑ̃:t, *plante*; bje, *blé*; pjœ:vr, *pleuvoir*; kju, *clou*; gjɑ̃, *gland*; fje, *fléau*; sɛ̃gje, *sanglier*; ekjɛ:r, *éclair*; kupj, *couple*; sɑ:bj, *sable*. Ce changement a lieu avec une absolue régularité et dans toutes les positions; seuls y échappent quelques mots évidemment empruntés, comme blaro, *blaireau*.

Un autre phénomène intéressant est la chute de r devant toutes les consonnes linguales: pɔt, *porte*; pute, *porter*; gade, *garder*; pɛdr, *perdre*; ʒœne, *journée*; bo:n, *borne*. Comme en Lorraine, et à la différence de la Franche-Comté, la linguale suivante n'est pas modifiée, excepté quand c'est s: le groupe rs passe à ʃ: gaʃɔ̃, *garçon*.

Il y a tout lieu de croire que r a tout d'abord modifié les linguales en les rendant cacuminales: rt, rd, rn, rs, ont passé à ʈ, ɖ, ɳ, ʂ, comme en Suédois et en Norvégien. Puis ʂ a partout passé à ʃ, tandis que ʈ ɖ revenaient à t d en Lorraine et en Champagne, et aboutissaient à c ɟ en Comté[1].

ʃ se trouve aussi pour s palatalisé: laʃe, *laisser* (vfr. *laissier*); i kɔnɛʃa, *il connaissait*. De même z palatalisé aboutit à ʒ: ɑ:ʒe, *aisé*; mɑʒõ, *maison*; aɡyʒe, *aiguiser*. C'est encore un phénomène régulier en Lorraine et en Comté, et qui paraît inconnu à Messon, comme le précédent.

Métatèse de r dans frəme, *fermer* (comme à Messon). Epenthèse de r dans fre:t, *faîte*; de l dans syʃlɔte, *chuchoter*.

Epenthèse de j dans tjo, *tôt*; batjo, *bientôt*; watjy:r, *voiture*; mitjɛn, *mitaine*.

Dans le groupe lj, la première consonne tombe: jø *lieue*, jo *l'eau* (comme *eau*). De même sans doute, ʒ nu frɔjẽ *nous nous frôlions*, doit être pour frɔljẽ.

Notez l'absence de d dans i fɔra, *il faudrait*; ty vurɛ, *tu voudras*; i vjẽrɛ, *il viendra*; et aussi dans prũr, *prendre*; et l'absence de v dans i pjø:rɛ, *il pleuvra*.

Voyelles.

a et ɛ s'emploient tout autrement qu'en Français, parfois on dirait qu'on veut prendre le contrepied de l'usage commun: ʒɛma, *jamais*; i ɛ, *il a*; i fɛja, *il fallait*. Notez, par exemple, lɛ, *la* et *là*; sɛ, *ça*; bɛtr, *battre*; kɛv, *cave*; sẽt yzɛ:ʒ, *St Usage*; ɛple, *appeler*; ɛrɛte, *arrêter*; ɛvɛle, *avaler*; mjat, *miette*; pja:r, *pierre*; na:ʒ, *neige*; la troisième personne de l'imparfait en -a et celle du futur en ɛ: i fɛja, *il fallait*; i ʃy:rɛ, *il tombera*.

L'origine de ces divergences remonte évidemment à des questions d'accent, de position et surtout de quantité, mais je n'ai pas pu dégager de règles fixes.

On trouve aussi ɑ pour notre ɛ: i ɑ:, *il est*; ʃɑ:n, *chêne*; dɑ:re, *derrière* (i ɑ: pa lɛ dɑ:re, *il est par là derrière*).

o aussi remplace notre ɛ dans pro, *prêt*; so, *sec*; et aux première et deuxième personnes de l'imparfait et du conditionnel: ʒ eto, *j'étais*; ʒə krɛjo, *je croyais*; ty l tənɔ, *tu le tenais*; ʒə ɡutro, *je goûterais*.

ø ou œ remplace souvent u: dzø, *dessous*; kø, *cou* et *coup*; tœ(t), *tout(e)*; ɡœt, *goutte*; brœte, *brouter*. ø remplace o dans rəpøze, *reposer*; arøze, *arroser*.

[1] V. Jean Passy, *L'Origine des Ossalois*, § 135. Il semble qu'on trouve une trace de ce dernier changement dans la forme kɔdj, *corde*, que l'Atlas de Gilliéron donne pour les Riceys, au Sud-Ouest de Cunfin.

Je trouve ɔ pour u dans kɔpe, *couper*; pɔli, *poulie*. Inversement u pour ɔ dans kuʃɔ̃, *cochon*; pour o dans kute, *côté*.

ɛ̃ pour ɑ̃ dans brɛ̃:ʃ, lɛ̃:g, mɛ̃:ʒe.

Je n'ai rien de clair sur l'aboutissant du latin *ē, ĭ*. Le plus souvent Ferdinand emploie les formes françaises. Les imparfaits et conditionnels en -o rappellent le Picard, et c'est encore l'évolution picarde qu'on croit voir dans ʒə vo, *je vois*, d'autant plus que le futur ʒə vware suppose un ancien infinitif vwar, devenu aujourd'hui vo; ce serait la même évolution dans bo *bois*, dont le *oi* est d'origine différente. *Choir* se dit ʃœ:r (régulièrement employé au lieu de *tomber*); futur ʒə ʃy:re. Dans la première voyelle de krɐjo, *croyais*, on est tenté de trouver une forme normande; mais ce ɛ est sans doute pour wɛ, car, d'après l'Atlas, on dit ʒə krwɛjo aux Riceys et à Vanvey. De même dans ki sɛ̃, *qu'ils soient*. La chute du w se trouve ailleurs, dans des mots où on devrait avoir wa ou wɑ: i da, *il doit*; kə sɛ sa, *que ça soit*; kan, *couenne*; ta, *toi*; drɑ, *droit*; frɑ, *froid*. Au contraire, *peine* se dit pwɛn, mais ici le w provient sans doute de la labiale p, comme de b dans bwaʃe, *bécher*.

Au groupe français *ui*, provenant de *ŏ* latin palatalisé, correspond régulièrement ø, qui devient œ devant r: nø, *nuit*; trø, *truie*; dəpø, *depuis*; ɔʒdø, *aujourd'hui*; sɛ m køza, *ça me cuisait*; kœ:r, *cuire*; et aussi ʒə sø, *je suis*[1]. Remarquez aussi vœd, *vide* (vfr. *vuide*). Ces formes à elles seules évoquent d'une manière frappante le souvenir des parlers Lorrains et Comtois.

La voyelle i est fréquemment nasalisée par une nasale précédente ou suivante; elle aboutit alors à ɛ̃: nɛ̃, *nid*; ʃəmɛ̃:z, *chemise*; dɔrmɛ̃, *dormi(r)*; vənɛ̃, *venir*; tənɛ̃, *tenir*; vɛ̃ɲ, *vigne*; matɛ̃ne, *matinée*. Notez aussi prɛ̃, *pris* (vfr. *prins*). En dehors de i, je n'ai remarqué la nasalisation que dans i krɛ̃ɲɔ̃, *ils craignent*.

Assimilation.

En dehors des nasalisations dont il a été parlé plus haut, je ne trouve à noter que l'assimilation progressive dans dzy, *dessus*; dzø, *dessous*.

Suffixes.

Notre suffixe *-eau*, latin *-ellum*, est le plus souvent représenté par -jo, comme en Picard, en Normand et à Messon: bjo, *beau*; vjo, *veau*; gɑtjo, *gâteau*; furnjo, *fourneau*; et de même jo, *eau*. Mais on trouve aussi des mots en -e, comme en Lorraine: ʃape, *chapeau*; rɑte, *râteau*; ʃje, *fléau*. Bien entendu, il y a aussi des mots qui ont la terminaison

[1] Cette forme est remarquable, peut-être pourrait-elle aider à trouver l'explication, encore inconnue sauf erreur, de la forme française. Comparez l'espagnol *soy*.

française, ainsi tənо, *tonneau*: Ferdinand dit aussi kərbo, *corbeau*, mais j'ai entendu kərbe à Essoyes.

Ce mélange de formes en -jo et de formes en -e se retrouve ailleurs dans la région, d'après l'Atlas[1]. Comme les deux formes sont tout-à-fait indépendantes l'une de l'autre, il faut supposer un mélange de dialectes.

La forme bizarre tjo pour *tôt* serait-elle due à une extension analogique, comme la forme sabjo, *sabot*, que j'ai parfois entendue dans les environs de Paris ?

Le suffixe *-eur* se trouve sous la forme -u: vəlu, *voleur*; gadu, *gardeur*; mənu, *meneur*, et aussi pu, *peur*. Pour *fleur* on attendrait *fju, mais Ferdinand dit fjœ:r. Il dit lo et jo pour *leur*; à Essoyes j'ai entendu lø et jø. Je n'ai pas de note sûre sur le suffixe féminin *-euse*.

Notre suffixe *-ier* paraît se trouver sous la forme -e: pɔme, *pommier*.

Morphologie.

Il n'y a pas, je crois, de noms pour lesquels le pluriel se distingue du singulier; mais, à l'inverse de ce qui tend à se produire chez nous, c'est toujours la forme du pluriel qui a envahi le singulier: œ̃ bø, *un bœuf*; œ̃ ʃvo, *un cheval*; mo, *mal* (sɛ m fəza mo, *ça me faisait mal*).

Dans les verbes, on note que la troisième personne du pluriel est au contraire toujours distincte de celle du singulier. A l'indicatif présent, elle se termine en -õ, est donc semblable à la première du pluriel: i krɛ̃ɲõ, *ils craignent*; i s bɛtõ, *ils se battent*. A l'imparfait et au conditionnel, elle se termine en -ɛ̃: i etɛ̃, *ils étaient*; i rgɛtjɛ̃, *ils regardaient*; i srɛ̃, *ils seraient*.

Jusqu'ici, rien que de normal, ces formes se rencontrent un peu partout et jusqu'aux environs de Paris[2]. Mais ce qui est curieux, c'est que les formes en -ɛ̃ se sont étendues à la *deuxième* personne du pluriel: vu l ɛplɛ̃, *vous l'appeliez*; vu le vãdrɛ̃, *vous les vendriez*. (A Messon, d'après M. Guérinot, c'est la *première* personne du pluriel qui a subi l'analogie: ʒ dɔrmɛ̃, *nous dormions*. J'ai noté, moi aussi, ʒ l ɔrɛ̃ pɑ fɛ, *nous ne l'aurions pas fait*; mais je ne crois pas qu'on dise toujours ainsi.) Il y a d'ailleurs parfois des troisièmes personnes en -jã ou -jõ: i l pɔrtjã, *ils le portaient*.

L'imparfait paraît aussi avoir usurpé la place du subjonctif présent et passé—au moins pour ces 2e et 3e personnes du pluriel: fo k ɛl ũ dɔnɛ̃,

[1] *Ciseau*, sizjo ou size aux Riceys, sizjo à Vanvey, size à la Cour l'Evêque ; *marteau*, martjo aux Riceys et à Vanvey, mate à la Cour l'Evêque ; *couteau*, kutjo aux Riceys et à Vanvey, kute à la Cour l'Evêque, etc.

[2] A Ste Jamme, commune de Feucherolles, S. et O., elles sont tout-à-fait courantes, ou l'étaient en tout cas il y a une quinzaine d'années.

il faut qu'elles en donnent; fo k vu fəzɛ̃ kɔmsɛ, *il faut que vous fassiez comme ça*; fo pɑ k i rgɐtjɛ̃ lez o:t, *il ne faut pas qu'ils regardent les autres*; fɔra k i rɛstɛ̃ lɛ, *i faudrait qu'ils restent là.*

Les terminaisons de l'imparfait et du conditionnel paraissent être: -o, -o, -a; -jɔ̃, -ɛ̃, -ɛ̃. Celles du futur: -e, -e, -ɛ; -ɔ̃, -e, -ɔ̃.

Remarquez i ɑ:, *il est*; i ɛ, *il a*; vuz e:t, *vous avez.* (Ferdinand nous dit un jour, vuz e:t de sal be:t. Ce n'était pas, comme on pourrait le croire, une injure à notre adresse, mais une appréciation défavorable de nos chevaux.) De même vu se:t, *vous savez.*

Comme en tant d'autres endroits, le pronom ʒə s'emploie souvent avec le verbe au pluriel: ʒə vnɔ̃, *nous venons.* Mais Ferdinand dit aussi nœ vnɔ̃.

Syntaxe.

Ma seule observation intéressante porte sur la curieuse expression tœ pa ta, *toi tout seul*; tœ pa ly, *lui tout seul*; tournure commune dans l'Est, et qui rappelle d'une manière frappante l'Anglais: *by yourself, by himself.*

Je peux encore mentionner l'emploi d'une tournure tombée en désuétude chez nous: ɛl tə vø pɑ mɔd, *elle ne veut pas te mordre.*

Vocabulaire.

Je donne ici les mots les plus intéressants que j'ai notés, rangés simplement par ordre alphabétique.

ɡyʒe, *aiguiser*
ak, excl. de douleur (Allem. *ach*).
amnisti, *armistice.*
atø, *aussi.*
arb, *herbe.*
arɛ̃ʒe, *arranger.*
arl, *hâle*; *vent desséchant.*
avø, *avec.*
ɑ:: ɛl ɑ:, i ɑ:, *elle, il est*
ɑ:br, *arbre.*
ɑ:ʒe, *aisé, facile.*
ɑ̃fje, *enfler.*
ɑ̃pji, *emplir.*
ɑ̃pute, *emporter.*

balivjo, *baliveau.*
batjo, *bientôt.*
bɛje, *bailler, donner* (très employé).
bɛlɛ, *balai.*
bjɑ̃(:ʃ), *blanc(he).*
bje, *blé.*
bjɛse, *blesser.*
bjo, *beau.*
bjø, *bleu.*
blaro, *blaireau.*

bo, *bois*; *bout.*
bo:n, *borne.*
bø, *bœuf.*
brɛ, *berceau.*
brɛ̃:ʃ, *branche.*
brœte, *brouter.*
bruvat, *brouette.*
buʃɔ̃, *buisson* (a passé dans le Français régional).
i bryja, *il hurlait.*
by:v: i by:v, *ils boivent.*
bwaʃe, *bêcher.*

dɑ:re, *derrière.*
dekjø:te, *déclouer.*
dpø, *depuis.*
dubj, *double.*
dzø, *dessous.*

ebjɔ̃:de, *élaguer.*
ekjɛ:r, *éclair.*
ekœle, *acculer*; *baisser, retomber.*
epø, *et puis.*
eʃɛ̃ɲe, *échigner.*
e:t: vuz e:t, *vous avez.*

evwajo, outil pour donner de la voie aux scies.
ɛ, *à* : ɛl ɛ, i ɛ, *elle, il a.*
ɛfrəme, *enfermer.*
ɛle, *aller.*
ɛprɛ, *après.*
ɛrɛte, *arrêter.*
ɛvɛle, *avaler.*
ʒ ɛvo, ty evo, i ɛva, *j'avais*, etc.

i fɛja, i fɛjœ, *il fallait.*
fɛrɛ̃n, *farine.*
fɛʒ : fo kə ʒ feʒ sɛ, *il faut que je fasse ça.*
fje, *fléau.* (M. Talbot d'Essoyes dit œ̃ flɛ.)
foʃu, *faucheur.*
frɑ:ʒe, *fraisier.*
fre:t, *faîte.*
furnjo (ou furɲo ?), *fourneau.*

gade, *garder.*
gadu, *gardeur.*
gaʃɔ̃, *garçon.*
ge, *abreuvoir* (mot employé dans le Français local).
gjɑ̃, *gland.*
gjɛs, *glace.*
gœt, *goutte.*

jo, *eau* ; *l'eau.*
jo, jø, *leur.*
jø, *lieue.*

kɛv, *cave.*
kjake, *claquer.*
kje, *clé.*
kɛʃe, *cacher.*
kjɛrvo, *Clairvaux.*
kju, *clou.*
kjøte, *clouer* : fo k i l kjøtɛ̃, *il faut qu'ils le clouent.*
kɔn, *corne.*
kɔnø, *cornouille.*
kɔpe, *couper.*
krɔʃo, *crochet.*
kɔrbe, *corbeau.*
kœr, *cuire* : sɛ m kø:za.
kudjo, *cordeau.*
kunɑ:j, *corneille.*
kribj, *crible.*
kupj, *couple.*
kuʃɔ̃, *cochon.*
kute, *côté.*
kuvri, *couvrir* ; *couvert.*
kyrbyte, *culbuter.*

laʃe, *laisser.*
lɛ, *la, là.*
lɛ̃:g, *langue.*

matɛ̃ne, *matinée.*
mɑ:zɔ̃, *maison.*
mɛlɛd, *malade.*
mɛriʃo, *maréchal.*
mɛ̃, *main* ; *mis* : i l ɛ mɛ̃ lɛ.
mɛ̃ʒe, *manger.*
m(ə)nu, *meneur* : s ɑ: lə mnu d ɔto.
mitjɛn, *mitaine.*
mjat, *miette.*
mo, *mal* : s ɑ: mo, ʒ evo mo o kœr.
mo:kɑ:bre : ɑ:brə mo:kɑ:bre, nom d'un nuage. l ɑ:brə mo:kɑ:bre, s ɑ: œ̃ nyɛ:ʒ ki fe vo kɑ̃t i vɛ pjœ:vr ; kɑ̃t i ɛ l pje dɑ̃ jo, s ɑ: k i pjø:rɛ.
mɔd, *mordre.*
mwi:r, *mûre* (fruit de ronce).
mɔkɛ:r, *femme* (en plaisantant).
mœ:r, *mûr* (maturus).

na:ʒ, *neige* : i ɛ ʃø d lɛ na:ʒ.
nɛ̃, *nid.*
nœ, *nous.*
nœ:ri, *nourrir.*
nø, *nuit.*
nuʒɔt, *noisette.*
nwari, *noircir.*

ositjo, *aussitôt.*
oʒdø, odø, *aujourd'hui.*

parʃ, *perche.*
paʃɔn, *personne.*
pɛt, *patte.*
pja:r, *pierre.*
pjaʒe, *désordre* : s eta œ̃ bjo pjaʒe.
pjɑje, *plier.*
pjɑ:tr, *plâtre.*
pjɑ̃:ʃ, *planche.*
pjɛn, pjɛ̃, *plein(e).*
pjɛ̃:ʃe, *plancher.*
pjœm, *plume.*
pjœ:vr, *pleuvoir*[1]. Au futur : i pjø:rɛ.
pjø, pjœ:ʒ, *pluie*[1].
pɔme, *pommier.*
pɔpije, *peuplier.*
pɔt, *porte.*
pø(:t), *laid(e), vilain(e).*
pø:ri, *pourrir.*
prɑ̃r, *prendre.*
prɛ̃, *pris.*
pro, *prêt.*
prynjo, *pruneau.*
pu, *peur* : vu n e:t pa pu de tavɛ̃.
puljɛ:r (fém.), *poulailler.*
pute, *porter* : ʒ puto, *je portais* ; i l putrɛ̃ ɑ̃ triɔ̃:f.
py, *plus* ; *puits.*

[1] Cp. l'italien *piovere, pioggia.* Mais je ne suis pas sûr de la forme pjœ:ʒ.

rɑte, *râteau.*
regale, *étendre* (le foin).
r(ə)gɑ:tje, r(ə)gɛtje, r(ə)vɑ:te, } *regarder.*
r(ə)mẽ, *remis.*
r(ə)pike, *retourner* (le foin).
r(ə)prẽ, *repris.*
r(ə)tune, *retourner.*

sɑ:bj, *sable.*
sɑ:re, *serrer.*
sɛ, *ça.*
sẽgje, *sanglier.*
sɔ, *sec.*
stylɛ, *celui-là.*
stysi, *celui-ci.*
syʃlɔte, *chuchoter.*

ta, *toi.*
tavẽ, *taon.*
tərtœ, *tout* (absolument).
t(ə)nẽ, *tenir*: ʒ l e tnœ.
tjo, *tôt.*
tɔne, *tourner.*
tœ(t), *toute.*
tœpjẽ, *tout plein, beaucoup.*
trø, *truie.*

ʃape, *chapeau.*
ʃain, *chêne.*
ʃ(ə)mẽ:z, *chemise.*
ʃœr, *tomber* (très employé): i ʃœ:rɛ d jo ; ɑ̃ ʃœ:rɛ py stə smɛn ; i ʃœrɔ̃ dɑ̃ jo ; ɛl e ʃø kɔm œ̃ muʃrɔ̃.
ʃø:t, tas de bois non ébranché, mais rangé pour être travaillé.

uvrɛ:ʒ, *ouvrage.*

va, *vers*: va l gro ʃɑ:n.
vɛʃ, *vache.*
v(ə)nẽ, *venir* ; *venu.*
vẽp, *vigne.*
vjo, *veau.*
vlɛ, *voilà.*
vo, *voir*: ʒə vo, *je vois* ; ʒ lə vwa:re.
vɔlu, vulu, *voleur.*
vœd, *vide.*

y, *le* (pronom), dans quelqu'unes tournures: kit y, *quitte-le.*
yzɛ:ʒ: sẽt yzɛ:ʒ, *St Usage.*

ʒœne, *journée.*
ʒɛma, *jamais.*

Remarque Générale.

Si nous cherchons à comparer le patois de Ferdinand à d'autres, en nous servant pour ça de l'Atlas Gilliéron, nous sommes frappés tout de suite des ressemblances avec les formes recueillies dans les villages des Riceys (Aube), Vanvey (Côte d'Or), la Cour l'Evêque (Haute-Marne) ; c'est-à-dire, dans la région située *au Sud* de celle qui nous occupe (Sud-Ouest, Sud et Sud-Est). On y trouve, par exemple, le changement de l en j après consonne (kje, gjɛs, bje); ʃ ʒ pour s z palatalisés (laʃe, mɑʒɔ̃); la chute de r devant linguales; ø ou œ pour *ui*; le mélange de -jo et de -e pour *-ellum*, etc. Ces caractères et d'autres manquent, autant qu'on peut en juger par l'Atlas, dans les autres directions.

Et si on va jusqu'au patois de Messon étudié par M. Guérinot, on est surpris de le trouver totalement différent; il n'y a presqu'aucun fait caractéristique commun aux deux parlers, en dehors de certains changements de a en ɛ qu'on trouve dans une grande partie de l'Est, des troisièmes personnes en ɛ̃ (i vnɛ̃, *ils venaient*) qui sont fréquentes un peu partout, et du présent du verbe *être*, ʒə sø, *je suis*, qui semble une forme isolée à Messon, tandis qu'à Cunfin elle se rattache à un ensemble. Le vocabulaire, lui aussi, est très différent.

Allant plus loin, nous constatons sans peine que le patois, lorsqu'il était à peu près pur, devait se rapprocher beaucoup de ceux de la

Lorraine et de la Franche-Comté. Il suffit de rappeler le changement de l en j après consonne; la disparition de r devant linguale; la palatalisation de s z en ʃ ʒ; le changement de ŏ palatalisé en ø; e de *ellum*; l'invasion du singulier par les formes du pluriel; la tournure tœ pa ta. *Ce sont précisément les faits dont on ne trouve pas trace à Messon.*

D'autre part, cependant, plusieurs formes communes dans l'Est paraissent manquer; et il y a aussi quelques formes qui rappellent le Picard, comme -jo de -*ellum*, les imparfaits et conditionnels en -o, ɛ̃ pour ɑ̃ dans mɛ̃ʒe, l'absence de d dans *faudra, viendra*, etc.

En somme tout fait penser que le patois de Cunfin et ceux de la région plus au Sud étaient intermédiaires, linguistiquement comme géographiquement, entre ceux de la Lorraine, de l'Ile de France et de la Picardie—je ne parle pas de ceux de la Bourgogne que j'ignore—mais plus rapproché de ceux de la Lorraine.

A ceci, rien que de normal. Mais la différence que je crois trouver entre le parler de Cunfin et ceux des villages situés au Nord et au Nord-Ouest, et celle plus certaine que nous constatons entre le parler de Cunfin et celui de Messon, sont des faits plus intéressants. Il est hors de doute qu'il y a eu une *limite dialectale* quelque part entre Messon et Cunfin, et probablement juste au Nord de Cunfin. Peut-être était-elle marquée par les bois, éperon de la forêt de Clairvaux, qui séparent encore aujourd'hui Cunfin du hameau des Fosses et Verpillères de Fontette.

A quoi faut-il attribuer cette limite dialectale? Est-ce la rencontre de deux parlers en formation remplaçant des parlers plus anciens, et faudrait-il, par exemple, supposer que Cunfin et Messon dépendaient autrefois de deux centres différents de romanisation? Ou bien, serions-nous ici sur la trace de mouvements de population? Faudrait-il admettre que les habitants de Messon soient venus du Nord ou de l'Ouest, ou que ceux de Cunfin soient venus du Sud-Est, comme je suis plutôt porté à le penser?

Il y a quarante ou cinquante ans, une étude comparative de tous les parlers de la région aurait sans doute permis de fixer ce point d'histoire locale; aujourd'hui, il est probablement trop tard; et nous en sommes réduits à déplorer une fois de plus l'imprévoyance du nivellement officiel, qui, sous prétexte de progrès, s'applique à brutalement saccager et détruire le riche trésor de nos parlers populaires, et fait disparaître, comme à plaisir, toute trace de vie propre et d'originalité dans nos campagnes.

PAUL PASSY.

BOURG-LA-REINE, SEINE.

THE ELEVEN SONGS OF JOAN ZORRO.

JOAN ZORRO is to us but a name, *vox et praeterea nihil*, a voice crying in the wilderness of insipid imitations from the Provençal. He was evidently one of the humble Court *jograes*, of some of whom we have but the Christian name, as Lopo, Lourenço, Meendinho. Perhaps indeed we do not know the surname of this Joan, since Joan Zorro may mean only John the Astute (Span. *zorro* = 'fox'), or the nickname may have already become a surname: John Fox. It is largely owing to the humility of these *jograes*, encouraged by a few kings and nobles, that we owe the survival of the popular *cossantes*, those wonderful wild flowers of song which after having been pressed for centuries in the Vatican Library have retained all their scent and freshness. The fact that even in the Court imitations it is the *amiga* who speaks shows that they were originally composed and sung by women in Galicia and North Portugal. How far they were worked up by the poets it is difficult to say. The modern *cossantes* sung by Portuguese peasants which Dr Leite de Vasconcellos[1] discovered are far less artistic and more rustic; nor can we believe that a peasant could have composed anything so consummately exquisite as the *barcarola Pela ribeira do rio* (No. VII). But we have to remember that the *cossante* is now only a lingering survival and has been replaced in popular favour by the *quadra*. Indeed one likes to think that the modern quatrain was originally not a quatrain but a distich and that the refrain has dropped out. E.g.,

> Qualquer filho de homem pobre nace num ceo de cortinas
> Só tu, menino Jesus, naceste numas palhinhas
> Valha Deus!
>
> Qualquer filho de homen pobre nace numa boa cama
> Só tu, menino Jesus, naceste numa cabana
> Valha Deus![2]

Many of the modern *quadras* are clear gems of thought and expression. They owe this to their great popularity and to the fact that till recently they were entirely oral. *Littera scripta manet*, a set jewel, but the unwritten *quadra* and *cossante*, as Dona Carolina

[1] *Annuario para o estudo das tradições populares portuguezas*. Revista dirigida por J. Leite de Vasconcellos (Porto, 1882), pp. 19–24. See also C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (1904), vol. II, pp. 927–40.

[2] See the *quadras* Nos. 128 and 130 in *Cantos Populares Portuguezes*, Recolhidos da tradição oral e coordenados por A. Thomaz Pires, vol. I (Elvas, 1902), pp. 22–3.

Michaëlis de Vasconcellos and Dr Leite de Vasconcellos have remarked, passing from mouth to mouth, have been altered and polished as a piece of glass is rounded into comeliness by the incessant action of the sea. Fortunately in the thirteenth, as in the nineteenth, century there were a few who appreciated the indigenous songs of the people. Joan Zorro lived, probably, in the reign of Afonso III and flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century. From the Portuguese he deserves affection as being one of the earliest singers of Lisbon (where the river is the sea); with all lovers of poetry he is assured of immortality for his evident delight in the native *cossantes* which are one of the most charming products of the thirteenth century. It is unfortunate that, although pearls remain pearls even in a dustheap, the real poetry contained in the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* has, since its discovery some fifty years ago, excited the attention rather of a few men of learning than of the many lovers of poetry. It is hoped that readers will do more justice to these ancient musical songs if they are given in small doses and properly edited. Many of them deserve to be set to music.

C. V. M. = *Il Canzoniere Portoghese della Biblioteca Vaticana, messo a stampa da Ernesto Monaci.* Halle, 1875.

C. V. B. = *Cancioneiro Portuguez da Vaticana. Edição critica...por Theophilo Braga.* Lisboa, 1878.

C. A. N. = *Chrestomathia Archaica...por José Joaquim Nunes.* Lisboa, 1906 [containing many text suggestions of D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos].

I. Pastorela.

Quen visse andara fremosinha,
Com' eu vi, d' amor coitada,
E tan moito namorada
Que chorando assi dizia:
Ai amor, leixedes m' oje
De solo ramo folgar,
Et depois treides-vos migo
Meu amigo demandar.

Quen visse andar a fremosa,
Com' eu vi, d' amor chorando,
E dizendo e rogando
Por amor da Gloriosa:
Ai amor etc.

Quen lh' i visse andar fazendo
Queixumes d' amor d' amigo
Que ama, sempre sigo
Chorando, assi dizendo:
Ai amor etc.

Alas to see the maiden fair,
As I have seen, beneath love's sway,
Surrenderèd to love's despair,
And ever weeping would she say:
Cruel love but let me rest
Here beneath these trees to-day,
Swiftly then with me in quest
Of my lover come away.

Alas to see, as I have seen,
This maiden fair so weep for love,
And say, eyes raised to Heaven above,
And pray, for love of Heaven's Queen:
Cruel love etc.

Alas to see her there complain
For love of the love she loves so well,
And weèp for ever in love's spell
And murmur still her sad refrain:
Cruel love etc.

I 12. *Por amor da glosa*, C. V.; *por amore da glosa*, C. V. B.

II. Cantiga de Amigo.

Os meus olhos, o meu coraçon
et o meu lume foi-se con el rei.
—Que é isto, ai filha, se Deos vos perdon'
Que m' o digades, gracir-vo-lo ei.
—Direi-vo-lo eu, e pois que o disser
Non vos pes, madre, quando aqui veer.

My heart and eyes, yea all their light
Is gone away now with the king.
—My daughter, God's grace on you light,
'Twere best for you to tell this thing.
—If, mother, to you this thing I tell,
When he comes here, may it please you well.

Que coit' ouv' ora el rei de me levar
Quanto ben avia nen ei d' aver!
—Non vos ten prol, filha, de m' o negar,
Ante vo-lo terá de mo dizer.
—Direi-vo-lo eu, e pois que o disser
Non vos pes, madre, quando aqui veer.

Alas now that the king should choose
To take all I love or ever shall!
—It helps not, daughter, to refuse
But, rather, helps to tell me all.
—If, etc.

III. Barcarola.

Per ribeira do rio
Vi remar o navio
E sabor ei da ribeira.

All along the river I
Saw a ship pass slowly by.
The river draws my heart and eyes.

Per ribeira do alto
Vi remar o barco
E etc.

All adown the river steep
I watched the ship sail to the deep.
The etc.

Vi remar o navio,
I vai o mio amigo
E etc.

I saw a ship pass slowly by
And for my lover must I sigh.
The etc.

Vi remar o barco,
I vai o mio amado
E etc.

I watched the ship sail to the deep
And my love goes in the ship.
The etc.

I vai o mio amigo,
Quer-me levar consigo
E etc.

For my lover must I sigh,
O that with him in the ship went I.
The etc.

I vai o mio amado
Quer-me levar de grado
E etc.

For my love goes in the ship
And would take me, and I weep.
The etc.

IV. Barcarola.

En Lixboa sobre o mar
Barcas novas mandei lavrar.
Ai mia senhor velida!

At Lisbon by the sea
I bade build ships for me.
Alas fair lady mine!

En Lixboa sobre o lez
Barcas novas mandei fazer.
Ai etc.

At Lisbon on the shore
Of ships they build new store.
Alas etc.

Barcas novas mandei lavrar
E no mar as mandei deitar.
Ai etc.

I bade build ships for me
And launch them in the sea.
Alas etc.

Barcas novas mandei fazer
E no mar as mandei meter.
Ai etc.

Ships bade them build still more
And launch them from the shore.
Alas etc.

II 3. *Quẽ estay filha*, C. V.; *Que est' ay filha*, C. V. B. 7. *Coytauuora*, C. V.; *Coyt' ouv' ora*, C. V. B.
III 8. *hy*, C. V. and C. V. B.; *u*, C. A. N.
IV 4. *lez*, C. V and C. V. B.; *ler*, C. A. N.

V. Barcarola.

El Rei de Portugale
Barcas mandou lavrare
E levará nas barcas sigo,
Mia filha, o voss' amigo.

El Rei Portugueese
Barcas mandou fazere
E levará etc.

Barcas mandou lavrare
E no mar as deitare
E levará etc.

Barcas mandou fazere
E no mar as metere
E levará etc.

Ships for the King of Portugal
Are being built now great and small
And with him in these ships I know,
O daughter mine, your love will go.

Ships for the king of the Portuguese
Are being built now and with these,
Yea with him etc.

And all these ships by his decree
Will sail far out into the sea,
And with him etc.

And all these ships at his command
Will venture far away from land,
And with him etc.

VI. Cantiga de Amigo.

Cabelos los meus cabelos
El Rei me enviou por elos.
Madre que lhes farei?
—Filha dade-os a el Rei.

Garceras las mias garceras
El Rei me enviou por elas.
Madre que lhes farei?
—Filha dade-os a el Rei.

O locks, my locks so fair to see
The king has sent for you to me.
O mother, what of this offering?
—My daughter, give it to the king.

O hair, my hair so fair and fine
The king has sent for these locks of mine.
O mother, what of this offering?
—My daughter, give them to the king.

VII. Barcarola.

Pela ribeira do rio
Cantando ia la dona virgo
D' amor:
Venhan as barcas pelo rio
A sabor.

Pela ribeira do alto
Cantando ia la dona d' algo
D' amor:
Venhan etc.

By the margin of the river
Went a maiden singing, ever
Of love sang she:
Up the stream the boats came sailing
Gracefully.

All along the river bent
The fair maiden singing went
Of love's dream:
Fair to see the boats came sailing
Up the stream.

VIII. Barcarola.

Mete el Rei barcas no rio forte
Quen amigo á que Deos lho amostre.
Ala vai, madre, e ei suidade.

Mete el Rei barcas na Estremadura
Quen amigo á que Deos lho aduga.
Ala etc.

The king hath ships on the river wide,
And all true lovers God be their guide!
But, mother, my love is gone away
And I am sad at heart to-day.

The king hath ships upon the sea,
God bring my love home safe to me!
But, mother, he is etc.

V 2. *laurar̄*, C. V. M.; 3, 4, *E la iram (ira, irā) nas barq̄s migo mha filha e uossa migo*, C. V. M.; *E lā iram nas barcas sigo mha filha e voss' amigo*, C. V. B.; *E levará nas barcas sigo, mia filha, o voss' amigo*, C. A. N.

VII 2. *ugo*, C. V. M.; *sigo*, C. V. B.; *virgo*, C. A. N. 4. *Venha nas barq̄s*, C. V. M.; *Venham as barcas*, C. V. B.; *Venham nas barcas*, C. A. N.

VIII 3. *a la uay madre o dey suydade*, C. V. M.; *e oj' ei suydade*, C. V. B.; *o de qu' ei soidade*, C. A. N.

IX. Barcarola.

Jus' a lo mar e o rio
Eu namorada irei,
U el rei arma navio,
Amores, convosco m' irei.

Jus' a lo mar e o alto
Eu namorada irei,
U el rei arma o barco,
Amores etc.

U el rei arma navio
Eu namorada irei,
Pera levar a virgo,
Amores etc.

U el rei arma o barco
Eu namorada irei,
Pera levar a d' algo,
Amores etc.

Close by the river and the sea
All in love will I go to-day,
Where the king builds a ship for all to see,
My love, I will go with you away.

Close by the sea and the river deep
All in love will I go to-day,
Where the king fitteth out a ship,
My love etc.

Where the king doth a ship prepare,
All in love will I go to-day,
To bear away the lady fair,
My love etc.

To bear her away so the king hath willed,
All in love will I go to-day,
And there for him a ship they build,
My love etc.

X. Barcarola.

Pela ribeira do rio salido
Trebelhei, madre, con meu amigo:
Amor ei migo, que non ouvesse!
Fiz por amig' o que non fezesse!

Pela ribeira do rio levado
Trebelhei, madre, con meu amado,
Amor etc.

By the river, mother, the risen river,
Was I with him who is mine for ever:
O could but I, love, without love live
What I gave to my love were now mine to give.

By the river flooded and brimming over
Played I with him who is my lover:
O etc.

XI. Bailada.

Bailemos agora, por Deos, ai velidas,
So aquestas avelaneiras frolidas,
E quen for velida como nos velidas,
Se amigo amar
So aquestas avelaneiras frolidas
Verrá bailar.

Bailemos agora, por Deos, ai loadas,
So aquestas avelaneiras granades,
E quen for loada como nos loadas,
Se amigo amar
So aquestas avelaneiras granadas,
Verrá bailar.

Come dance we now, my sisters fair,
Beneath the flowered hazels there,
And she who is fair as we are fair,
If in love she be
There beneath the hazel blossom
Will dance as we.

Come dance we now, come dance we now
Beneath this flowered hazel-bough,
And she who is fair as I and thou,
If to love she chance
Beneath the flowered hazel there
Will join our dance.

IX 2. *E ie namorada yrey*, C. V. M.; *oje namorada irey*, C. V. B.; 11, 15, *levar*[*des*], C. A. N.
X 4. *fiz por amigo*, C. V. M.; *amig' o*, C. A. N.
XI 3. *nos*, C. V. M.; *vos*, C. V. B.

Notes.

I (C. V. 751). For other *pastorelas* cf. Airas Nunez' *Oí oj' eu ũa pastor cantar* (C. V. 454) or King Dinis' *Ũa pastor se queixava* (C. V. 102) or D. Joan de Aboim's *Cavalgava noutro dia* (C. V. 278); but Zorro's is less artificial than theirs, simpler and more popular.

6. *solo ramo.* Cf. one of the oldest *cossantes*, quoted by Airas Nunez (C. V. 454): *solo ramo verde frolido.*

7. *treides vos* = 'come' (perhaps with something more of speed than *vinde*). Cf. *treição*, *treidor* for *traição*, *traidor*. King Dinis (C. V. 173) has *treide-vos, ai amigo*; Martin Codax (C. V. 888) *treides-vos migo.*

12. *Por amor da Gloriosa.* Dr Braga emends the *por amor da glosa* of the original to *por amore da glosa* for the sake of the metre, but it is a vain tinkering. Clearly one should read *por amor da glõsa*, i.e. *da Gloriosa* = de Santa Maria. Cf. C. V. 866 (a popular *pastorela* by the *jogral* Lourenço), *Prouguesse a Santa Maria*, and King Alfonso X, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, No. 52: *un miragre...quero ora contar que quiso mui grand' a Groriosa mostrar.*

16. The verse requires a long pause, a sigh, after *que ama.*

II (C. V. 752). This *cantiga de amigo* is not a *cossante*, i.e. a parallel-strophed refrain-song, as are the following *Per ribeira do rio*, *En Lixboa sobre lo mar*, etc. As frequently, it takes the form of a dialogue between mother and daughter. 2, 3, 4, *meu lume* (*lume dos meus ollos*), *Deos vos perdon'*, *gracir* (= *agradecer*) are frequent in the C. V.

2. It is a common complaint in these songs that the lover is away with the king, that is, to serve the king in his palace or in his wars.

III (C. V. 753). Here we have a perfect specimen of the *cossante.* It opens with a distich with *i* rhyme or assonance, the sense of which is repeated in the second distich with *a* rhyme or assonance. After treble and bass have thus started the song, the third distich repeats the last line of the first and then (as in Julio Diniz' description of the *posponto* in *Uma Familia Inglesa* (4ª ed. p. 235)) takes a step forward, which is similarly carried on in the fifth distich. All these *cossantes* were originally dance-songs and the refrain after each distich corresponds to a pause in the dance.

IV (C. V. 754). This and the following *cossante* have the *a–e* sequence, less common than that in *i–a.*

2. Only the king could say 'I ordered new boats to be built,' and one is at first inclined to attribute the poem to King Dinis who so keenly looked after his navy. But it was perhaps written some ten years before he was born and is clearly assigned in the C. V. to Zorro. A poor *jogral* would be more likely than a courtly *trobador* to lose his personality in that of the king, just as Pindar in some of his odes speaks in the person of him for whom they were written. It was only under Afonso III that Lisbon began to assume importance and we may place this song confidently in his reign (1246–78).

3. *velida* = beautiful. Cf. *ojos velidos* in the *Poema del Cid.*

4. *sobre lo lez.* The word *lez* occurs twice (*lez* and *lex*) in C. V. 246, a *barcarola* by Nuno Fernandez Torneol. Those who read *ler* may plead that *lez* in both C. V. 246 and C. V. 754 is the only word that does not rhyme. On the other hand alternate rhyme and assonance are common (as in No. III, cf. *Portuguees* and *fazer* in No. V), and *lez* would run far greater chance of being altered into *ler* than *ler* into *lez.* There can be little doubt that it is the same word (from Latin *latus*) as that in the modern Portuguese *de lez a lez* (from side to side), and in French and English place names: *le, les.*

V (C. V. 755). Music was written for this *barcarola cossante* by P. E. Wagner (in Wilhelm Storck, *Altportugiesische Lieder*, Paderborn 1888). This is the popular version of which C. V. 754, with its *Ai mia senhor velida*, is the Court variant.

VI (C. V. 756). Nos. V–X are simple *cossantes* with slightly developed refrain.

5. Cf. C. V. 794 (a *cossante* by Pero Meogo), *E con sabor delas lavei mias garcelas, E con sabor delos lavei meus cabelos. Garcelas* = not *roupa* (as in the C. V. B. glossary) but *poupa* (i.e. the hair itself).

VII (C. V. 757). The first two lines of this lovely *barcarola* are quoted in C. V. 454 by the priest Airas Nunez, who had an exquisite taste in popular songs.

6, 7. *alto*, and *dona d' algo* are the ordinary pendants to *rio* and *dona virgo* in the *i–a* sequence.

VIII (C. V. 758). The *rio forte* is of course the Tagus, and *Estremadura* (the limit, *finis terrae*) is the name of the province in which Lisbon is situated.

3. The form *suidade* is used by Sá de Miranda in the sixteenth century but the older Galician form is *soidade* (modern *saudade*).

5. The Admiral Pai Gomez Charinho uses the same verb *aduzer* in a prayer for those at sea. (C. V. 429 : *vos m' adugades o meu amigo.*)

IX (C. V. 759). A single ship is now being made ready and the occasion seems to have been similar to that for which Gil Vicente some three centuries later (1519) wrote the *Cortes de Jupiter* : the departure from Lisbon by sea of the king's daughter (*pera levar a virgo*) on her marriage to the Prince of Savoy.

X (C. V. 760). 1. Cf. C. V. 886 (a *barcarola* by Martin Codax) : *o mar salido... o mar levado.*

2. The verb *trebelhar* (= *brincar*, cf. Milton's 'to sport with Amaryllis') occurs in the apocryphal gibberish 'poem' *Tinherabos nom tinherabos.*

XI (C. V. 761). Airas Nunez has left us (C. V. 462) a variant of this delightful dance-song, with slight variations in the first two verses and the addition of a third verse. Zorro's version is clearly nearer to the popular original and is by far the most beautiful of the *bailadas* contained in the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana.*

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL,
June, 1919.

THE STAGING OF THE DONAUESCHINGEN PASSION PLAY.

I.

The Donaueschingen Passion Play, published in 1846 by Mone[1], has been strangely neglected by students of the medieval drama. Some few of the stage directions, which are unusually precise and afford an intimate glimpse of the stage practice of the times, are to be found in all the histories of the German drama, but it was not until 1910 that a more extensive investigation of the play appeared[2]. The outstanding merit of this monograph, in certain other respects disappointing[3], is that it shows beyond doubt the very close relationship existing between the Donaueschingen Passion and the Luzern Easter Plays. It seems now quite probable that the original of which the Donaueschingen Passion is either a copy or a recasting was put together in Luzern and that the manuscript as preserved originated in the immediate vicinity of Donaueschingen or perhaps in Villingen[4].

Two larger family groups of German passion plays have been distinguished in the past—the Frankfurt and the Tirol Passions[5]. To these a third is now added, the Donaueschingen-Luzern-Villingen group. The interrelations of this new group are outlined by Dinges, but as neither the Luzern nor the Villingen texts have been published[6], a detailed

[1] *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, ii, pp. 150–350.

[2] Georg Dinges, *Untersuchungen zum Donaueschingen Passionsspiel* (*Germanistische Abhandlungen*, xxxv, 1910).

[3] Cf. the review by H. Legband, *Herrigs Archiv*, cxxx, 1913, pp. 392–9.

[4] Dinges, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 29, 39 f., 55.

[5] For the Frankfurt group cf. especially Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters* in Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationalliteratur* and Wirth, *Die Oster- und Passionsspiele bis zum* 16. *Jahrh.*, Halle, 1889; for the Tirol cf. Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tirol*, Graz, 1897.

[6] As regards the Luzern texts this is peculiarly unfortunate, as through the publications of Renward Brandstetter we have a fuller knowledge of the details of the Luzern performances than of any other of the German Passions. The list of Brandstetter's publications may be found most conveniently in Baechtold, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz*, Anmerkungen, p. 67. To this should be added *Die Aufführung eines Luzerner Osterspieles im* 16.–17. *Jahrhundert* (*Der Geschichtsfreund*, xlviii (1893), pp. 277 ff.), an extremely interesting and illuminating article of which a brief abstract may be found in *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, viii, pp. 244 ff. I sincerely wish that Brandstetter's articles, which I regard as indispensable for any intensive study of the medieval German stage, but which are not even mentioned in the bibliographies of Mantzius, *A History of Theatrical Art*, ii, *The Middle Ages and The Renaissance*, Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*,

comparison is at present impossible. The relation of the Villingen Passion to the others is especially indefinite. In one place Dinges claims (p. 127): 'dass VP (Villingen) in seiner Anlage und in vielen Einzelheiten von DP (Donaueschingen) abhängig ist.' He seems to regard it 'als Ausläufer des älteren (Spiels).' Later he says, however (p. 143 note 1): 'im übrigen liessen sich manche Berührungen zwischen VP und den späteren Fassungen des Luz. O. nachweisen, doch ist VP nicht im einzelnen davon abhängig und überhaupt recht modern.' In his own tabulation of the contents of the two groups I noticed, however, one fairly obvious resemblance between the Luzern text of 1545 (the oldest version preserved) and the Villingen Passion, which is entirely lacking in the Donaueschingen text (Dinges, p. 118): 'nach 3414 Dionysios Areopagita und Apollophanes über die eingetretene Finsternis[1],' while at the corresponding place in the Villingen Passion (Dinges, p. 142): 'Der Astronom Dionysius.'

On a loose leaf in the manuscript of the Donaueschingen Passion is contained a rough sketch of a medieval stage[2]. It was recognized by Mone that this was of later date than the manuscript itself, also that the stations denoted did not coincide with the demands of the text[3]. Because of this and influenced by the fact that he finds one, perhaps two, cases where a passage from the text of the Villingen play has been inserted in the manuscript of the Donaueschingen Passion[4], Dinges seems to assign the sketch to the Villingen Passion[5], without, however, discussing the point.

A detailed examination of the staging of the Donaueschingen Passion has never, I believe, been undertaken. On this account I venture to submit the following attempt, in which I shall still assume that the sketch has reference to this text[6].

or Cohen-Bauer, *Geschichte der Inszenierung im geistlichen Schauspiele des Mittelalters in Frankreich*, might be collected in book form and so made more accessible. The Luzern text of 1494 edited by Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, ii, pp. 119 ff., has no connection with the Luzern passion plays of the second half of the sixteenth century (cf. Brandstetter, *Regenz* etc., p. 20) and does not enter into our consideration.

[1] That is, the darkness that came over the earth at the death of Christ.

[2] For the modern reproductions of this *vide inf.*

[3] Mone, *Schauspiele*, ii, pp. 154 f.

[4] Dinges, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 30 ff.

[5] *Ibid.* 135: 'Dass dieser (i.e. der Bühnenplan) nicht zu DP passt, hat man längst eingesehen. Er gehört den Schriftzeichen nach ins 16. Jahrh. und passt vorzüglich zu dem Texte des VP.' Dinges fails to notice here, however, that the action of the Villingen Passion, with the exception of the first seven scenes of Act 1, coincides almost entirely with the second day's performance of the Donaueschingen Passion (cf. *Untersuchungen*, pp. 139 ff.). The importance of this fact will be later apparent.

[6] This assumption even Dinges himself can scarcely criticise, for he states (p. 135): 'dass die Bühne [of the Villingen Passion] von der Tradition des D[onaueschinger] P[assionsspiels] beherrscht wird; ja ich stehe nicht an zu behaupten, dass die Spielleiter die Hs Nr. 137 [containing the Donaueschingen Passion] als szenische Dirigierrolle benutzt haben.'

A description of the medieval stage in Germany, which is both comprehensive and lucid, such as we possess for France in Cohen-Bauer, *Geschichte der Inszenierung im geistlichen Schauspiele des Mittelalters in Frankreich* (1907), has not yet appeared. For two of the plays we have excellent and on the whole trustworthy guides: for the Alsfeld Passion the description by Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, pp. 265 ff., while the Luzern texts have been exhaustively treated by Brandstetter[1]. More comprehensive are the two publications of Richard Heinzel, *Abhandlungen zum altdeutschen Drama* (1896), and *Beschreibung des geistlichen Schauspiels im deutschen Mittelalter* (1898). The second of these is a veritable mine of information, but is so overloaded with detail that the reader, even with careful study, fails to obtain a plastic picture of the actual stage performance. Furthermore the fund of material offered by Wackernell in his introduction to *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tirol* (1897) was not available until after Heinzel's volume was in press.

In spite of these articles and monographs, however, strange and erroneous notions regarding the stage of the German passion plays seem to persist. A good example is the description given in Proelss, *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst* (p. 20), which was published in 1900, later than any of the German works cited above: 'In Deutschland herrschte im allgemeinen die Übereinanderordnung von Himmel, Erde und Hölle vor. Vor dem in der Mitte befindlichen irdischen Schauplatz, der in einem Nebeneinander in die einzelnen durch das Spiel bedingten Schauplätze zerfiel, breitete sich ein entsprechend erhöhter Spielplatz aus, der in Süddeutschland die Brügge genannt wurde, unter dem sich in der Mitte der Eingang zur Hölle befand. Zu diesem und der Vorbühne führten Stufen hinunter. Über dem irdischen Schauplatz befand sich die sogenannte Zinne, die auch den Himmel vorstellte.' All of which is, if I understand the passage, absolutely and completely false.

Four sketches of the medieval German stage-arrangement have been preserved, all dating from the sixteenth century:

1. The Alsfeld plan, 1501 (reproduced and discussed by Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, pp. 267 and 860).

2. Raber's sketch, 1514 (reproduced by Pichler, *Über das Drama des Mittelalters in Tirol*, p. 63. Cf. also Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele*, pp. ccxxxv ff. and 433 ff.). This, however, differs from

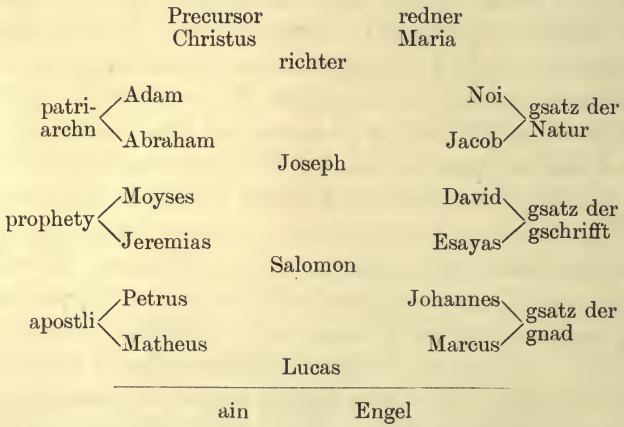
[1] Cf. p. 65, note 6.

the others, as it is intended for a performance within the church edifice and not on the open market-place.

3. The Donaueschingen sketch (accurately reproduced by Froning[1], opp. p. 277, and by Könnecke, *Bilderatlas*, 2d Ed., p. 89).

4. The two sketches for the Luzern Passion of 1583. The stage-arrangement of the first day's performance reproduced most accessibly in Genée, *Lehr- und Wanderjahre des deutschen Schauspiels* (at end of volume), also Cohen-Bauer, opp. p. 74; of the second day the admirable reproduction in Vogt und Koch, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, 2d Ed., p. 256.

To these may be added the following arrangement, here published for the first time, of the shorter play *Ain recht das Christus stirbt*, which I copied from the manuscript of Vigil Raber, preserved in the city archives of Sterzing[2]. It is of some interest, as it shows that the general method of staging the passion plays was also followed in the less pretentious performances.



For the student who desires to obtain an accurate notion of the staging of a medieval German passion play in the open, I would advise as first introduction Brandstetter's *Die Aufführung eines Luzerner Osterspieles* (*Der Geschichtsfreund*, xlviii, pp. 277 ff.), using as illustrative material, not only the four plans here given, but also the two

[1] It was unfortunate that Mone, who gave the first reproduction of this (*Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, ii, p. 156), added the enclosing lines to the original rough drawing, for it is this arbitrary reconstruction that, with the two exceptions noted above, has been so frequently published. Cf. also Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, ii, p. 84, who in Note 3 gives other references.

[2] Cf. Wackernell, p. xiv, Nr. ix. A fairly complete synopsis of the piece is given by Pichler, pp. 66 ff. The manuscript is dated 1529.

Luzern sketches mentioned above. With this as background it will not be very difficult to interpret the other, earlier sketches with at least a fair amount of accuracy. The assumption may, I think, be regarded as justified that the earlier the text the more simple, the more primitive the stage becomes[1].

Returning to the Donaueschingen sketch, let us compare it first with the other three. Certain general similarities with the Luzern sketches, more especially with that of the second day's performance, become at once evident. The general rectangular shape is the same[2], as are also the relative positions of Heaven, Hell, and the three crosses. Also, though less exactly, the stations for the Last Supper, for Herod and for Caiaphas agree[3]. The station for Annas is, to be sure, in the same stage division but on different sides. The other positions denoted on the Donaueschingen sketch are quite differently placed: the graves (in Luzern there was in addition to the Holy Sepulchre but the one 'gemeinsames Begräbnis'), instead of surrounding the crosses, are located in Luzern on the 'Brunnenbrüge,' at the opposite end of the stage; while almost the exact reverse is true of the relative positions of the Garden of Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives in the two, in Luzern close to Heaven, but on the Donaueschingen sketch at the opposite end of the stage; the position of Pilate's station is quite different, while the pillars for the scourging of Christ and the crowing of the cock, so unduly prominent as the central figures of the Donaueschingen sketch, are both contained on the Luzern plan but at opposite ends of the stage.

Compared with the Alsfeld arrangement the Donaueschingen sketch shows one interesting similarity—the position of the Garden of Gethsemane (here denoted by the words 'Ortus ex opposito'), in both at the opposite end of the stage from Heaven. The only resemblance which Raber's sketch bears to that of Donaueschingen seems to be in the

[1] This is apparently indicated by the Luzern Höferodel, preserved from the years 1545, 1560, 1583, 1597. Cf. *Germania*, xxxi, pp. 256 f.: 'Der Rodel von 1545 scheint auf einfachere Verhältnisse zu deuten, man beachte vor Allem das Wort "Sitz" [i.e. *Cayphas hof* but *Samaritana*, *Cananea sitz*].'

[2] It may be that the comparative narrowness of the Donaueschingen sketch was occasioned simply by the form of the manuscript, according to Mone, ii, pp. 154 and 119, 'in gespaltenem Folio,' which, it should be added, is also the form of most of the Luzern manuscripts.

[3] It is also evident that the position of the spectators corresponds very largely—i.e. along the two long sides of the rectangle and at the windows and on the roofs of the surrounding houses. There is no evidence on the Donaueschingen sketch of the extensive scaffoldings which we know were erected for the spectators in Luzern. Whether the spectators in the case of the Donaueschingen play were to sit or stand is not clear. The introductory note (Mone, ii, p. 184) reads: 'wen ... man das volk geheit siczen und schwigen,' but the 'Proclamators Knecht' says (v. 19): 'dar umb so stand enwenig still.' Cf. also Heinzel, *Beschreibung*, pp. 36 and 61 f.

presence of the 'porta magna' in the former and the three gates ('das tor') of the latter.

It is, however, these three gates with the accompanying cross-lines, clearly indicating a division of the stage into three parts, which form the most distinguishing feature of the Donaueschingen plan. Chambers believes that these three divisions formed by cross-barriers correspond to the three divisions of a church—sanctuary, choir, nave[1]. This is a notion which has certain attractive features—it would be but natural to suppose that the general arrangement within the church was continued when the plays were taken to the market-place. It is, however, with the material now available a point quite incapable of proof. I would only point out that the Raber sketch, which we know was for a play within the church, is apparently quite different.

My study of the Donaueschingen sketch in connection with the text has suggested another explanation, which, I admit, is nothing but a conjecture. The Luzern plan also has three gates, clearly indicated on the sketch of the second day's performance marked 'die beschloss(ene) Thor oder Gatter,' i.e. 'gitterartige durchsichtige Thüren ..., die man nach Belieben öffnen und schliessen konnte, Wächter waren dabei postirt[2].' Through the gate on the street leading to the 'Kornmarkt' the actors entered in solemn procession to take their places. These three gates of the Luzern plan are located however quite differently from those of the Donaueschingen sketch. The first of the three on this latter one might imagine as serving the same purpose, i.e. entrance to or exit from the stage, which took place, however, only at the beginning and end of each day's play. But this does not at all explain the presence of the other two.

It is to be noted that the third division of the Donaueschingen stage is marked off not only by the gates but also by two parallel cross-lines, which we find again on the Luzern plan, where together with the steps they indicate the elevation of the scaffolding built over the fountain (the so-called 'Brunnenbrüge'). It is also at least noticeable that the single cross-lines of the two other gates are drawn well up on their sides. Does this perhaps indicate that divisions one and three of the Donaueschingen sketch were raised above division two, which was level with the ground and which, if we exclude the five 'hüsser,' was identical with the 'gemeine burge' of the introductory note[3]?

[1] *The Medieval Stage*, ii, p. 84. This same view was advanced earlier by Davidson, *English Mystery Plays*, p. 75, also by Pearson, *Chances of Death*, ii, pp. 319 ff. The latter concludes (p. 321): 'I have not come across another hypothesis which throws any light on the threefold division and the remarkable barriers.'

[2] *Germania*, xxxi, p. 251.

[3] Cf. Mone, ii, p. 184.

There is nothing in the text to compel this assumption, but it does facilitate in some measure the erection of the cross for Christ's crucifixion[1] and is of decided advantage for the construction of the graves and of Hell. The former would then be in the nature of traps[2]. Some hints as to the construction of the Holy Sepulchre are given: Nicodemus describes the tomb to Joseph of Arimathæa (3616 ff.):

> ich weisz im wol ein grab und stat
> in einem vels, das liesz ich machen,
> mit einem stein wend wirsz vertachen[3].

More important than this, which is but a Biblical paraphrase, are the words of Urias who bids the watch (3835 f.):

> gand und ligent zů dem hol,
> lůgent und hůten des grabes wol.

And it must have been a considerable 'hol,' for after Joseph, Nicodemus and their helpers place the Salvator in the tomb 'und beschliessent das' the stage-direction reads (3665): 'Und in dissem schlicht der Salvator uss dem grab und becleidet sich anders und leit sich den wider dar in,' i.e. it was provided with a secret exit. At the Resurrection we read (3859): 'in dem stost der Salvator das grab uff und stat uffrecht mit einem fůsz uss her ze stigen[4].' And finally, when the three Maries arrive at the Sepulchre to anoint the body of Christ, Mary Magdalene speaks, to be sure, of the great stone to be lifted off, but the following stage-direction runs (4079): 'In dissem tůnd die engel das grab uff, und stat der drit engel dar in.' These quotations seem to imply something of the nature of a trap rather than of a structure erected above the ground and for such a trap a raised stage would be almost essential.

Regarding Hell the details are very meagre. On the sketch it differs in no wise from the other stations or places of action and has nothing of the awe-inspiring appearance of the Luzern hell-gate. That it was shut off from the open stage seems to be indicated by the actions of the devils on the arrival of Judas (2489): 'Nu louft Lucifer her fůr

[1] The crosses for the two thieves were from the text apparently in place at the beginning of the second day's performance or at least before they were required by the action.

[2] The number of graves indicated by the Donaueschingen sketch is somewhat surprising, four beside the Holy Sepulchre. Their only purpose seems to be for the resurrection of the dead at Christ's death (3447). It may also be that one served as Lazarus' tomb (cf. below), and possibly one or even two of the others for the bodies of the two thieves, though not so designated by the text, unless it be implied in the *etc.* (3477)—their souls at least found other disposition (3455).

[3] But according to *Matthew*, 27, 60 the tomb belonged to Joseph of Arimathæa. The other Gospels say nothing regarding its ownership (cf. *Mark*, 15, 42 ff.; *Luke*, 23, 50 ff.; *John*, 19, 38 ff.). In verse 3780 it is spoken of as being located in a 'garten.' This is, I believe, but another Biblical reminiscence (*John*, 19, 41), and so of no importance for the stage arrangement.

[4] Regarding this position of the risen Lord cf. Cohen-Bauer, p. 109.

usz und nimpt Judas ab dem seil,' after which (2501): 'Nu nemend die tůffel Judas und tragent in in die hell.' Also by the stage-direction when the 'Altväter' are released by Christ (3891): 'Und dar uff nimpt der Salvator Adam by der hand und gand im die andern all nach bis her uss fůr das volck, da mit das iederman gesehen mǒg und hǒren.' The scene of Christ's descent into hell shows evidence of something like a door as entrance (3869): 'Und uff das stost der Salvator mit dem fůsz an die hell,' but (3871): 'Die hell sol nit uff gan, und den machent die tůffel ein wild gefert in der hell.' Not until the third repetition of this do we find (3883): 'Und so die hell uff gat, machend die tůffel ein wild geschrey, und nimpt der Salvator ein ketten und bindet Lucifer.'

That Heaven was raised above the level of the other stations is highly probable, also even above the third division of the sketch if we assume this to be above the level of the ground. So much may be safely inferred from the other Passions[1]. There is, however, nothing in the text itself to prove this, nor indeed anything which gives the least hint of its construction.

Nor did I find anything in the text that indicated the construction of the other stations given on the sketch. The details for Luzern are available[2] and, while one may not transfer without some ground, it seems to me very probable that the stations on the Donaueschingen sketch, enclosed on three sides, were actually separated from each other and from the rest of the stage by palings, raised a few feet above the ground, and each provided with an entrance to the 'gemeine burge.' It is also rather noticeable that the five 'hůsser' of the middle division of the sketch extend an equal distance out into the centre of the stage. Is this perhaps an indication that the paling on both sides extended the entire length of this division, forming what Brandstetter styles the 'Agentenzone' of the Luzern stage[3]? On the Luzern sketch the stations of the Proclamator and of Cayphas are denoted in the same fashion as is the case for Donaueschingen. That the stations were to any great extent covered by roofs I do not believe, for the action of the play takes place not merely in the open centre but very frequently in the stations. If these were roofed the action would be largely hidden from spectators at the windows or on the roofs of the surrounding houses.

On the other hand it is evident from the action and number of properties given in the stage-directions that the stations were in part at

[1] Cf. especially the Luzern plan.
[2] *Germania*, xxxi, pp. 249 ff.: 'Die Luzerner Bühnenrodel.'
[3] *Der Geschichtsfreund*, xlviii, pp. 331 and 334.

least of considerable size. A few examples must suffice. In Annas' 'hus' there was a place for a fire, for when the Jews hale Christ before him we find (2145): 'und gat Petrus langsam hernach und stelt sich zů der glůt.' Just what is meant by the stage-direction when Christ is brought before Caiaphas is not entirely clear (2233): 'koment sy in Cayphas huss, und sol Cayphas nit da sin, als ob er schlieffe.' Later we read (2261): 'In disen dingen kůmpt Cayphas und siczt in sinen stůl.' And this 'stůl' must have been in the nature of a bench for (2333): 'Dissem nach springt Jesse neben Cayphas uff den stůl und hept sin hend uff, als ob er ein eyd schwer.' Pilate seated upon his throne ('stůl') receives the Jews with Christ, but when he addresses them we read (2747): 'Pilatus stat uff und gat har für zů den Juden und spricht.' And when Christ is brought back after the flagellation (2901): 'Hie sol Pilatus tůn und ersunfzen, als ob in der Salvator übel erbarmet, und stat uff vom stůl, gat her für spricht zů allen Juden.' (2907): 'Nu gat Pilatus und nimpt den Salvator und fůrt in herfür, und hept im den mantel uff und spricht zun Juden.' (2919): 'Uff das nimpt Pilatus den Salvator und fůrt in hin in und sitzt uff sinen stůl und spricht zů im.' A portion of Pilate's station was apparently reserved for his wife (2947): 'Und in dem tůt Pilatus frow, als ob sy schlieff, so kumpt der tüffel Brendly und redet ira in die oren.' (2951): 'Nu gat der tüffel hinweg und stat die frow uff und gat zů Pilato.' Thereupon Pilate demands water (2961): 'Nu bütet die frow und die knecht Pilato wasser (in) ein becken und gend im wasser an die hende.' When he finally passes sentence the throne is placed at his command before his station (2991): 'Nu tragent Pilatus knecht den stůl har für, dar uff setzt sich Pilatus und gipt die urteil über das unschuldig blůt.'

A station which is very frequently used, especially in the action of the first day, but which is not indicated on the sketch, is the Temple, which occupies so prominent a position on the Luzern plans. It is the official centre of the groups hostile to Christ. While again I could find no hint of its construction, some notion of its size may be obtained from the following stage-direction—the occasion is that of Christ's purging of the temple (1129): 'In dissem macht der Salvator uss seilen ein geisslen, und stand die Juden im tempel ze merckten umb kelwer oder essel, was sy dann hant, und sitzt Urias by dem wechselbanck und Marcellus vater mit einem körbly mit tuben dar in, und dan gat der Salvator hin in und zornig und schlacht er die Juden und das vech uss dem tempel und würft den wechselbanck umb. und den loufent die Juden all hin uss.'

It is evident from this omission of the Temple that the Donaueschingen sketch is incomplete. We are given however in the introductory note what claims to be a complete list of the stations required for the performance (Mone, ii, p. 184): 'und sind dis nach benämpten die hüsser und höff, so man dar zů haben můsz.'

There are then two lists, which are here appended in parallel columns:

List.	Sketch.
1. Der gart Marie Magdalene	
2. Symons husz	
3. Die appenteck	
4. Der berg, da der túffel got versücht	
5. Der tempel	
6. Die Jůden schůl	
7. Die stat Naym	
8. Die christenen husz	
9. Der zwölfbotten husz	
10. Cayphas husz	1. kaivas Husz
11. Herodes husz	2. Herodes Hausz
12. Annas husz	3. annas Husz
13. Pilatus husz	4. pilatus Husz
14. Der brunn oder cistern	
15. Lausarus grab	
16. Der Ölberg	5. der ölberg
17. Die hell	6. die hel
18. Das himelrich	7. der himmel
19. Und ein gemeine burge, dar in man kront, geislet, das nachtmal und ander ding volbringt[1].	
	8. der gart (Gethsemane)
	9. das husz in (dem) dasz nachtmal war
	10. dasz hailig grab
	11. die gräber (4)
	12. die drüy crůcz
	13. die sul, daruff der guler (cock) ist
	14. die sul, dar an Jesus gaist (i.e. is scourged)
	15. das tor

A few of the minor discrepancies between the two may be explained satisfactorily. That the gates (though three are indicated on the sketch, 'das tor,' No. 15, appears but once) are not given in the list is not surprising; they are neither 'hüsser' nor 'höff,' but simply afford passage to and from the three divisions of the stage. The 'drüy crůcz' mentioned among the properties of the list are placed on the sketch (No. 12). The torture of Christ—the crowning with thorns and the scourging—is

[1] The continuation—'den stock, dar die gefangen ligen, drüy crůcz, die sul und anders etc. ainen esel'—is evidently but a list of more important properties, the use of which might or might not take place on the 'gemeine burge.'

to take place on the 'gemeine burge' according to the list (No. 19), and we find on the sketch (No. 14) the pillar for the scourging erected in what I understand to be the 'gemeine burge[1],' i.e. the open space between the two rows of stations in the second division of the stage. Whether 'die sul' of the properties added to the list refers to this or to the pillar for the cock (sketch No. 13) I cannot say. Is not, however, a direct contradiction implied in the statement of the list (No. 19) that the 'nachtmal' take place in the 'gemeine burge,' whereas on the sketch (No. 9) we find 'das husz in (dem) dasz nachtmal war'? I think not; for while the station indicated on the sketch was doubtless occupied by the 'huszvatter,' the Last Supper itself took place before this and so on the 'gemeine burge.' The evidence of Luzern supports this strongly, not only is the table so placed on the Luzern plan but we have the direct statement (*Germania*, xxxi, p. 268): 'Demnach das Letzt Nachtmal das würdt aber vor vszen am platz gehallten.' This, in direct contrast to the other 'gast mäler' which are specifically stated to have been held 'im hoff.' The list gives 'Lausarus grab' (No. 15), which is not on the sketch, where however we find 'dasz hailig grab,' which in turn is missing on the list. Does one and the same grave serve for both, for Lazarus at the first day's performance and for Christ at the second? This was evidently the case for the Luzern performance of 1545 (*Germania*, xxxi, p. 257): 'Lazarus Salvators grab eins,' although they are distinct on the Luzern sketch of 1583. The stage-directions and text also seem to point to the same conclusion (1300): Christ bids the sisters: 'heben mir den stein[2] ab' (cf. 4077 f.), but also (1309): 'Nu gand Martha und ir schwŏster, entblŏtzend daz grab,' and (1321): 'Ab dissen worten [of Christ] hept Lasarus das hŏpt uff und spricht sitzende, noch gebunden.' These last two references again read somewhat as if we were dealing with a trap (cf. above p. 71). That 'das husz in (dem) dasz nachtmal war' (sketch No. 9) is identical with 'Symons husz' (list No. 2) may be regarded as almost certain, also that it, or at least the same table, served for the 'nachtmal' given by Martha and Lazarus (1493 ff.) as highly probable. This may be surmised from a comparison with the Luzern plan of the second day and is also definitely stated (*Germania*, xxxi, p. 268).

With the one exception then of the Garden of Gethsemane (sketch

[1] The term 'burge,' 'burc' is not usual. Cf. Heinzel, *Abhandlungen*, p. 29. According to my notion the 'gemeine burge' corresponds to the 'Theatrum' of the Luzern stage. Cf. *Germania*, xxxi, p. 252, also p. 257, where among the 'Hŏf vnd plätz des spils 1545' we find 'die gmeyn brügi zŭ vilen stucken.'

[2] Cf. *John*, 11, 38 f.

No. 8) the additions made to the list by the sketch may be explained fairly satisfactorily. But this does not at all clear up the question of the many omissions of the sketch as compared with the list. Mone[1] noticed this fact and remarked that the sketch 'bei weitem nicht mehr so viele Gegenstände enthält, als im Eingange des Stückes angegeben sind. Man hat also bei der späteren Aufführung das Stück abgekürzt, wie man es noch heutzutage thut.' I do not agree with this, but believe that Wilken[2] was right when he said, without however any attempt to justify the assertion, that the drawing 'sich nur auf den zweiten Spieltag bezieht.'

(To be concluded.)

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[1] *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, ii, p. 155.
[2] *Geschichte der geistlichen Spiele in Deutschland*, p. 228.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Hunuil-Unwine-Unwen.

See *M. L. R.* xiv, p. 1.

Perhaps one of the deeds by which Unwine-Unwen won his fame was a single combat with Attila. A far-off echo of this may be contained in the following passage from the Romance of Waldef, in *T. C. D.* MS. E. 5. 20 (Cat. No. 632 and 1704), of the fifteenth century, printed by Mr J. G. Smyly in No. xli of *Hermathena*, p. 242: 'Eo tempore [i.e. after Arthur] surrexit in Northfolchia quidam rex dictus Attalus; in Suthfolchia vero surrexit rex Vnwyn vocatus, rex Thetfordiae, qui pugnauit cum Attala certamine singulari. Sed hii quidem concordes effecti sunt, nemine mediante.'

The connection of Unwine with Attila might have partly arisen from Jordanes, *Getica*, xiv (ed. Holder, p. 18): 'Ostrogotha autem genuit Hunuin [Mommsen, *Hunuil*], Hunuin item genuit Athal...'

Cyril Brett.

Cardiff.

Sir Gawain's Coat of Arms.

In the Romance of *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, ll. 619–20 the blazoning of Sir Gawayne's shield is given as follows: on a field gules, in one half of the shield a golden pentangle; in the other half the Virgin Mary, the 'hende heven quene.' The author continues, ll. 648–50...'the knight had in comely fashion in the larger half of his shield her image depicted, so that when he looked on it his courage failed never.'

It has been shown by Miss Weston that the 'Beheading Game' in *G. G. K.* ll. 279–456 and ll. 2239–2368, has been borrowed from the *Fled Bricrend* (pub. Irish Text Soc., ed. Henderson, 1899), where

Conchubar MacNessa = King Arthur.
Cuchullain = Gawayne.

The *Fled Bricrend* (Bricriu's Feast) is an account of the strife caused by Bricriu of the Poison Tongue between the three heroes of Ulster at the court of Conchubar. Bricriu eggs them on to quarrelling about precedence and the judgment of a giant is sought to decide which of them is the best champion The giant offers to each of them in turn his axe, and they each cut off the giant's head in turn but Cuchullain alone of the three goes to find this shape-shifting giant and to offer his own head for the return blow. The giant threatens Cuchullain with the axe but does not cut off his head and when Cuchullain has stood the test without shrinking, the giant pronounces him the champion. The date of the *Fled Bricrend* is fixed by M. Lot at 'not earlier than 875 A.D.'

A while ago I came across corroborative evidence of the link between the court of Conchubar and the Gawayne Romance. It relates to the passage paraphrased above and has not been previously noticed. O'Kearney (art. 'Folk Lore,' *Trans. Kilkenny Arch. Soc.* vol. II; 1852, pp. 32 ff.) quotes a gloss to support his thesis about the identity of the Celtic sea-god Lir or Cuillean. This Latin gloss by the scribe of the MS. of the Irish story *An T'ochtar Gaedhal* (inedited) says that Manannan MacLir = Gullinus (Cuillean) = Neptune = Poseidon; and that the goddess of the sea was Tiobhal (who is the same as the Irish goddess Aoibheal). Cuillean was the 'ceard' or smith who gave his name to Cuchullain, i.e. 'hound of Cuillean.' The gloss tells us that Tiobhal met Conchubar when the latter went at the command of an oracle to the Isle of Man in order that Cuillean might bestow druidical charms on his shield and weapons. Cuillean depicted the image of Tiobhal on Conchubar's shield 'and it had many and invincible charms according to the old Irish writers.'

This Latin gloss or the old Irish writers referred to by the glossarist are quite evidently the source of the three lines in the Romance of *G. G. K.* The Latin is given below.

'Gullinus quidem Poseidon fuit, nam "lir" Ibernicum aut Phoenicum nomen Neptuni, et idem quod mare; ideo Gullinus fuit alterum nomen pro Lir, deo maris, ut Tiobal maris dea fuit. Nam illa Conchubaro MacNessa, postea regi Ultoniae, apparuit sub specie mulieris pulcherissimae, cum in Manniam jussu oraculi cui nomen "Cloch-oir"—i.e. saxum solis—quod isto tempore celeberissimum fuit his partibus, adebat ad Gullinum uti daret "buadha" druidica clypeo et armis eius. Gullinus imaginem "Tiobal" in clypeum finxit, et "buadha" multa invincibiliaque habebat, secundum aucthores veteres Ibernicos.'

One may add that Conchubar was successful with the shield, and conquered Ulster. In return for his success and the potent aid of the druidical charms, he invited Cuillean (Gullinus) to settle in the Cuailgne district on the shores of Carlingford Lough. Setanta Beg (Cuchullain) appeared later at the court near there and gained his name Cuchullain.

In the early Middle Ages it was common to substitute Christian images for pagan ones in the old stories. Sir John Rhys has pointed out notable examples; so that this latest-noticed example conforms to the type of 'euhemerized' incidents.

I. Jackson.

Northwich.

'An Ironicall Letter.'

The following letter, which does not appear to have been printed before, occurs in a commonplace-book (now in the Bodleian) kept by Stephen Powle, Clerk to the Crown at the end of Elizabeth's reign. It was written before the capture of Antwerp by Parma in August 1585, and probably belongs to the early part of that year. The letter affords ample material for the most ardent of commentators. Whimsical and ironical in spirit, its many allusions might well have puzzled a contemporary, not in Roberts's immediate circle of acquaintance.

Jack Roberts, the writer of the letter, was probably the gentleman-adventurer who sailed with Ralegh and Whetstone in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's ill-fated expedition of 1579: if so, Churchyard described him appropriately as 'A speciall sparke with present witte[1]'. Sir Roger Williams, to whom the letter was addressed, was a well-known figure in the army of Elizabeth. A Welshman, blunt in his speech and choleric, but of exceptional bravery, the hero of many a brilliant 'service' in France and the Low Countries, he has been called the Fluellen of his day. Leicester wrote of him in 1586 as 'worth his weight in gold', but regretted his habit of walking on the parapet of the trench, in full view of the enemy, 'with a great plume of feathers in his gylt morion[2]'. Old Morgan may have been the captain under whom Williams fought in the Low Countries in 1572, and whom one writer described as a gallant gentleman but 'unfurnished of language[3]', and Charles Herbert may very well be the fiery person of that name whom the Privy Council

[1] *Sir Humfrey Gylberte* (Prince Society, 1903), pp. 252 and 254. T. Churchyard, *A Discourse of The Queenes Maiesties entertainement in Suffolk and Norffolk* (1578), sig. H_4 verso.

[2] *Leycester Correspondence* (Camden Society), p. 407.

[3] Article in *D.N.B.* by R. Dunlop on 'Sir Thomas Morgan.'

bound over to keep the peace in February 1586[1]. Captain William Martin absconded with his soldiers' pay early in 1585[2]: hence their 'wofull complaynt'. Jack Lee and Sylvanus Scory were Low Country soldiers and followers of the Earl of Leicester[3], and a Captain Shute had served under Gilbert in Ireland as early as 1569[4].

Roberts appears to have been as well-informed in the gossip of the navy as in that of the army. Drake was preparing in 1585 for an expedition against Spain, and sailed in September with Jack Hannam as the captain of a company[5]. Grenville had sailed in May of the same year to Virginia, acting as representative of his cousin Ralegh, and accompanied by Philip Amadas as Deputy to the Governor of the Colony[6]. Amyas Preston and John Winter were also well-known sailors of the day.

But the document is chiefly interesting for its references to four men of letters. Churchyard, Rich and Whetstone were all primarily soldiers, who had turned to literature in the hope of obtaining that wealth and preferment which their military prowess alone had failed to win for them. Churchyard is now remembered only for his curiously distinctive personality, and for one or two pieces of good realistic verse[7]. Barnabe Rich, also a voluminous writer, was a competent soldier, but there is no record of his training 'the youth of London in the military truth', and Roberts's statement should not perhaps be taken seriously: in any case Rich had returned to Dublin by November 1585[8]. Shakespeare has given to him and to Whetstone a reflected glory by using their translations of Italian novels in shaping the plots of *Twelfth Night* and *Measure for Measure*. The contemporary reference to John Lyly is interesting. By 1585 he had already produced three plays and was engaged on a fourth—*Endimion*[9]. His allegory, like Spenser's, had a personal and political significance, and, as is hinted below, he made full use of the rich material that presented itself on every side.

[1] *Acts of the P. C.*, 1586–87, pp. 6–7. Like Williams, Roberts was a Monmouthshire man.

[2] *Cal. S. P. Foreign*, 1584–85, p. 506.

[3] *Cal. S. P. Spanish*, 1580–86, p. 556: *Cal. S. P. Foreign*, 1584–85, p. 547: *Acts of the P.C.*, 1586–87, pp. 62 and 138.

[4] T. Churchyard, *A generall rehearsall of warres* (1579), sig. Q_1.

[5] J. S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, II, 13 *n*. Like Cob in *Every Man in his Humour* (III, 7), Hannam had not 'scap't scot-free' at the Green Lattice.

[6] E. Edwards, *Life of Ralegh*, I, 87.

[7] His 'A Fayned Fancye betweene the Spider and the Gowte' (*The Firste parte of Churchyardes Chippes*, 1575, sig. C_2^v) has the charm of detail to be found in a good Dutch picture of an interior.

[8] *Cal. S. P. Ireland*, 1574–85, pp. 585–6.

[9] R. W. Bond, *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, III, 11. A. Feuillerat, *John Lyly* (1910), p. 577.

Tanner MS. 169, ff. 69^{v} and 70.

Jack Robertes lre to S^{r} Roger Willms.

[John Winters lre to Jack Robertes[1].]

Don Rogero. J haue receaued alre from {you} by John Winter, & openinge of it, J thought it to be some ould debt & reckoninge of Jacke Hannam for abreast of veale mutton and Onions at the greene lettice: or the wofull complaynt of Willim Martins souldiers for leavinge them behind him: or the last will and testament of father Lyster. M^{r} Groome hath obtayned of y^{e} state of *Venice* the last of this moneth; the mayntenance of .2. ordinary tables, and y^{e} releife of *Mun Felton* and v: whores. Captayne *Shoute,* [Captayne *Shewet,*] Captayne *Churchyard,* and Captayne *Scory,* haue sworne solemńely either to rayse y^{e} seige at *Anwerpe* or to loue good wine and a Taverne so longe as they live: Jndeed Captayne *Churchyard* should haue bene withdrawne out of this Ac̄con; to be secretary to *Amias Preston* in M^{r} *Rawleys* voyage. A Captayne who though he speake ill, yet he writes but badly. Owld *Morgan,* M^{r} *Herbert,* and father *Lister* are resolute: whether S^{r} *Francis Drake,* {and} S^{r} *Richard Greenefeild* goe forward in their voyage, or noe, They will drinke burnt sacke. And owld *Morgan* tould *Harbert* playnely, y^{t} a man is a man. And M^{r} *Harbert* is of opinion that owld Sacke is better then newe, & father *Lyster* maynetayneth yt. Captayne Rich hath gotten duringe life by helpe of the Recorder, that no man whatsoeuer he be, shall haue to doe wth Midsommer watch, or Mylend greene service, but him selfe. George Whetstone M^{r} *Skidmore* & *Guy* of *Cardife* stoode to be his livetennantes: Whetstone was favored because he was a Poet, M^{r} *Skidmore* serued in ffleetestreete, and Smythfeeld, these .13. or .14. yeeres vppon his owne chardges: But for all that *Guy* of *Cardife* carried yt away, because he did weare a red scarfe vppon his left arme. Jn truth M^{r} *Skidmore* tooke yt so vnkyndly that he fell into a Taverne, and {presently} one goblet was gone. The garrison and soldiers of *Barwick* were in a muteny for .2. causes: Because they are forbidden to weare their blue scarfes and white feathers. And the Recorder goinge to *Paris* garden vppon Sonday last commanded the drumme to sound a *Barwick* martch, and set .3. dogges vppon the greate beare. Surely afoule matter had fallen out, if the Maiars sword bearer, and the Recorders mule had not shewen greate

[1] Deletions are printed within square brackets, interlineations within curly brackets. Beneath the deleted superscription Powle has written 'An ironicall letter'. The letter itself was probably transcribed by one of his clerks. It is in the English script, except for a few names (here printed in italics) in the Italian script.

valor. M^r *Thomas Somerset* hath given away all y^t he hath to y^e poore people, and is aPreist in litle *Amadas* shipp in this voyage. Captayne *Richards* hath written advertisment^r to y^e Counsell that Jack Lee neuer washt his face since his beinge at *Anwerpe.* And owld *Morris* dronke a Carous w^th his sword by his side. Heere where J am there is no newes but that owld *Gume*[1] of the Castle ware vppon [Christmas] {Newyeers} day an owld blue sattyn doblet of the Earle of *Pembroke.* And *Nicholas Smyth* saieth that then he could haue done some [thinge] {what}: and *Charles Herbert* tells, Let men say what they will: yf he haue a fforrest bill and a Javelyn, or a sword and Buckler: a rapier and dagger haue no great oddes of him. J pray you take heed and beware of my Lord of Oxenfordes man called *Lyllie,* for if he see this lre, he will put it in print, or make y^e boyes in *Poules* play it vppon astage. John Winter comendes him vnto yo^u hartely, And J loue nobody but my best frendes. George & yo^u, when yo^u will rebell J am ready. And thus farewell from Cepons at the worldes end, where *Water Pan* was either taken for agood Musitian or Phisitian. J knowe not what day, but a iūket day, a friday, a fishe day.

F. P. Wilson.

Birmingham.

Three Notes on Thomas Dekker.

I. His Death.

It has been written that 'Of Thomas Dekker we know no date, no fact, no anecdote, nothing at all, except that by his own statement in 1637 he was threescore or thereabouts'. This sweeping statement is doubly unfortunate, for not only do we know from his own writings and from other sources much of Dekker's manner of life and of the conditions under which he worked, but the one fact given as the sum-total of our knowledge is demonstrably false. It is true that in *English Villanies Seven Severall Times Prest to Death by the Printers* (1638)[2] there is a reference to Dekker's 'threescore yeeres', but this passage had already appeared in his *English Villanies Six Severall Times Prest to Death by the Printers,* which was printed in 1632[3].

[1] Possibly *Guine.*

[2] The imprimatur is dated 27 February 1637, i.e. N.S. 1638.

[3] This was conjectured by Fleay (*Biographical Chronicle,* I, 118) and by some later writers. It has been supposed that no copy of the 1632 edition has survived, but there is one in the Dyce Library. The 1638 edition is a reprint of the 1632 edition.

Dekker had spoken of himself as an old man as early as 1628 in the lines:

> For, my heart danceth sprightly, when I see
> (*Old* as I am) our *English Gallantry*[1].

Two years later he wrote in the preface to *Match mee in London*: 'I haue beene a Priest in APOLLO'S Temple, many yeares, my voyce is decaying with my Age[2]'. In 1632 he was sixty years old or thereabouts. He had been busily writing plays, poems, pageants or pamphlets for at least thirty-five years, and even a long imprisonment had not checked his 'right happy and copious industry'. In 1632 his output suddenly ceased, and Fleay drew the natural inference that his literary work was cut short by death.

An entry which seems to corroborate Fleay's reasoning is to be found in the burial register of St James's, Clerkenwell, under the year 1632[3]:

> Aug. 25 Thomas Decker, householder.

The evidence at present available is strong enough to justify the assumption that this entry refers to the poet himself, though it is not sufficient to yield absolute proof.

(1) The name 'Dekker', 'Decker', 'Dicker', 'Dickers', etc., was uncommon in Elizabethan London[4]. Apart from the Decker of Clerkenwell I know only of two Thomas Dekkers who were contemporary with the poet:

(*a*) Three daughters, Dorcas, Elizabeth and Anne, were christened at St Giles's, Cripplegate, on 27 October 1594, 29 November 1598 and 24 October 1602[5]. The name of the father is given as 'Thomas Dycker, gent', 'Thomas Dykers, yoman' and 'thomas Dicker yemã'.

(*b*) A Thomas Diccars was buried at St Botolph's, Bishopsgate, on 19 April 1598[6].

[1] *Warres, Warres, Warres*, sig. B_2^v. A unique copy is extant in a private library. Collier printed extracts from this pamphlet in his *Bibliographical and Critical Account*, I, 210–212.

[2] Sig. A_2. The play was entered on 8 November 1630 [S. R. (ed. Arber), IV, 242] and printed in 1631.

[3] *Harleian Society Publications* (ed. R. Hovenden).

[4] Fleay (*Biographical Chronicle*, I, 121) asserted the contrary, but an examination of such parish registers as are published has convinced me that he was mistaken. Names like Thomas Dakers, Dacres or Ditcher were more plentiful. A 'Thomas Dakers gent' married Dorothy Piggott at St Giles's, Cripplegate, on 2 July 1584. Two persons named Thomas Dicher or Dytcher were made free of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1588 and 1593. But even Henslowe never garbles the poet's name into Dakers or Ditcher.

[5] Collier (*Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare* (1846), pp. xvi–xvii, *note*) is wrong in stating that Elizabeth was *buried* on 29 November 1598. Collier states that Dekker's father died in Southwark in 1594. I cannot find the entry of his burial under that year in the register of St Saviour's, Southwark. Collier also writes of a widow named Decker living in Maid Lane in 1596. She was still there in 1600. Cf. W. Rendle, *Sacramental Token-books at St Saviour's, Southwark* (Genealogist, N.S., 1884, p. 19).

[6] *Harleian Society Publications* (ed. A. W. C. Hallen).

Collier assumed that the Dycker, Dykers or Dicker of St Giles's was the poet, and the Diccars of St Botolph's the poet's son[1]. But even if we reject this assumption, it is clear that the name was an uncommon one in Elizabethan London.

(2) Residence in Clerkenwell would be handy for the Red Bull Theatre, just as residence in Cripplegate would be handy for the Fortune. Many of Dekker's earlier plays were produced at the Fortune, many of his later ones at the Red Bull.

(3) Thomas Decker of Clerkenwell died in the very year that the poet's literary activity ceased.

In the light of these facts we may assume that the Clerkenwell entry refers to the poet himself.

II. His Marriage.

The corollary follows that Dekker was married. In the burial register of St James's, Clerkenwell, under the year 1616, is the entry:

July 24 Mary wife of Thomas Deckers.

In this year Dekker was in the King's Bench Prison, as we know from an autograph letter to Edward Alleyn[2], and also from his own words in *The Artillery Garden* (1616)[3]. His wife's death whilst he was in prison gives an added poignancy to his many condemnations of Elizabethan prisons, where 'soules lye languishing and cannot dye'. This passage was published in the year of Mary Dekker's death:

> I verily think y^t^ the brauest spirited Prisoner in the world, would with a cheerefull looke thrust his neck into the yoke of Aduersitie, and manfully defie the threates of an insulting Creditor, were not more veines to be cut then his own. But the poorest wretch dying in a prison, hath some one or other lying in the Coffin with him: with thine eye-strings, (whosoeuer thou art) crack at the last gasp the heart-strings of a Wife, of Children, of a Father, or Mother, of Friends, or Allies[4].

[1] In later years Collier [*Bibliographical and Critical Account* (1865), I, 195] thought it improbable that the last two entries referred to the dramatist, for 'it was not usual to designate an author "yeoman"'. It is true that in the same register the prolific Anthony Munday is always scrupulously described as 'gent', yet in October 1598 Ben Jonson is styled 'yoman' in the indictment on which he was arraigned for the manslaughter of Gabriel Spencer (*Middlesex County Records*, ed. J. C. Jeaffreson, I, xxxviii). A poverty-stricken dramatist was probably on the border-line between the two classes.

[2] See *Henslowe Papers* (ed. W. W. Greg), p. 92.

[3] This poem has been lost for many years. It was entered to John Trundle on 29 November 1615 [S. R. (ed. Arber), III, 578]. William Oldys must have seen it, for in a MS. note to Langbaine's *Account Of The English Dramatick Poets* (British Museum, C. 28. g.1), he remarks (p. 121): 'He was in the Kings Bench Prison frō 1613 to 1616 and how much longer I know not'. Another note is: 'T Dekker was 3 Years Prisoner in the Kings Bench fro 1613 to 1616. see his Poem on the Artillery Garden 4^o^ 1616'. Dekker also referred to his imprisonment in *Villanies Discouered* (1616, sig. I_1^v). He regained his freedom in 1619 after being in prison for 'almost seuen yeares together'. Cf. *Dekker his Dreame* (1620), sig. A_4.

[4] *Villanies Discouered* (1616), sig. I_4.

It is no wonder that when the poet obtained release from the King's Bench, his hair had

> turn'd white
> More through the Ghastly Obiects of this Night,
> Then with the Snow of age[1].

III. His Recusancy.

One more glimpse of Dekker's misfortunes is afforded us. In the Middlesex County Records[2], under the year 1626, is the entry:

> 1 December, 2 Charles I.—True Bill for not going to church &c. during one month beginning on the said day, against...Thomas Deckers gentleman,...all ten late of St. James's Clerkenwell; ....

A similar entry occurs under the date 1 March 1628.

Dekker's writings, especially in his later years, were very orthodox in their piety, and his recusancy cannot with any probability be put down to religious scruples. Is it possible that like John Shakespeare[3] he stayed away from church for 'fear of process for debt'?

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'Cursed Hebenon' (or 'Hebona').

The article 'Hebenon, Hebon, Hebona' in the *Oxford English Dictionary* requires some correction. The words are stated to be 'Names given by Shakspere and Marlowe to some substance having a poisonous juice'; and it is added that 'Commentators have variously identified the word with *ebon, henbane,* and Ger. *eibe, eibenbaum*, yew,' and that 'Gower has *hebenus* apparently in a similar sense.' Quotations are given from Gower, *Conf.* II, 103 (=Book iv, l. 3017), 'Of hebenus, that slepy tre'; from Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, III, where 'juice of Hebon' is mentioned as one of the deadliest of poisons; from Shakespeare (the well-known passage, *Hamlet*, I, v, 62, where the Quartos read *hebona* and the Folio *Hebenon*); and from Erasmus Darwin, *Loves of the Plants.* The last of these passages, being obviously a mere echo of Shakespeare, calls for no remark.

Now the line quoted from Gower occurs in a paraphrase of Ovid, *Met.* XI, 610 ff.; and 'hebenus, that slepy tre' is not a tree having a soporific juice, but simply ebony (Latin *ebenus*), the wood used by the God of Sleep in the walls of his chamber. This would have been evident if the following line, 'The bordes al aboute be,' had been quoted. There

[1] *Dekker his Dreame* (1620), sig. F_3.
[2] Ed. J. C. Jeaffreson, III, pp. 12, 19–20.
[3] Sir Sidney Lee, *Life of William Shakespeare* (1916), p. 280.

is no reason to suppose that Gower, any more than Ovid, imagined that ebony had any soporific effect apart from that of its blackness. But it seems probable that Gower's line, remembered without its context, is the source of Marlowe's notion that the ebony tree had a narcotic juice. That this was really Marlowe's meaning need not be doubted; in the sixteenth century the English word *ebon* was often written with a prefixed *h*. The objection that a 'sleepy' juice is not necessarily a deadly poison would not trouble him, even if he had thought of it: a poet is entitled, if he so chooses, to assume that what is *ignotum* is *magnificum*.

It is hardly possible that Shakespeare's 'juice of hebona' has nothing to do with Marlowe's 'juice of hebon,' and I feel little doubt the later dramatist borrowed the word from his predecessor. But there is no foundation in Marlowe for Shakespeare's extraordinarily detailed description of the terrible toxic effects of 'hebona.' Either this is due purely to the poet's imagination, or he must have taken it from some other authority. The former alternative is, in itself, by no means inconceivable. But Sir W. Thiselton-Dyer (in *Shakespeare's England*, vol. I, p. 509) has shown that the properties ascribed to 'hebona' agree to a remarkable extent (due allowance being made for poetic heightening of the horrible details) with those commonly attributed in the sixteenth century (not altogether without justification in scientific fact) to henbane (*hyoscyamus*). It seems quite likely that Shakespeare, knowing that the juice of henbane was reputed to be one of the most baleful of poisons, and misled by the resemblance of sound, may have imagined that *hebon* and *henbane* were the same word. If so, it is easy to understand why he should have chosen to use Marlowe's poetic form rather than the form popularly current. The obvious etymology of the latter stamps it as incurably prosaic; besides, as Shakespeare's audience could not be expected to know what 'hebon' was, he would be able to give free play to his imagination in describing its effects.

Sir W. Thiselton-Dyer quotes from Lyte the unfounded statement that the juice of henbane, applied to any member of the body, causes it to mortify and turn black. It is possible that Shakespeare may have read this passage, and derived from it some hints with regard to the working of the 'leperous distilment'; the supposition, however, is not absolutely necessary. Sir William also refers to Pliny, who says (*N.H.* xxv, 4, 17) that the oil of henbane, when poured into the ear (he elsewhere tells us that it was a remedy for ear-ache), is apt to cause mental disorder (*temptat mentem*). Shakespeare *may* have seen this statement, and wrongly associated it with the notion current in his day that a sleeper could be killed

by pouring poison into his ear; but the existence of the popular belief would sufficiently account for the invention of the story of the king's murder.

We do not know why Shakespeare (or the printer) changed *hebon* into *hebona*, nor what is the origin of the form *hebenon* in the Folio. Possibly the latter may be a euphonic improvement due to Shakespeare himself; there was no reason why he should consider himself bound to adhere rigorously to Marlowe's form, if he regarded it as merely a poetic alteration of *henbane*. Another possibility is that *hebenon* is a pedantic attempt at correction by some transcriber or proof-reader, who vaguely remembered the Greek ἔβενος and thought it was neuter.

Although I think my conjecture as to the origin of Shakespeare's word is probable as the evidence stands, I do not consider it absolutely certain. The Italian play of *Gonzaga*, if it should ever be recovered, may conceivably furnish a better explanation.

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'KING LEAR' AND THE BALLAD OF 'JOHN CARELESS.'

In *King Lear* (I, iv, 168 ff.) occurs a passage that, in so far as I can discover, has never been explained. There the Fool sings:

> Then they for sudden joy did weep,
> And I for sorrow sung,
> That such a King should play bo-peep,
> And go the fools among.

The repetition of two of these lines in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*[1] has, of course, long been noted. In the *Lucrece* the passage runs:

> When *Tarquin* first in Court began,
> And was approved King:
> Some men for sudden ioy gan weep,
> But I for sorrow sing.

Here the first two lines are taken from a ballad called 'The Noble Acts of Arthur of the Round Table[2],' published in Thomas Deloney's *Garland of Goodwill* (1596), though Heywood substituted the word 'Tarquin' (whose deeds the ballad actually chronicles) for Deloney's 'Arthur.' But the source of the first two lines sung by Shakespeare's Fool and the last two sung by Heywood's Valerius has never been pointed out.

[1] *Dramatic Works*, 1874, v, 179.

[2] *Works of Deloney*, ed. F. O. Mann, p. 323. This ballad is quoted also in 2 *Henry IV*, II, iv; Marston's *Malcontent*, II, ii; Beaumont and Fletcher's *Little French Lawyer*, II, iii; and elsewhere.

In a letter to William Cotton, Thomas Nashe also quotes one of these lines:

> well some men for sorrow singe as it is in the ballet of Iohn Carelesse in the booke of martirs, I am merry whe[n] I haue nere a penny in my purse[1].

In a note on this passage Dr R. B. McKerrow—whose edition of Nashe is a veritable treasure-trove—makes a suggestion that entitles him to the credit of my small discovery, even though it came to my attention after I had recognized the ballad from which Shakespeare quotes. He remarks: 'I cannot find any such ballad in the *Book of Martyrs*... Can it have been the origin of the lines in *King Lear*...and in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*?'

Without question the ballad of *John Careless* is quoted by Heywood, Shakespeare, and Nashe. The *Book of Martyrs* to which Nashe made reference was not Foxe's *Acts* but was Bishop Miles Coverdale's *Certain most godly, fruitful, and comfortable letters of such true Saintes and holy Martyrs of God, as in the late bloodye persecution here within this Realme, gaue their lyues for the defence of Christes holy gospel*[2], printed by John Day in 1564. At the end of Careless's letters Coverdale remarked: 'Because he maketh mention in the former letter and other heretofore, of the most godlye and christian conflictes which he had susteyned, we thought good to adioyne hereto this swete and heauenly exercise followyng, whereby it may appeare what fruite these conflictes wroughte in hys most godly and christian conscience.' The 'sweet and heavenly exercise' opens with the following stanza:

> Some men for sodayne ioye do wepe,
> And some in sorow syng:
> When that they lie in daunger depe,
> To put away mournyng.

As a ballad in broadside form Careless's 'exercise' enjoyed considerable vogue. It was licensed for publication as 'a ballad of John Careles &c.' on August 1, 1586, as 'John Carelesse' on December 14, 1624, and as 'Sir John Careless' on February 9, 1634/5[3]; while its first line is used as the tune to which another ballad, *The Confession of a Pœnitent Sinner*[4], is directed to be sung. A copy of the broadside version, differing widely from that printed in the *Certain Letters*, is

[1] *Works*, ed. McKerrow, v, 196; cf. also *ibid.*, iv, 352.

[2] Pp. 634–638; see Edward Bickersteth's *Letters of the Martyrs* (a reprint of Coverdale's book), pp. 488 ff. Collier (*Extracts from the Stationers' Registers*, ii, 206) says that 'as early as 1566 John Powell printed "Certayne godly and comfortable Letters of the constant wytness of Christ, John Careles."' I have not seen this work.

[3] Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, ii, 451; iv, 131, 333.

[4] *Roxburghe Ballads*, iii, 168. For an earlier ballad 'to the tune of *John Carelesse*' (1583) see Lemon's *Catalogue of Broadsides in the Possession of the Society of Antiquaries*, p. 26.

preserved in MS. Sloane 1896, fols. 11–12^{v}, in the British Museum[1], but has never been reprinted. It is entitled *A godly & vertuous songe or Ballade, made by y^{e} constant member of Chryste, John Carelesse, being in prison in y^{e} kings benche for professing his word; whoe ending his dayes therin was throwen out & buryed most Ignominiously vpon a donghill, by the adversaryes of gods worde,* which begins:

> Some men for sodayne joye do wepe
> & some in sorrowe synge:
> when as they are in daunger depe,
> to put away mournyng.

Though Thomas Nashe undoubtedly knew the version preserved in the *Certain Letters,* his comment on Barnes's *Divine Century of Sonnets,* 'such another deuice it is as the godly Ballet of *Iohn Carelesse*[2],' seems to indicate that he also knew the broadside edition. Likely enough, as a broadside ballad sung through the streets of London *John Careless* came to the attention of Heywood and Shakespeare.

Hyder E. Rollins.

London.

The King's Players at Court in 1610.

No attempt so far as I am aware has yet been made to elucidate a curious allusion in the altered court epilogue to *Macedorus,* as given in Q 3 issued in 1610. (It should be noted that the differences in the three groups of quartos have been carefully indicated by Professor C. F. Tucker Brooke in his recension of the play in *The Shakespeare Apocrypha.*) On the title-page of this particular quarto we read, 'amplified with new additions, as it was acted before the King's Maiestie at Whitehall on Shroue-Sunday night. By his Highnes Seruants usually playing at the Globe.' In the extended court epilogue Comedy says:

> Glorious and wise Arch-Caesar on this earth,
> At whose appearance, Envie's stroken dumbe,
> And all bad thinges cease operation:
> Vouchsafe to pardon our unwilling errour
> So late presented to your Gracious view,
> And weele endeauor with excesse of paine,
> To please your senses in a choyser straine.

Not long ago, in casting about for some clue to the offensive play which had evidently been given at court by the King's players in the preceding Christmas, I chanced on the following summary of a section

[1] This fact was noted by Ritson in his *Bibliographia Poetica,* p. 152. In the same MS. is also preserved a ballad said to have been made by Mrs Anne Saunders, which has escaped the notice of all editors of *A Warning for Fair Women.* I hope to print both of these ballads shortly.

[2] *Works,* III, 104.

of a letter written by Contarini and Correr on February 10, 1610, in *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1607–1610, p. 427:

> Lady Arabella [Stuart] is seldom seen outside her rooms and lives in greater dejection than ever. She complains that in a certain comedy the play-wright introduced an allusion to her person and the part played by the Prince of Moldavia. The play was suppressed.

Can it be that the reference here is to the 'unwilling errour' committed by the King's players? I am aware that Prof. T. S. Graves has sought to identify the suppressed play with *Epicoene*, but, assuming that Jonson's comedy has come down to us as originally presented, I can see no more cause for grave offence in the glancing allusion to the Prince of Moldavia in Act v, sc. i, than in a similar allusion in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, iv, 2. It is not known that either play was suppressed and neither was produced by the King's Company.

On the other hand, unless the circumstances are deceptive, it would appear that Jonson had given some offence to the court at this period. Although he had enjoyed a monopoly of masque-writing for some years and was to officiate again in 1611, it was not he but Daniel who provided the masque (*Tethys' Festival*) given at Whitehall on June 4, 1610, in celebration of Prince Henry's creation as Prince of Wales.

W. J. Lawrence.

Dublin.

Jakob Friedrich Bielfeld and the 'Progrès des Allemans.'

Sixty-one years before Mme de Staël's *De l'Allemagne*, Gottsched wrote in his *Neuestes aus der anmutigen Gelehrsamkeit*: 'Man arbeitet itzo mit Gewalt daran, den Franzosen in Ansehung der Deutschen die Augen zu öffnen'; alluding by these words not only to his own skirmishes with the Paris journals but also, and in particular, to an anonymous publication which had appeared at Amsterdam and Berlin in 1752 and had attracted his attention and sympathy by its promising title: *Progrès des Allemans dans les Sciences, les Belles-Lettres et les Arts*; and by its unexpected dedication to the institution which Gottsched looked upon as standing very much in the way of that progress, the Académie Royale des Sciences et des Belles-Lettres of Berlin. He enthusiastically seconded the effort thus made to bring German culture into more consideration west of the Rhine and, in a thirty-three page review, set down the more notable omissions of the book and rectified a few of its errors, remarking with an innuendo of irony: 'für die Ausländer kann es genug sein, dass sie nur etwas von uns wissen.'

Four years later, in the 'Lettre d'un Correspondant sur l'état actuel des Lettres en Allemagne' (*Journal Étranger*, Nov. 1756), Nicolai wrote: 'Vous demandez, Monsieur, un tableau fidèle de l'état actuel des Sciences et des Arts en Allemagne. Ce seroit moins un ornement pour votre journal, qu'un trophée érigé à la gloire de ma nation.'...And then this significant phrase: 'Vous n'ignorez pas que l'ouvrage intitulé "Progrès des Allemans dans les Sciences et les Belles-Lettres," assez mal accueilli chez nous, n'a pas eu l'avantage de passer le Rhin'; for which reason it was incumbent on him to try another method: '... il y aurait un moyen de satisfaire la curiosité de vos lecteurs...; ce seroit de leur offrir un précis de nos principaux ouvrages.'

It would appear, from the lack of any evidence to the contrary, that despite Gottsched's réclame, the *Progrès des Allemans* had little or no sale in Paris, though doubtless a few stray copies, like that which was sold from Baron d'Heisse's library in 1782, found their way into the hands of the already converted. Grimm says nothing of it; and in 1754 (*Correspondance*, April, ed. Tourneux, vol. II) noted the publication by 'M. le baron de Bielfeld, Allemand' of a collection of comedies, preceded by an essay in dramatic theory, than which, Grimm thought, it would be difficult to find anything more fatuous.

In 1763 the same critic was obliged to admit that this German's *Institutions Politiques*, which had appeared three years previously at the Hague and, in 1761, in a separate edition at Paris, had had 'une sorte de succès en France' and aroused a measure of curiosity in regard to their author.

It was about 1760 that Bielfeld's brief literary career commenced. He was born in Hamburg in 1717 and brought up in one of the patrician families of that town. In 1738, an accomplished young man of the world, endowed with a natural urbanity of manner and a tolerable fluency in French, he came, by his association with the Hamburg corporation of freemasons, into the orbit of Frederick the Great. Partly by his good qualities, partly by his ability and readiness to dispense the 'nervum rerum gerendarum' to the impecunious prince, he made an impression sufficiently favourable to procure him an invitation, in 1740, to enter Frederick's service. At court, after a brief absence with the Prussian envoyé, Graf von Truchsess, in Hanover and London (July, 1740—May, 1741), Bielfeld rapidly lapsed from any active concern with Frederick's diplomacy; and, nominally a 'conseiller de légation' of the Prussian department of foreign affairs, he followed his studious inclinations at Breslau (July—Oct. 1741), and later at Berlin, in the company

of the king's librarian and almshouse manager, the 'doctissime' Charles Etienne Jordan, under whose guidance he applied himself to the acquisition of bookish learning, translated Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains* (Breslau, 1741) into German, and Chesterfield's *Natural Reflexions upon the Conduct of Great Britain in the present War* (Berlin, 1744) into French. At the same time he wrote lengthy epistles to Hamburg and elsewhere, and composed divers epithalamia for court marriages and the comedies animadverted on by Grimm; one of these, *Le Tableau de la Cour*, he retranslated into German at the instance of Schönemann, who was anxious to dispel Frederick's prejudice against German plays and players. In the same year, 1744, he became an honorary member of the new Académie Royale des Sciences et des Belles-Lettres of Berlin and, by 1745, the year of Jordan's death, had acquired a sufficient reputation for scholarship and solidity of character to be appointed tutor to Prince Ferdinand and, in 1747, curator of the Prussian universities, Halle, Frankfurt on the Oder, Königsberg, Duysburg and Lingen. The following year he discreetly consolidated his position by a marriage which brought him into possession of large estates in Saxony; he established himself on a footing of affluent semi-independence in Keyserling's former residence in the Wilhelmstrasse of Berlin, and secured for himself the title of Baron. Thereafter he drifted into the congenial society of the three royal princes William, Henry and Ferdinand and out of the ken of Frederick; and, in 1755, weary of the frivolity and constraint of court, begged to be permitted to pass a portion of each year on his estates in Saxony. The terms in which Frederick accorded him this liberty were equivalent to dismissal.

During these fifteen years in Berlin, his total literary output, exclusive of the translations, consisted of two flimsy volumes, the *Progrès des Allemans* and the *Comédies Nouvelles*. In the tranquil 'Hermitage' of Treben, he now divided his time between the care of his estate and family, and the study of political authors; and, in 1760, by the publication of the *Institutions Politiques*, the framework of which he had constructed while still tutor to Ferdinand, and which were translated into German, English, Spanish, Italian and Russian, found himself transformed from a second-rate 'Schöngeist' into a serious author read or known by the literary men of Europe.

All Bielfeld's subsequent production is accessory to and explicable in the light of this success; the *Institutions Politiques* remained, until his death in 1770, the axis on which his mind revolved. Conforming to

the traditions of literary success, he patched together, in 1763, a kind of autobiography, the *Lettres Familières*, from which historians—amongst them Carlyle—have for over a century extracted anecdotic tit-bits for the history of Frederick the Great; and in 1767 he conceived the plan of republishing his 'works' in a uniform and revised series.

It is, therefore, to the success of the *Institutions Politiques* that we owe the second edition (Leyden, 2 vols. in 8vo, 1767) of the *Progrès des Allemans*, no less than the *Amusemens Dramatiques* (1768) which replaced the *Comédies Nouvelles*, and of which Samuel Formey caustically remarked that they never amused anyone but their author. The first volume of this second *Progrès* is a replica of the 1752 edition, with some emendations and additions suggested by Gottsched's review; the second contains an essay on the German theatre, French translations of *Miss Sara Sampson*—which, although an authentic German play, had, Bielfeld said, an English inspiration—*Codrus*, *Les Sœurs amies*, and *Le Triomphe des bonnes femmes*.

Two objections presented themselves. 'Die Absicht des Herrn v. B. mag recht gut gewesen sein, aber er hätte...sich auch um den Zustand unserer Litteratur seit zwanzig Jahren bekümmern sollen....Es bleibt uns immer unbegreiflich, wie ein Deutscher, der mitten in Deutschland die deutsche Litteratur den Ausländern bekannt machen will, selbst sie nur dem geringsten Theile nach kennet.' (*Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 1768, Bd. viii, pp. 57 f.) Gottsched, in 1752, had hinted that the author was not altogether competent in his subject; in 1767, within a few years of the 'Sturm und Drang,' the *Progrès des Allemans* was an ignorant misrepresentation of German literature.

Had it been adequate to its subject, however, this second edition came too late and, if it reached France at all, travelled by a channel which had been opened by the *Journal Étranger*. But, here again, there is no evidence that the *Progrès des Allemans* derived any real prestige from its belated association with Bielfeld's name. Heinsius (*Allg. Bücher-Lexikon*), as late as 1812, gave in one and the same volume a notice of Bielfeld and his works, omitting the *Progrès*, and of the *Progrès* as an anonymous work. Berisch (1778) did not include it. Büsching (1773) and Robinet (1779) made no allusion to his authorship of the *Progrès* in their criticisms of the *Institutions Politiques*.

Thus, apart from any question of its reaction, the book was rightly assumed by Bielfeld's nearer critics to bulk very meagrely in his 'œuvre,' an assumption which might have been usefully made with regard also to the above-mentioned *Lettres Familières*. Even in lesser authors

there are internal proportions. This epistolary autobiography omits all mention of the *Progrès des Allemans* and it might even be alleged by quotation from it that Bielfeld had as signal a contempt for German letters as Frederick himself. This would be an exaggeration; but Lehndorff found in Dec. 1752 that he had 'ein wenig das komische Gebaren der Neugeadelten an sich.' He was not sure of his ground; and the question of German literature was, amongst other things, a means of social classification. His attitude towards it was timid, vacillating, and contradictory. Propagandism, moreover, of any kind would seem to have been alien to his native mental docility.

His one contribution to German literature was a weekly paper which, from 1768 to 1769—the year preceding his death, he wrote and published at Leipzig, under the title *Der Eremit.* Perhaps, remote from the social glamour of Berlin, he saw the anomaly of his own position more clearly; but he did not realise to what extent the hegemony of French was already undermined. And while his own book contributed little, if anything, to this result—and apparently nothing to the better knowledge of the new literature in France—it has an interest as a collateral symptom of the reviving national conscience in German literary art of the eighteenth century.

D. G. Larg.

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Notes on German Naval Slang During the War.

The following selection of German naval slang expressions may serve as a supplement to the article on German war words published in the *Modern Language Review* for January, 1919. Except when otherwise indicated, the expressions were collected orally. The quotations are made in the main from (1) Oberleutnant z. S. Heins von Heimburg, *U-boot gegen U-boot*, Berlin, 1917; (2) *U-Boote im Eismeer* (anonymous), Berlin, 1917; (3) Kapitänleutnant Walter Forstmann, *U.* 39 *auf Jagd im Mittelmeer*, Berlin, 1918.

The submarine is responsible for a large percentage of the innovations. The vessel itself was called *die Röhre* and its crew *Röhrenbewohner* by the men of the High Sea Fleet, who, in retaliation, were dubbed *Panzerkulis* or *Schwabberkulis* (from 'schwabbern,' to swab decks). Torpedo boats were known as *die schwarzen Gesellen* or *die schwarzen Leute*, and the old battleships of the 'Wittelsbach' class were grouped together as the *Gummigeschwader* (owing to the elastic

behaviour of their side armour at full speed!). The obsolete ships laid up in Kiel roads were said to be *auf dem Friedhof*.

The personnel of the submarine included the *Kommandant*, familiarly known as *der Alte*, the first officer or *Eins W. O.* (= *Wachoffizier*, English 'Number One') and the engineer officer, *der Leitende* or *L. I.* (= *Leitende Ingenieur*, English 'Chief'). The engine-room petty officers or *Ölprinzen* had under them the *Ölheizer* or *Ölkannjongleurs*. The *Elektrodenpumper* were in charge of the battery or *Torfkiste*, a curious word explained by the fact that the cells were fitted beneath the men's sleeping quarters (*wo man sich auf den Torf legt*). The wireless hands, e.g. *F. T. Maat* and *F. T. Gäste*, were *Funkenpuster*; cf. English 'sparks' for the wireless operator. They worked in the *Funkenbude*, a narrow room partitioned off from the *Zentrale* or control-room. Then there was the cook, *Schmutt* or more endearingly *Schmuttchen* (cf. Forstmann, p. 172), who provides much comic relief in the narratives.

The submarine's chief weapon was the torpedo or *Blechhering* (English slang: 'fish' or 'mouldy'). A torpedo missing its mark was said to go *um die Ecke* or was called more technically a *Grundgänger*, if it was expected to hit the bottom. A torpedo which swept round in a circle and returned on its course was a *Kreisläufer*. U. 39 had special names for its torpedoes, viz. *Reissteufel, Wolkenbrecher, die dicke Berta, Olympic* (cf. Forstmann, pp. 112 f.). One of the worst enemies of the submarine was the depth charge (*Wasserbombe*), familiarly known as *Knallbonbon*. Where these were plentiful, *herrschte dicke Luft* (an expression as popular as our 'getting the wind up'). The prevalence of these risks caused the Irish Sea to be known as the *Hexenkessel*; another dangerous locality was the *U-bootsloch*.

The smaller anti-submarine craft, trawlers, drifters, etc. were classed together as *Kroppzeug* or *Mahalla* (cf. Forstmann, p. 140). Trawlers were *Kopf- und Arschdampfer*, 'tramps' were *Schlurren* (Low-German for 'slipper'). Any ship could be called a *Kasten* or *Kiste* (cf. English 'tub'). To some speakers a 'dazzle-painted' ship was known as a *bunte Kuh!*

In connection with navigation the following are of interest: *zickzacken, kringeln* ('dieses ewige aussichtslose Kringeln um Helgoland herum,' Forstmann, p. 18), *Strich steuern* (= to steer true). Of a less technical character are: *schippern* ('ein Franzose, der anscheinend von Marseille nach Oran *schipperte*,' Forstmann, p. 72; ibid. p. 152), *herumschwabbern* ('er darf nicht hier herumschwabbern, sonst rechnen ihm seine Reeder die Zeitversäumnisse nach,' *U-Boote im Eismeer*, p. 46), *herumgondeln* (ibid. p. 47), the latter being by no means restricted to naval slang.

In the narratives the vocabulary of the chase is ransacked for metaphors and similes, which, however, rather belong to the study of literary jargon than to slang proper. These figures include the variants for a rich prize or 'good catch,' e.g. *ein fetter Bissen, ein (grosser) Fang, ein guter Happen*; *Jagdgebiet* or 'hunting grounds' for the area of operations; *Rudel* for a formation of destroyers (cf. Heimburg, p. 39); *pirschen, heranpirschen* for 'stalking' an enemy ship (cf. Forstmann, p. 92); *wie der Weidmann Wechsel und Fährte des Wildes ausmacht* (ibid. p. 90); *auf Wartestellung* and *auf der Lauer* (cf. Forstmann, p. 108).

The talk of the engine-room supplies the following picturesque expressions: *Schaufelsalat*[1] for the 'stripping' of turbine blades; *abknattern* in '500 *Seemeilen abknattern*,' cf. to 'knock off'; *kurbeln*, lit. to 'crank,' then generally to turn a handle, figuratively e.g. in *Wachtdienst abkurbeln*; *schlieren* for the 'scoring' of friction plates; *Panne* for a breakdown; *Karre* for a pump. *Zirkulationswasserpumpe* was often compressed into the more convenient *Zirkuline*. The English word 'Compound' in 'Compound-maschine' was sometimes stressed on the last syllable and pronounced [ko'pu:nd]. *Plunger, Plungerpumpe* were much used, pronounced in the German way. The English 'overlap' and 'overhaul' appeared as *überlappen* and *überholen*. The air in the engine-room, which to the writers was *ölgeschwängert*, was more popularly *vermieft* or 'fuggy.' A neat portmanteau word is worth mentioning here: *ölelektrisch fahren*, i.e. to run one Diesel for propulsion while the other charges the battery. 'Full speed' is *Alle* [álé:] from *Alle Fahrt*. 'Utmost speed ahead' is abbreviated A.K.v. (*Äusserste Kraft voraus*).

Of terms employed in connection with signalling by wireless or other methods the following are selected: *knistern* and *morsen* for to 'wireless'; *winkern* for 'flag-wagging'; *Funkenstrippe* for the area in which messages could be received, e.g.: 'von der Funkenstrippe des Admirals loskommen' (Forstmann, p. 39); *Funkenstengen* as a variant of *F. T. masten*. Submarine signalling by hydrophone is *U. T.* (= *Unterwassertelegraphie*).

A few expressions appended below are less susceptible of classification, e.g. *pennen, einpennen*, to sleep, 'doss'—much used outside the navy as well; *sich aus den Kinken bergen*, 'to show a clean pair of heels'; *Bleilatsch* for the game of 'shovelboard' (not in Muret-Sanders); *versacken, wegsacken* to 'founder' or 'settle'; *Stall* equivalent to our submarine 'pens' or berths (Forstmann, p. 42); 'die Schiffsglocke *glast*

[1] A curious parallel to this use of *Salat* is *Wortsalat* for the confused babble, characteristic of certain types of insanity.

bereits acht Glas' (ibid. p. 181); *das haut fein hin* (Forstmann, p. 145), and *es hätte nicht besser mit der Zeit hinhauen können* (ibid. p. 23), of to 'chime in,' fit in; *peilen*, lit. to take a bearing or to take soundings, fig. to scan, 'take in' with a glance; *alles ist wieder in Lot*, i.e. in trim, shipshape; *ausgebüxt* for *ausrangiert*, i.e. 'paid off' (Forstmann, p. 161); *seetoll* for seasick (Heimburg, p. 104); *Stropp* in 'ein englischer Kreuzer, der dort tagaus tagein auf seinem *Stropp* pendelte' (Heimburg, p. 105) for 'billet'; *angeprescht kommen* for to 'dash up' (ibid. p. 124), *vorbeipreschen*, to dash by; *Hühnerleiter* for the companion from control-room to conning-tower (K. T. or *Kommandoturm*); *Wettergott*, clerk of the weather; *auf uns losballern*, to 'let fly' at us. Of a man who failed to return from a cruise it was said *er hat dran glauben müssen* or *er ist geblieben*. There appears to be no equivalent for 'Davy Jones's locker,' the idea being expressed by 'die Wellen' or 'die salzige Flut' (the 'briny'), also *ein kühles Grab finden, den Seemannstod finden*. A few additional expressions will be found in René Delcourt, *Expressions d'Argot Allemand et Autrichien*, pp. 34 f. and 59.

As to the borrowings from other languages and dialects it may be noted that most of the sailors use the form *zwo* for 'zwei' and are fond of interlarding their talk with English words. In addition to such technical terms as *Trawler, Drifter, Tankdampfer, Tauchtanks* (ballast-tanks), *Tide* (also Low-German), *backbrassen* (to heave to), *der Winsch* instead of 'die Winde,' *Transporter, gestoppt liegen, war-channel*, etc., I noted the following: *alright, jumpen* (pronounced in the German way), *aufpicken* for *auffischen, Palaver, Mimikry* (stressed on second syllable, for 'dazzle-painting'), *pullen, Englischmann, skipper, Käpten, plenty*, e.g. in *plenty Geld*.

Many other Anglicisms occur in the publications in proportion to the narrators' knowledge of English.

In conclusion the writer would like to point out that in the published narratives of the submarine cruises alone there are, in addition to the slang expressions selected here, a large number of nautical and maritime words which have not yet been adequately recorded in the dictionaries and which would repay the labour of collection and classification.

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Note. In this connection it is of interest to note the following English words used by *Norwegian* seamen in making their Maritime Declarations before the Courts convened to investigate war losses,

e.g. *steamer, steambaat, tugbaat, destroyer, konvoy, submarine* (also *U-baat*), *eskortetrawler, patrolbaat* or *patruljebaat, fiskekutter, gig*; *jam, bacon, props* (with double plural *propser*), *en tynd wire, boks, koks* (='coke'), *skrapjern, pigjern, groundnuts, log wood*; *breakwateret, pieren*; *donkey manden, young mand* ('ship's boy'); *laare* (to 'lower'), *reversere, gaa klos, passere klods forbi*; *blokadezone* (also *sperrezone* from *Sperrgebiet*); *rigger, fuldrigger, forpik,* etc.

REVIEWS.

The Origin of the Ancren Riwle. By HOPE EMILY ALLEN. (Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,* XXXIII. 3.) 75 pp. 8vo.

The value of this offprint of 75 pages is quite out of proportion to its modest size; we seldom meet with a theory so interesting and so well supported. Miss Allen asks us to identify the three sisters of the *Ancren Riwle* with Emma, Gunilda and Cristina, the anchoresses of Kilburn, whom we first meet there about 1130 A.D., and whose settlement gradually developed into Kilburn Priory. All that we know about these ladies corresponds with curious exactitude to the three ladies of the *Riwle.* They were of noble birth, and had probably been ladies-in-waiting to Henry I's queen. They were not regular nuns, but anchoresses living in community: they were 'beadsmen' of Westminster Abbey, from which royal house they drew the settled and sufficient income on which the *Riwle* congratulates them; and they lived under the direction of a 'master,' one Godwin the hermit, who may well have been not only 'ower meistre' of the *Riwle* (Morton, p. 56) but also the author of the book itself. In any case, Miss Allen seems to give good reasons for thinking that the earliest English text, if not original, is at least a very early translation indeed. It will be remembered that Mr Macaulay's researches put back the probable date of authorship a good deal; and Miss Allen argues with considerable verisimilitude for a still earlier date—about 1150, perhaps. The importance of this for the study of the book itself is obvious.

This brief summary, while indicating the importance of her conclusions, gives a very imperfect idea of the patience with which she has collected material from every direction, and the sanity and perspicacity of her deductions. It may be well to conclude by indicating a few minor points on which a more specialized study of monastic documents might have cleared her arguments.

On p. 479 the words *quae sunt in ecclesia* do not necessarily prove that the ladies were enclosed in a church; *ecclesia* seems used here in the broader sense in which it often refers to the totality of a monastery or other similar foundation—church, *conventus* and all. The *claustrum,* again, of note 8, need not be a *cloister* in the modern sense; probably, like Gilbert's, it was simply an *enclosure,* a precinct-wall. The phrase 'a fair for the mastrye' (p. 487) will not be apposite here 'in the literal sense' if, as we are now told, it is simply a superlative expression, as a Norfolk farmer will still call a big turnip a 'master-turnip.' On pp. 517 ff. Miss Allen is scarcely fair to St Bernard and the Cistercians; able as

Peter the Venerable's pleas are, and lovable as he shows himself in what otherwise might have proved a very bitter controversy, his own admissions in his later *Statutes* show that St Bernard's just criticisms went far deeper than matters of mere 'minute accuracy' and 'meticulous observance' (pp. 517, 520). Still plainer, if possible, is the evidence of the York monks who went out to found Fountains; it was not that their unreformed brethren neglected only the mint and anise and cummin of the Rule, but that they sat up drinking, quarrelled with each other, and violated not only the letter but the spirit of that which they had sworn to obey (cf. Dugdale-Caley, vol. v, pp. 294 ff.). The 'grey cowl' (p. 523) need not refer to Savigny: the original Cistercian 'white' was really grey, and is frequently so called. Lastly, the decrees of the Council of Rouen (A.D. 1231) which Miss Allen has been unable to run down are printed on cols. 175 ff. of the fourth volume of Martene's *Thesaurus*. A few lines fit the *Riwle* so exactly that they seem worth quoting here (§ iv). 'Propter scandala quae ex monialium conversatione proveniunt, statuimus de monialibus nigris ne aliquod depositum recipiant in domibus suis ab aliquibus personis; maxime arcas clericorum vel etiam laicorum causa custodiae apud se minime deponi permittant. Pueri et puellae qui ibi solent nutriri et instrui penitus repellantur.' The parallel passages in the *Riwle* are (Morton) pp. 418, 423. It is impossible to conclude without apologizing for what might well seem hypercriticism in the face of so solid a monograph as Miss Allen's.

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Cambridge.

Old English Scholarship in England from 1566—1800. By Eleanor N. Adams. (*Yale Studies in English*, lv.) London: H. Milford. 1917. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Many of us who, like Thackeray, love to read about good eating and drinking, do not less love to peruse even the bare accounts of what past students have collected and digested and edited: the names of Parker and Camden, and Spelman and Selden and Hickes, of Humphrey Wanley and David Wilkins and Thomas Tanner, have a sound not only solemn but melodious to the modern ear. Miss Adams's book is both humiliating and stimulating to us of the twentieth century. We may find here, carefully marshalled and told with some real depth of feeling though with no superficial ornaments of style, the story of what may be called the early and heroic periods of Old English Scholarship, and of its ensuing, though not final, decay. The main explanation of this decline lies in a single sentence on p. 110: 'The impetus for English investigators had always been controversial or antiquarian; to them the stronger appeal lay in the contents of early literature, not in linguistic study.' Even now, English scholars constantly turn aside from scientific philology with a silent *excudant alii*; and, if we must err on one side or the other, it seems nobler to pay undue attention to a writer's meaning than to his words. But, without the philologer's patient and persistent pursuit

of little details, the meaning itself might often escape us; to the labour of transcription and collation we owe an almost incalculable debt; and among the tragedies of literature few are more moving than the lives—revealed often only by a glimpse here and there—of those for whom such patient underground labour has been its own and its only reward. The account of the Oxford Saxonists on pp. 93—96 reads almost like a page from Roger Bacon's story of the Sisyphean task with which he and his fellow-innovators had to grapple; we there meet successively the consumptive William Elstob, early worn down to the hilt, his sister Elizabeth, keeping body and soul together by taking pupils at a fee of 2*s.* 8*d.* per week per head, and the 'lad of ten or twelve, who had phenomenal skill as a copyist of Old English manuscripts.'

We have found great interest also in the Appendices; especially in Elizabeth Elstob's eloquent defence of her favourite studies, and in the long extracts from different scholars' letters, mostly published here for the first time, illustrating the labours and struggles of all these early students. Miss Adams has made us all her debtors for a very interesting chapter in English literary history.

G. G. Coulton.

Cambridge.

Studies in Literature. By Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1918. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Shakespeare's Workmanship. By Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1918. 8vo. 15*s.*

Anyone occupied with the business of attempting to teach literature comes to these volumes prejudiced in their favour; for it was their author who was responsible for the decisive and even defiant claim that the first part of that business was literary. This gospel, set out in the now famous lectures *On the Art of Writing*, was a difficult one for the unconverted scholar, the scholar perhaps of History, the History of Literature, Philology, or Language; nor was it an easy one even for the converted. Many more than now do so would seriously attempt to teach literature if it were not so uncommonly hard to teach. 'The critical perception of poetic truth' is itself, as Arnold used to tell us, 'of all things the most elusive.' What would he have said of the far further difficulty of communicating a faculty for this perception to the young and inexperienced?

But let us not despair. Something can be done if the teachers will try with a single enough devotion, and certainly nothing by their not trying. The best perhaps would be that they should stir the mould a little, force a realisation that there are differences, free the mind from the lip service of literary shibboleths, and enable their pupils to feel the broad outlines of distinction for themselves. To secure finally that each student should himself come in contact with the poets' feeling and respond to that feeling with an individual disturbance would doubtless be to reach the unattainable. It would mean that Literary Schools

were themselves capable of producing good critics by the score, and who is the victim of so Utopian an hallucination? Experience and habitude, time and original capacity—these are the things, and not lectures, that produce good writing. Yet a great deal of time may be saved by being set on the right road, by avoiding wrong turnings, and by knowing for what city one is bound.

Difficulties remain, but difficulties there must be as long as literature is taught at all, and who proposes that it should not form part of English teaching? The question at its basis is but one of proportion. Unfortunately as Literature was often taught, and as, in places, in degree it is taught still, the result is a contraction, not an expansion, of faculty. With a memory overburdened and a mind given the set of literary formulæ, many a boy finds he has acquired literary information or even a literary habit at the expense of native facility. He becomes the pale pupil of accepted masters, and ends—the most doleful of Academic products—as the writer of '*Literese*,' a jargon that is only not bracketable with Journalese because it is less natural and less variable. How otherwise are we to explain the paucity in living, not in cultivated, output of the products of our Literary Schools, and the disturbing fact that our real literature whether original or critical is still mainly produced by men, and our chief professors are among them, who have not been definitely trained to write it?

Some such considerations must be before one who would attempt to assess fairly Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's achievement. We must remember that in the main his professorial volumes do not consist of essays or finished pronouncements but for the most part of addresses delivered to students in his School. And being such, their author has to think not only of what to say but of what not to say. He has to elucidate, to distinguish, to arouse, but also he has not to cramp, and he has to avoid as a first duty the temptation to the magisterial. We may feel that as with all pioneers—and surely he is a pioneer who brings free air into the pedagogic atmosphere—his chief interest may sometimes become too much his master interest and that he would win more converts to his new method, and more easily, if he were not so anxious to prove it always new. Anti-professorism is a good thing, but no cult can remain entirely natural. Indeed sometimes we are conscious that there is hard rowing, and that if our author thought a little less of his thesis and would trust a little more to the fresh current of his genius he would not charm the less. With this said, and while it is fair to say it, it is fair to add that something similar is a concomitant of all vital pioneer work, we are in a position to say a word both on these volumes and on their effect.

Some of their contents do not immediately concern us, essays written by one fine critic instead of another, such admirable Introductions to books as the 'Arnold' or such reviews as that of Swinburne's letters. 'While monotony (as in *The Faerie Queene*) can be pleasant enough, nothing in the world is more tedious than a monotony of strain.' The efect in Swinburne's poetry could not be more happily hit off.

But our business is with the talks to students, the Lectures on 'Ballads,' 'The Horatian Model,' 'Seventeenth Century poets,' 'Meredith,' 'Hardy.' There are plenty of fine critical sayings, the discovery that a piece of Campion's is 'right Horace,' the *obiter-dictum* that 'the one who, but for a stroke of madness, would have become our English Horace, was William Cowper'—a saying that shows a perfect understanding both of an English poet and the English nation—the illuminating statement about Donne, 'None the less I grant you that Donne's ear for the beat of verse is so wayward, its process often so recondite, that the most of his poetry is a struggle rather than a success,' the final aesthetic verity about the accomplishment of that strange spirit.

There are plenty of such things, but what strikes one chiefly about all these lectures is their directness, the way in which they keep to the main issue. To block out, to introduce, to handle without spoiling, this is a very difficult art. These lectures are not lessons to be learnt by the hearer. We are not troubled with the five or fifteen points that have to be made. There is nothing here of tabulation, no uneasiness that one may have forgotten to say this or that for the note-books. On the contrary, these are true introductions before reading. 'That is the road—now follow it yourself.'

Similarly in *Shakespeare's Workmanship* there is the same disinterestedness of presentation. One knows the temptation, in lecturing on such a well-worn subject, to get it all in, to leave the young reader nothing to do, to make a book of one's own, and not to hand on the book with which one is dealing. Here there are no such sins of the desk: loads of learned lumber are cleared away, and loads of matter by no means lumber are uncaringly put by. How easy are the Introductions to *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, *The Tempest*; and how refreshing the question, 'Can we suppose that *Hamlet* would have been a popular play had it been a mystery, a problem, or anything like the psychological enigma that Coleridge and Goethe and their followers have chosen to make of it? Let us ask ourselves as men.'

A great many things are to be said about Shakespeare, and have been said, but the first thing to be said about him is that he was a dramatist and had to observe, was indeed delighted to observe, and never thought but of observing, the conditions of the drama. It is the first thing that is developed here. Shakespeare's motives were in the first place and necessarily dramatic. The first questions we have to ask are—what kind of play is this, and what is this kind of play? The tumbler is shaken and the water unclouds itself.

But we are not concerned, at this late date, to appraise these books in detail. Their essential claim is as examples of a method, and their essential service is that of clearing the air. The broad fact that they have been written will give courage in many quarters for a really fresh approach to literature. They are a break with an academic tradition that was becoming stereotyped and they will be fruitful in their progeny.

A. A. Jack.

Aberdeen.

The Tragedy of Tragedies or The Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great With the Annotations of H. Scriblerus Secundus. By Henry Fielding. Edited by JAMES T. HILLHOUSE. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. London: H. Milford. 1918. 8vo. viii + 223 pp. $3.00.

In spite of its great theatrical reputation—*The Tragedy of Tragedies* was still being played in a more or less adapted form when Genest ceased his chronicle—it may fairly be doubted whether Fielding's burlesque is worth the attention Mr Hillhouse has paid it. The parodies of tragedy are all a little obvious and often more than a little laboured, faults which lend the satire a heaviness absolutely fatal to this kind of writing. There are, it is true, several clever quips and happy turns, but the whole machinery of pedantic notes and a preface by H. Scriblerus Secundus (a popular device), being almost destitute of humour, before long becomes insufferably wearisome and monotonous. This, of course, has no relation to the stage, where such an actor as Liston could buffoon Grizzle to the top of his bent and set the house a-roar by mere clowning and grimace.

The Tragedy of Tragedies, it must be confessed, does not even compare very favourably with Carey's lively if ultra-extravagant *Chrononhotonthologos*, and is scarcely to be named in the same breath as Gay's *What d'ye Call It?* a smart skit on the grandiose School of Melodrama which oscillates between bathos and bombast. But *What d'ye Call It?* is not in the first rank, hardly perhaps in the second, of our burlesques.

Mr Hillhouse, who has conscientiously verified a large number of quotations from the dramas of Dryden, Lee, John Banks, Young, Thomson, and other poets, in each case provides us with the entire context, but again we question the use of this meticulous research. Fielding has given the passages he parodies in his cumbersome apparatus of jocular notes, and the precise act and scene in which the lines occur are not essential.

But if we are to be exact we might point out that Noodle's 'Go then to Hell,' when the Bailiff's follower is killed (Act II, Scene 2, p. 108), is surely a closer parody of Zara's cry 'Get thee to hell and seek him there!' (*The Mourning Bride*, Act V), than of the lines Mr Hillhouse cites from *Mariamne* and *The Indian Emperor*. On p. 147 there is a misprint; Dryden and Lee's *Oedipus* was produced in 1679 (4to, 1679), not 1769. Again, in the Bibliography, care should have been taken that in all instances the first editions were used, save indeed there happened to be some particular reason to the contrary. But we find *The Albion Queens*, Dublin, 1732 (!); Lee, *Sophonisba*, 1681, instead of 1676; *Mithridates*, 1693, quoted as the Second Edition, which was in fact 1685; Young's *The Revenge*, 1764, instead of 1721. If a late edition was employed a note to this effect should invariably have been appended. This has not been done in every case, and confusion is apt to arise.

It may not be impertinent to mention that John Banks is a far better writer that Mr Hillhouse seems disposed to allow. Without ever

attaining to any great eminence, he had none the less a certain sense of dramatic effect and command of pathos which enabled his scenes to keep the stage for many a long year. Although Steele all too harshly pronounced that in *The Unhappy Favourite* 'there is not one good line,' he was bound to add that it is withal 'a play which was never seen without drawing tears from some part of the audience.'

MONTAGUE SUMMERS.

LONDON.

P. E. GUARNERIO, *Fonologia Romanza*. Milan: U. Hoepli. 1918. 8vo. xxiv + 642 pp. 12 L. 50.

This is unquestionably one of the most valuable volumes that have yet appeared in the excellent *Manuali Hoepli*. There is, indeed, no recent book that attempts to cover precisely the same ground. Treading in the steps of Graziadio Isaia Ascoli ('il Galileo della glottologia italiana'), and following his methods and fundamental principles, Prof. Guarnerio has composed a general picture of romance glottology from the phonetic standpoint, naturally centring his study upon Italian and its dialects, but with the other neo-latin languages falling into their places. Special attention is paid to the Ladine dialects, which recent events have made more than ever significant for Italy; the author treating them and the dialects of Sardinia as belonging to the great Italian linguistic dominion while in many respects ranking as two languages apart. It will be remembered that neither was included in Bertoni's recent *Italia dialettale* in the same series. After three preliminary chapters on the comparative history of the neo-latin languages, the phonetic alphabet, and phonetic phenomena, occupying 88 pages, the main subject is treated in three comprehensive parts under the headings 'Vocalismo tonico,' 'Vocalismo atono,' 'Consonantismo.' There is unfortunately no index, a serious lack in a work of this kind. The author's treatment is singularly lucid. Although the book is primarily intended for students, the general reader will find it an admirable introduction to the whole study of romance philology and romance phonetics. Especially in the preliminaries, what seems to many a highly technical and difficult subject becomes one of human as well as literary interest. The possession of such a text-book should prove of great value in the Italian departments of our British universities. Ernesto Monaci, many years ago, assigned to Romance Philology the high function of 'reviving the sentiment of that historic unity that once linked all the Latin peoples in brotherhood,' and the relations between the neo-latin languages have acquired a fresh significance at the present day. A vivid note of actuality is struck in the dedication of this volume to the memory of Ascoli; for it is dated August 9, 1916, the day of the first victorious entry of the Italian soldiers into Gorizia, 'giorno indistruttibile nella storia della sua città natale.'

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

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(*c*) *Modern German.*

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[NOTE. The French section has been compiled with the assistance of the Modern Humanities Research Association.]

A HITHERTO UNCOLLATED VERSION OF SURREY'S TRANSLATION OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE 'ÆNEID.'

II[1].

IN the introduction to this study it was suggested that the relations of the three extant versions of Surrey's translation of *Æneid IV*—the printed editions of Day and Tottel and MS. Hargrave 205—presented problems of peculiar difficulty. The nature of these problems, their complexity and the difficulty of arriving at what ought to be considered the standard text, will be apparent from the following collation[2] of the variants. T., though chronologically the middle text, is placed first for ease in reference. It is also, clearly, distinct from the other two. The numbers refer to the lines in T. which is taken as the standard. Only deviations from T. are noted. The sign ... under D. or H. means (according to position) that the words preceding or following the words quoted are identical with those in T.

T.	D.	H.
2. she norisheth...playe		doth nourishe ay...plage
4. eke		to
6. pictures forme		forme of face
13. tormented thus afray		tormenten thus afraide
14. new guest is this that to our realme		newcome gest unto our realme
17. be		seeme
20. recount		tell
21. But that...is		And but...was
22. to joyne		for to joyne
24. geniall brands		bridall boundes
25. gilt		fault
26. Anne for I graunt sith... Sichees	Ay me...since...Sicheus	(*omits* Anne.) For I wyll graunt sith...Siches
27. slaughter staind	fewde defiled	
28. hath made my sences bend	he hath my sences bent	
29. pricked		pricketh
30. Now feelingly		*omits* now
32. Or with thunder	with thunder or	
34. Ere...lawes	Or...lawe	Or...

[1] For Part I of this study, containing a description of the three texts concerned, see vol. XIV, p. 163.

[2] The writer very much regrets that owing to the dispersal of the Britwell Court Library, it has been impossible to revise either MS. or proofs from the original text of D. At no time since the beginning of the war has the book been accessible.

	T.	D.	H.
36.	My love with him, enjoy it in his graue	My love which (?) still enjoye he in grave	My love which still enioy he in his grave
37.	supprised	surprised	surprised
38.	Anne thus		thus An
39.	dearer		more
40.	alone in plaint still wilt thou spill		all sole in plaintes wilt thou nedes spill
41.	Ne...ne	That...nor	
42.	Cinders	Doeth dust	
44.	no not the Libian king	Iarbas not to feere	Iarbas not to fere
45.	Nor yet of Tire Iarbas set so light	The Libian king dyspised yet by thee	The Libian king dispised eke by the
48.	gainstand thy liked loue	wythstande the love that likes thee	*like* D.
49.		*omits*	
50.	loe...town	in...	...townes
52.	Eke	And for eke	
53.	Also the Sirtes unfrendly harbroughe	Wyth Syrtes the unfrendly	harboroughes; *otherwise like* T.
54.	a...for thrust	...for thurste	the...of Scythe
58.	purveiaunce		sufferance
67.	seas	starre	
69.	mind		hart
72.	with Hogreles of two yeares		with offred steres (*different translation*)
73.	as ought	as they ought	
80.	debowled		deboweled
81.	the entrales		thentrailes
			inserts between T.'s *ll. 82 and 83*—Alas blinde mindes of prophetes what avayle?
83.	boote they in her rage		booten they in rage
84.	A...mary	*omits* A...maryes	
87.	Throughout		Out through
88.	in Crete	yshotte	
90.	smiteth at unwares	fasteneth in her unware	
91.	leaues unwist in her	left in her unwist	
96.	her	the	
98.	Troies	Troians	Troians
99.	stareth	stared	
101.	doth eft withhold the light	reprysed the dayelyght	repressed the daie-light
105.	him		he
106.	she holdes	withholdes	withhold
107.	Ascanius	Ascanus	
108.	So to begile the loue cannot be told	*adds* that *before* cannot	To prove if so she might begile her love
110.	they		them
111.	portes	*omits* mete	port
113.	ther...threatning	...threatning to	thei...stretching to
114.	infect	in effect	
115.	With such a plage	Wyth a pestilence	
116.	thus burdes Venus then	burdeneth *for* burdes	bourdes thus with Venus than
119.	wiles	wylles	wills
120.	am not I		am I not
121.	gan suspect	to suspect	did suspect

	T.	D.	H.
126.	doth burne with loue, rage fretes her boones	loves and burnes, the rage her bones doth perse	doth burne, the rage her boones doth perse
127.	This...now as common	...is then now common	The...now than commend
128.	let...then		so let...them
130.	dowre	dowry	
132.	from a fained mind	from desmembled mind	
133.	thempire		the prince
135.	striue		live
140.	ay in	in a	
144.	thus took		took thus
149.	To the forest	The forest till	*like* D.
150.	To morne		The morrow
151.	had...world		hath...earth
152.	And while the winges of youth do swarm about	Dum trepidant ale	*lacking*
153.	They raunge to ouerset the groues	The raunger doth set the groues about	The range doth sett the groues about
154.		*omits* I shall	
155.	and then	on them	
156.	assemble...mist		assembles...mistes
157.	a caue		the cave
161.	Thus		This
162.	seme to yeld	seem to graunt	soone to graunt
163.	soft	fast	
164.	sea		seas
165.	once up		hoist up
166.	Out at...hayes	Unto...	Unto...haye
167.	steele		yron
171.	on the Quene attend	there the Quene awayte	on ther Quene awaite
172.	trapt		deckt
173.	Chawing the fomie bit ther fercely stood		Feirslie stood chawing on the foming Bitt
174.	awayted with great train	backed with a grete rout	awaited with a train
175.	embradred		bordred full
177.	knotted in	wounde up in	
184.	viset		se
185.	Repairing eft and furnishing		For to repayre and furnishe newe
186.	Candians...folkes		Cretians...folk
187.	With ... Agathyrsies shoute		And...Agathirth do houl
189.		*omits* that	
190.	represt	he prest	
191.	leaues...trussed		bowes...tressed
192.	quivering		quyver
194.	in present countenance	in countenance present	in countinance doth show
196.	driuen sauage rose		wild savage rooes
197.	Loe from the hill aboue on thother side		Auaile the hill and on the other side
198.	Through...they gan to take their course	...whereas theyr course	Over...
199.	troupes	trompes	
200.	forsake		forsoke
204.	ferefull	tymerous	
206.	skies		heavens
207.	thereof		whereof
208.	and eke the Troyan youth		and scattered Troiane youth

	T.	D.	H.
209.	cotage	coltage	cottages
210.	round	arounde	
211.	Dido a den, the Troyan prince the same	...the Troyan prince likewyse	Quene Dido with the Troyan prince alone
212.	Chaunced upon		Chanst on a den
215.	skies	skyes (*same misprint*)	flies
216.	yelled	wayted	wayled
217.	first day of their mirth	foremest day of myrthe	foremost day of myrthe
218.	their harmes	myshappe	myschiefe
219.	withholdes	withheld	
220.	Nor...now		Ne...she
225.	force		strength
226.	for dred...the skies	...on hye	to dred...
227.	Stayeth on	Perecing the	Percing the
230.			*omits second* to *and* eke
231.	as	*omits*	right
232.	huge...to descriue	...for to tell	thing...to behold
233.	In...plume	For...plumme	For...
234.			*transposes* T. 234 *and* 235
236.	listening	harkening	
237.	cloudie skie	cloudes and skie	
239.	Ne doth decline to the swete sleepe her eyes	delyne *instead of* decline	Ne once her eyes to swete sleepe doth enclyne
240.	mark...house top	see...	...house toppes
241.	afraies		she fraies
242.	As...blasing	*omits* as; ...blasting	*omits* as; ...
246.			*omits*
247.	Æneas one outsprong of Troyan blood	Æneas comen sprong of Troyan bloode	Æneas that of Troyan bludde is sprong
249.	And that the while the winter long they passe	In Natures lust the winter for to passe	*like* D.
250.	In foule delight forgetting charge of reigne	Regnorum immemores, turpique	*lacking*
251.	Led against honour with vnhonest lust	cupidine captos	*lacking*
252.	eche mouthe...spreds	the mouthes...	...spredd
254.	feedes		fedd
256.	rauisht Nimph of Garamant	ravisht Garamantida	ravisht Garamantida
257.	hugie great temples	temples in his large realme	temples in his realm
258.		*lacking*	*lacking*
259.	Altars as many kept with waking flame	Altars as many with waker burning flame	An hundred aulters kepte with waker fyer
260.	Upon...to tend	...to attend	on...to attend
261.	The floores embrude with yelded bloud of beastes	Flowers embrused yelded bloode of beastes	erthe *instead of* floores
262.	And threshold ... of straunge hue		The thresholdes ... strange of hue
263.	brute	bryntes	bruits
264.	Tofore thaulters	Afore the aulters	For the aulters
266.	God		Lord
268.	feare		serve
269.	lettest flye...thy	the *for* thy	lettes fle...the
270.	Or do those flames	Whose flames of fyre	Whose flames of chaunce
271.	A woman that wandring	A wandring woman	A wandring woman
272.	citie	village	village
274.	to rule her town...lothed		the town to rule...loth

	T.	D.	H.
275.	realm		realmes
278.	thy	the	thie
279.	folow		hallowe
282.	And writhed his loke toward	And with his loke gan thwart	*like* T., *but* hedd *written first and then deleted*
287.	rechlesse		reckleslie
289.	convey	reporte	reporte
292.	but such a one	but Italye to rule	but Italye to rule
293.	As mete might seme etc.	*lacking*	*lacking*
294.	charged		and chargde
295.	Showing in proof...Teucrian	Discovering...tencryne	Discovering...Teucrine (*spelling doubtful*)
298.	listes		list
299.	towers...being his sire	...doth he envy	turrets...doth he envy
300.	Doth he enuy to yong Ascanius	To yong Ascanus that is his father	That is the father of Ascanius
301.	on		by
305.		*omits* and end	
306.	message ... When Joue had sayd	messenger...Then Mercurie gan	
307.	Then Mercurie gan bend	When Jove had said, bend	
310.	and	the	
312.	and other some	other some also	
313.	Thether also he sendeth	thyther he sendes... (*line differently divided*)	Thither he sendeth allso...
314.	them bereues		bereaves them
318.	Till...descrie	And...	Till...descrive
319.	the stepe		steepie
320.	crowne	sholders	
321.	forgrowen	forcrowne	
324.	beard frosen	frosted beard	
326.	with body	wyth the body	
327.	discent	extent	
329.	sweping		swymming
330.	Cutting...landes	Rushing...	...sandes
332.	Cillenes		The Cylen
334.	Tofore towers	For towers	Tofore the towers
335.	arering lodges		and rearing byldings
337.		*lacking*	*lacking*
339.	The gift and work of wealthy Didoes hand	His shyning pawle of myghty Didos gifte	His shining pawle of mightie Didos gift
341.	Thus he encounters him: oh careless wight		Then thus he sayd, Thou that of highe Carthage
342.	Bothe of thy realme and of thine owne affaires		Dost the foundacions laye to please thie wife
343.	A wife bound man etc.	a maryed man	Raising on height a passing fayer citie
	(*whole passage 341–344 differently translated in* H.)		But oh for woe thine owne thinges out of minde
345.	bright skies	skies bright	
346.	that with	that by	which with
348.	thee	there	
349.	What framest thou...on	Why buildest thou...by	*like* D.; *omits* thy time
350.	doth waste	thus wastes	thus wastes
352.	list by travaile honour	lystes	lust by honor thy travaile
353.	waxeth		thriveth
355.	belonges		belongeth

	T.	D.	H.
358.	vanisht	vanysheth	
362.	night		flight
363.	the		that...*omits* to leaue
364.	With this advise	By the advise	By thadvice
367.	may	dare	
368.	Now...recklesse		Whiles...restles
369.	discoursing	discussing	
374.	driue...coast	drewe...	drawe...coastes
375.	their		his
376.	cause of change...excuse	change of thinges...accuse	change of thinges...
377.			*adds* wold *before* when *and omits* good
379.	Would waite his		awaite a
380.	hasten	chasten	
382.	craftie sleight		crastie flight
384.	forsaw the		foresees these
385.	Things most		And the most (? and *struck out*)
386.	Fame...to flight		Flame...the flete
387.	flete	shippe	*adds* now *after* armed
389.	Bachus nunne	Bachus munite	
390.	As Thyias stirres etc.	Bacchatur—Cithaeron	
391.		(*Virgil's lines* 301-3 *quoted instead of any translation corresponding* to T. 390–4)	*omits* and
393.	that		when
394.	fourth		out, *adds* her *before* dauncing
395.	Herself bordeth Æneas thus	thus bordes she Æ. of herself	thys boordes Æ. with
396.	couer such a fault	flyght *instead of* fault	colour...
397.			*adds* and *before* coldest
401.	And trie...whorling	Cruel, to trie...boysterous	And take...raging
403.		*omits* yet	*omits* yet; *adds* of the *before* sought
411.	If oughte be lefte that praier may auaile		If to request that enie place be left (*order of* T. 410 *and* 411 *transposed*)
413.	The Libians and tirans of Nomadane	The Libians and Tirians, tyrans of Nomadane	The Libian folk and tyrantes Numydan
414.	*second* for thee	ar wrothe	are wrothe
415.	Ar wroth: by thee my shamefastness eke stained	My shamefastnes eke stained for thy cause	*like* D.
417.	clame	came	
418.			*adds* O *before* my
421.	What? until	To tary till	What? unto
424.	thy...ones borne	the...conceyved	...conceaved
425.	sene		saw
426.	Play...might	To play...	...did
431.	And these few wordes at last then forth	These wordes yet at last then forth	And these wordes few at length furth gan
432.	desert		desertes
436.	limmes	synowes	wordes

	T.	D.	H.
437.	For present purpose somwhat shall I say	It is not grete the thyng that I requyre	*like* D.
438.	Neuer	Neyther	*like* D.
441.		*omits* me in	
444.	redoub	redout	redouble
445.	my folk		all our folk
446.	scaped	escaped	
447.	The walles		Ther walles
450.	me advise	wyll me advise	me bidd
451.	sease	lease	
453.	Phenician borne	of Phoenis land	*like* D.
454.	deteine		detaynes
456.	risting seat	resydence	rested ende
457.	is eke	it is	*like* D.
458.	shadowes		shadow
461.	fray me and advise	doth me feare and advise	doth feare and advice me
462.	The		And
463.	Hisperian	Hisprian	
472.	he did his tale		his tale he did
474.	eies		e
475.	silence	sylence (*same misprint*)	silent
476.	in rage at last		at last in rage
477.	ne Goddesse was thy dam	thy dame ne Goddes was	*like* D.
479.	Caucase	Tancase	soor (?) *instead of* of; Caucase
480.	Tyger		tygres
484.	Wept he for ruth?		Shed he one tear
486.	beholds		behold
487.	Faith is nowhere in suretie	There is no fayth, so surety	Faith is nowher, no suerte is
489.		*adds* foolyshe *before* eke	
492.	and furyes...loe	...am	of furies...
494.		*adds* the *before* Gods	
495.	sayes		sayth
502.	ruthfull		rufull
503.	guerdon	byre	hyer
509.	the	thys	this
519.	sorrows		sorow
521.	Wailing	To wayle	*like* D.
522.	The Gods will	By the etc.	*like* D.
525.	rigged ... the talowed kele	charged...	*like* D.: the∧kele∧talowed' (*marks added by scribe*)
526.		*adds* the *before* wood	
529.	bing	buige	
532.	drags		drag
535.	eche		*omits* that; everie
536.	this		thus
537.	sighes ... when ... towers hye	syghtes...	...that...towers of height
542.	ay	and	
543.	to yeld	and yeld	
544.		*omits* and	
548.	streming sailes abiding	strayned sayle abideth	streming sailes abyden
552.	nathelesse	nevertheless; *adds* a *before* wretched	
554.	thee eke	and eke	*like* D.
555.	time...knewst		tymes...knew
557.	within	in	*like* D.

	T.	D.	H.
561.	haue	ay	aye *crossed out and* ne pulled *written over it*
563.	to ouertreat	for to entreat	*like* D.
564.	to	hys	
576.	redoubled	well-rendred	*like* D.
577.	Moisted	Myngled	*like* D.
578.	bringes	bryng	
579.	any		my
580.	He can be framed with gentle minde to yelde	He harkens though that he were mylde of kynde	*like* D.
581.	The werdes...and God	Destenies...	Destenie...a god
582.	boisteous	boysterous	boistrous
583.	The which among the Alpes		Amidd the Alpes which that
584.	Blowing now from this quarter, now from that	Blowing now from this, now from that quarter, blow	That now from this, now from that quarter blowe
585.	blastes		blast
586.	rores		rore
587.	her	hys	ther
589.	her	hys	his
590.	so...her	as...hys	*like* D.
593.	In vaine		For nought
595.	Wisheth...irked	Wyshed...yrketh	...yrkenge
601.	chaunge...gore	...geare	changde...geare
602.	This she...not	Which syght...not	Which she...ne
607.	Whereout	Wher oft	*like* D.
608.	Cleping	Clypping	
609.	complaind	complayne	
610.	drawing long doleful tunes	to draw his playning tunes	*like* D.
612.	With		Of
614.	distraught	bestraught	*like* D.
615.		*omits* left	
616.	Uncompanied	Unwayted on	*like* D.
617.	land...folk	...folkes	landes...
620.	shew		showde
622.	represented		representeth
624.	Armed with brands		With armed brands
625.	sitting		seking
626.	ugly	hughly	
627.	Yelden		Yolden
632.		*omits* a	
635.	the end of the great Ocean flood	thende of the great Octian	*omits* great
636.	the wandring sun discendeth hence	the sun dyscendeth and declynes	*like* D.
641.	That of thesperian sisters temple old	Of the Hysperianes sisters temple	Of the Hesperians sisters temple old
642.		*lacking*	*lacking*
643.	That geues unto the dragon eke his foode	The garden that gyves the Dragon food	*like* D.
645.	That ... sleping poppy casts	(?) ...poppy that slepe provokes[1]	Which...cast
646.	charme		charmes
650.	eke...mouings		in...order

[1] The reading of the remainder of the line uncertain in the transcription.

	T.	D.	H.
651.	Tassemble eke the gostes that walke by night	The gostes that walk by night eke to assemble	*like* D.
653.	come...hill	fall...	fall...hills
655.		*omits* to me	
656.	arts		art
663.	nunne		man
664.	what did to him		what so did him
667.	ment		men
670.	thing		thinges
671.	Than...Sichees	Then...Sicheus	*like* D.
672.	But then the Quene	*lacking*	*lacking*
673.	When that the stake of wood was reared up	But the Quene when the stake was reared up	*like* D.
674.	inward		open
676.	she doth all	then she doth	*like* D.
677.	funerall		funeralls
678.	yleft	forsooke	forsake
679.	on a	on hys	over his
684.	huge	eke	*omits* the ; eke
685.	And eke...Hecate	*omits* and eke ; Proserpina	With...Proserpine
686.	And three faces of Diana		And three figures of Dian
688.	Like unto	Like unto the	Unto the
689.	reapt up...sithes	reaped up...	...sighes
691.	The	Theyr	
693.	To reue that winneth from the dame her love		To weane her from her dames love
694.	mole...all in		milk...in bothe
695.	of		on
699.	if there		if that there ; *second* that *omitted*
700.	Of louers hartes not moued with loue alike	Of lovers unequall in behest	Of lovers true etc. *like* D.
702.	then...the		the...that
707.	lakes remainde	longes remaynde	slowghes remaine
709.	the	that	
713.	nightes rest enter in eye or brest	might rest in eye nor brest cold enter	nightes rest etc. *like* D.
714.		*omits* doth	*like* D.
716.	this		thus
717.	shall		shuld
719.	Numid	nunned	
721.	Teucrian		Teuchryn
726.	Or me scorned	Or scorned me	*like* D.
728.	knowst thou yet	doest thou wotte	doest thou know
729.	The broken othes	Or smell the broken othes	*like* D.
730.	on		with
731.	waite		awaite
733.	from Tyre	with Ire	
737.		*omits* first	
739.	Didst...yelde	Did...wyshe	Did...wisht
743.	Sichee	Sicheus	*like* D.
744.	complaints	complaint	
745.	full-minded	certayne	*like* D.
750.	hue		here
754.	hearst		here

	T.	D.	H.
756.	Determd to die	Certayne of death	*like* D.
757.	flee	flye	
759.	all spred	stald all	skalt all
760.	steale		steales
761.	aside	onsyde	
762.		*omits* For	
765.	out of	from	
768.	aboue	Joue	
769.	writhen		wretched
774.	glistring...unsheathes		raser...unshethles
775.	cables		cable
777.	cast	wrest	refte
778.	shores		shore
779.	blew		grene
782.	When by her windowes... peping	...creking	Through the window... creking
783.		the *added before* navye	
785.	thrise...smote	three...	...smitte
787.	then	hence	
790.	the		this
791.	Shall the vessell	and *added before* out; *otherwise like* T.	shuld the vessells
792.	set sayle		hoyse saile
796.	it...when thou didst give to him	...when thou with hym devydedst	thee...when thou did devide
797.	The scepter	The Scepture	Thie Sceptre
798.	godes	goodes	
800.			*a second* I *added after* not
801.			have *added before* drenched
802.	And...with Iron reft		Or...berefte with yron
805.	been doutful		doubtfull bene
806.	sith I myself		that sith myself
809.	ther		the
810.	falln myself ded	fall myself theyr	*like* D.
811.	Sunne...descries		Saye...destroyest
812.	knowest	knowes	
815.		*adds* eke *after* furies	
816.	who		which
822.	have	*omits* it	hath ; *omits* it
829.	giltlesh corpses		wailful corses
832.	fall...ungraued	...unburyed	dye...unburyed
839.	And	Now ; *omits* that our	*lacking*
840.	for aye		they are
841.	and		that
843.		*lacking*	*lacking*
844.	on	over	over
845.	her	thys	
846.	Barcen then	then briefly	
854.	my mind		I mynde
855.	Is to herform (*misprint in* T.)	Is to reform	For to perfourme
856.	And		A
858.	forth on		for An
859.	egerly	all egerly	
864.	inward		inner
868.	weed		weedes

	T.	D.	H.
871.	destenies it wold	desteny did permytte	*like* D.
873.	I liued and ran the course fortune did graunt		I ran the course so long as fortune did it graunt
877.	Troyans	Troian	
878.	laid		slayd (s *doubtful*)
886.	a	the	the
887.	The blade embrued and handes besprent with gore	The bolyng bloud with gore and handes embrued	The broyling...*like* D.
889.	throughout all thastoined		through all the astoined
890.	shrill yelling	lamenting	laymenting
892.	thauncient town	auncient towne	auncient Tyre
893.	enemies		armes
897.	farefull		dreddfull
898.	rushed		rusheth
899.	And her dying she cleapes thus	And dyeng thus she cleapes her	*like* D.
904.	shuldst		shuld
905.	mought end us bothe		ende both us two
906.			*adds* up *after* I
907.	And	Or	
908.	And cruel so absentest	As cruel for to absent	...absentes
909.	thou hast		yt hath
910.	The...eke and...of Tyre	at Tyre	Thy...and eke
916.	gore	geare	
917.	But...striueth	But...strave	And...
919.	in...that	under...	...the
927.	throwing		striving
929.	kindly		naturall
932.		*adds* yet *after* not	
939.	Commanded I reue and thy spirit	*adds* eke *after* and	I do bereve and the sprite
942.	kindly		naturall
943.	the life foorthwith		furthwith the life

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THE 'FREE-LIST' AND THEATRE TICKETS IN SHAKESPEARE'S TIME AND AFTER.

I PROPOSE in this article to discuss two obscure but interesting details of theatrical management from Shakespeare's time to the days of Garrick and Sheridan—the origin and development of the free-list and of theatre tickets. Both had humble beginnings, and, like other institutions that have come to stay, were the product of time and experience rather than of inventive genius.

Of the two, the free-list is the older institution—in fact it is as old as the theatre itself. When James Burbage leased the ground upon which he erected The Theatre, the first of the playhouses, in 1576, his landlord, Giles Allen, exacted tribute over and above the annual rent of £14. The lease specifically provides 'that yt shall be lawfull for the sayde Gyles & for his wyfe & familie upon lawfull request therefore made...to enter or come into the premises & their in some one of the upper roomes to have such a convenient place to sett or stand to se such playes as shalbe ther played freely without any thing therefore payeinge, soe that the sayde Gyles hys wyfe and familie doe come & take ther places before they shalbe taken upp by any others[1].' The 'housekeepers' or proprietors of the playhouses, naturally, did not hesitate to claim similar privileges for themselves. The housekeepers at the Salisbury Court Theatre in 1639 enjoyed 'a free roome or two[2],' and we learn that Philip Henslowe and John Cholmley, who entered into partnership in 1587 in order to build the Rose Theatre, made similar reservations. They bound themselves to collect from 'every psonne & psonnes resortinge and Cominge to the saide playe howse to vew see and heare any playe or enterlude...*excepte yt please any of the saide ptyes to suffer theire frends to go in for nothinge*[3].' Human nature and theatrical custom are indeed slow to change. It is written that in 1776, when 'Mr Sheridan, Doctor Ford, and Mr Linley commenced the government of Drury Lane, each of the gentlemen had a private box appropriated to their several families[4].' But we are running ahead of our material.

[1] C. W. Wallace, 'First London Theatre,' *Nebraska Univ. Stud.*, 1913, pp. 277 ff.
[2] Halliwell-Phillipps, *Illustrations*, pp. 87 ff.
[3] *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, p. 3.
[4] Edwin's *Eccentricities*, II, p. 142.

Ben Jonson, in *Bartholomew Fair*[1], amusingly refers to another class of persons who enjoyed a place on the Elizabethan free-list. Littlewit, on seeking to enter the puppet-show, is stopped by the gatherer, who is appropriately named Filcher[2]. 'You must pay, sir, an you go in,' says this worthy. Littlewit indignantly protests. 'Who, I! I perceive thou know'st not me!' Sharkwell, the other gatherer, comes to the rescue: 'What,' he says, 'do you not know *the author*, fellow Filcher? You must take no money of him; he must come in gratis; Master Littlewit is a voluntary; he is the author!' In *The Hog hath lost his Pearl* (1613)[3] there is another interesting allusion to this privilege of the authors—and to the fact that the actors sometimes suffered from the abuse of the free-list by their fellows. Haddit, an impecunious gallant, has taken to jig-writing. A player (perhaps the business manager of his company) comes to buy one of Haddit's productions, and offers him £2 and 'a box for your friend at a new play, *though I procure the hate of all my company.*' Haddit remarks that he would rather pay, since the favour 'may build a mutiny in your whole house,' but the player insists: 'I ha' play'd a king's part any time these ten years, and if I cannot command such a matter, 'twere poor, faith.' We shall see that the players of later times held the same opinion.

The passages just quoted escaped Malone, but a foot-note in his Prolegomena[4] does record two others that will bear repetition. One of them, a citation from a certain J. Stephens, who addressed 'his worthy friend, H. Fitz-Jeoffery on his Notes from Black-fryers, 1617,' informs us incidentally that if the poet were lucky enough to have a page, he might bring him along too. Stephens urges Fitz-Jeoffery to

> ...let players know
> They cannot recompense you for your labour, though
> They grace you with a chayre upon the stage
> And take no money of you nor your page.

Malone's second quotation has to do with Restoration times, and may wait until we have noted that besides the landlords, the housekeepers, the poets, and the actors, at least one other dignitary had a place in the Elizabethan free-list. This was the Master of the Revels, who had also the annoying privilege of entertaining his friends at the expense of the players. Sir Henry Herbert, official censor of the stage, and self-

[1] Act v, Sc. 3.

[2] The gatherers were notoriously dishonest. I have discussed this point at length in Chapter iii of my MS. dissertation, *Finance and Business Management of the Elizabethan Theatre*, Harvard University, 1918. Compare Lawrence, *Elizabethan Playhouse*, II, pp. 111–12.

[3] See Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, XI, pp. 436 ff.

[4] Malone's *Shakspeare*, ed. Boswell, III, p. 165.

appointed guide, philosopher and friend to players and playwrights who knew how to cultivate his good graces, intimates in his Office-Book that he enjoyed many a tactful favour at their hands in the good days before the closing of the theatres in 1642. Indeed, Christopher Beeston, manager of the Cockpit company, and John Hemyngs, the able business manager of the Shakespeare-Burbage forces, propitiated both the great man and his wife. On one occasion they gave that lady, according to Sir Henry's note, 'a payre of gloves that cost...at least twenty shillings[1].' But this was not all. Among Sir Henry's many demands for reparation and restitution in 1662 was one for 'A boxe for the Master of the Revels and his company, *gratis—as accustomed*[2].'

Malone's second quotation is one of several that may serve to bridge the gap between Elizabethan and Restoration times. Many things changed after the long silence which held the stage for the eighteen years between the closing of the theatres and the return of Charles II in 1660. The old democratic system of company administration disappeared, the 'star' system came in[3], and a new emphasis upon lavish scenic display—not to speak of other comparatively new departures, Restoration Comedy and Italian Opera. But the free-list went on—neither unchanging nor unchanged, to be sure, but ever adding new friends to the old familiar faces.

For one thing, the poets continued to hold their place on the list. The passage Malone quotes in this connexion is from D'Avenant's *Playhouse to be let* (ca. 1673), in which the housekeeper and the poet exchange compliments as follows:

Poet. D'you set up for yourselves and profess wit
Without help of your authors? Take heed, sirs,
You'll get few customers.
Housekeeper. Yes, we shall have the poets.
Poet. 'Tis because they pay nothing for their entrance[4].

John Lacy's Sir Hercules Buffoon (1682) would have us believe that the privilege was not to be sneezed at: 'As he is a poet, he sees plays for nothing, and that's considerable[5].' Prior, in *A Satyr upon the Poets* (ca. 1705), attacks the custom and rails unmercifully at the poor unfortunates who

...ruin stubbornly pursue,
Herd with the hungry, little chiming Crew,
Obtain the empty Title of a Wit
And [play the] free-cost Noisy in the Pit[6].

[1] Malone's *Shakspeare*, III, pp. 229, 233 ff. [2] *Ibid.*, III, p. 268.
[3] These matters are discussed at length in an article to appear shortly in the *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Ass. of America.*
[4] D'Avenant's *Works*, ed. Maidment and Logan, IV, p. 28.
[5] Act II, Sc. 4; ed. Maidment and Logan, p. 244. [6] Cf. Lowe's *Betterton*, p. 22.

And yet the poets, if we may believe Smollett, bore up under these attacks for some time longer. In *Roderick Random* (1748) Smollett—who had had a play rejected by both houses—paid his respects to the managers in no uncertain manner. Incidentally we learn that the poet Melopoyn, whose play has been rejected, receives as a peace offering from one manager 'a present of a general order for the season,' admitting him 'to any part of the theatre'—this to prevent too serious a rebuke to the manager from Lord Rattle, Melopoyn's patron[1]. And Frederick Reynolds, the amiable author of *The Dramatist* (and of almost fifty other plays written between 1785 and 1811), tells us in his memoirs that he valiantly defended his place on the free-list against all attacks from the managers. In consequence he enjoyed for many years a practically 'unlimited power of writing orders,'—and he did write some 15,000 of them for his friends[2]!

But the poets were not the sole offenders. The Restoration free-list not only retained the housekeepers in their ancient and honourable place, but stretched a point sufficiently to permit of an exchange of amenities between rival owners and managers. The 1660 contract between Sir William D'Avenant and his actors, the Duke's Men, specifically provides for 'a private box for the use of Thomas Killigrew, Esq.'—the manager of the other house—'sufficient to conteine sixe persons, unto which the said Mr Killigrew and such as he shall appoint...shall have liberty to enter without any sallary or pay for their entrance[3].' Some sixty years later we read of certain gentlemen of fashion who 'perhaps did not pay for one play in ten' of those they visited, 'an order (or frank ticket) from the managers' serving as their Open Sesame[4]. Percy Fitzgerald quotes from the Drury Lane records of this period a document which seeks to control the managerial franking privilege. It is an undated paper signed by Colley Cibber and his fellow patentees, who thereby 'ordered and agreed that Sir Richard Steele, Mr Wilks, Mr Booth, and Mr Cibber shall each of them have twelve sealed tickets every week, to give to their friends to see plays gratis, and that no written note from them or any other person whatsoever shall admit persons to see plays[5].' Two later documents, however—dating from 1733 and 1791, respectively—substantially enlarge this inner circle of the free-list. The documents note that the 'lessees or renters,' that is to say, the investors in the Drury

[1] See *Roderick Random*, Chapter 63, and Davies, *Life of Garrick*, I, p. 318.
[2] *Life and Times of Frederick Reynolds*, I, p. 267; II, pp. 234–5.
[3] Malone, *op. cit.*, III, p. 261.
[4] Fitzgerald, *A New History of the English Stage*, I, p. 431.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, p. 418.

Lane building fund, besides drawing a fixed dividend upon their investment, had also 'the liberty of seeing the plays[1].'

The players, too, insisted upon exercising their ancient prerogative of writing passes for their friends. A controversy between the actors and proprietors of Covent Garden, which was carried to the Lord Chamberlain for adjudication in 1799, throws considerable light upon the point. In stating their case the managers note that in 1780 they 'found many abuses from the Performers being allowed to write their own orders.' Consequently they abolished the custom,—'instead of which every performer had a certain number of tickets according to his rank.' It appears from the actors' statement that the maximum number of passes allowed any performer thereafter was seven, but even this curtailed privilege, they hold, was often disallowed. The new order of things, according to the actors, interfered with the success of their benefits, upsetting as it did their part of the give-and-take arrangement which had formerly brought out their friends in great numbers on such occasions. The Lord Chamberlain, however, decided that 'it...must be left to the Proprietors to issue [passes] to such extent and on such terms as they think proper[2].' And yet when all is said and done it appears that the poets, managers, players, theatrical investors and their friends[3], were the least objectionable persons who enjoyed the privileges of the free-list.

Pepys informs us that he and many of the gallants of his day virtually nominated themselves for a place upon its ample rolls—or at least that they did what they could to escape paying when they went to the playhouse. And these gentlemen were not easily put out of countenance by a mere show of authority, as were certain soldiers returning from the wars, who for a time sought to force the managers to give them free entertainment[4]. The Restoration playhouses, though there were but two of them, did not attract the public as their more numerous Elizabethan

[1] Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 80, 339.

[2] *Statement of Differences between the Proprietors and Performers of Covent Garden Theatre*, London, 1799, pp. 52 ff. Cf. W. C. Oulton, *History of the Theatres*, II, pp. 120–3.

[3] Or, on occasion, people to whom they wished to do a kindness. Dr Doran tells a story of a man who rushed down the gallery of Covent Garden, fell over into the pit, and was nearly killed. Rich, the eccentric manager of Covent Garden, showed up well on this occasion. He paid the man's medical expenses and later urged him never to 'think of coming into the pit in that manner again....And to prevent it, Rich gave him a free admission.' (*Their Majesties' Servants*, II, p. 46.)

[4] See Sir Henry Herbert's order of August 28, 1660: 'Whereas I am informed that there are divers private souldrs. of his Mats. army that doe forcibly enter into the theatres and playhouses...to the disturbance of the gentlemen and others there present....These are therefore to require all officers and souldrs....to forbeare any such forcible intrusion and nott to enter into the sd. houses without the consent of the owners or doorkeepers uppon paine of...court martial.' (Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, I, p. 58, note.)

predecessors had done. The political excitements of the time, the higher prices exacted to meet the cost of the lavish scenic display[1], and a type of comedy which, with all its brilliance, appealed primarily to the rather limited group of fashionable Londoners who moved in or near the court—all these things made against full audiences, and, even before they forced a union of the companies, led the managers to give tacit consent to a virtually unlimited expansion of the free-list. The abuse took several forms. A quotation from Mr W. J. Lawrence will serve to indicate their nature: 'Any respectable person who made the excuse that he wanted to see a friend on pressing business, or who gave the undertaking that he would not remain longer than an act, could go into the house without paying. Worthy Master Pepys records on 7 January, 1667–8, how he visited both theatres, going "into the pit to gaze up and down, and there did by this means, for nothing, see an act in *The School of Compliments* at the Duke of York's House, and *Henry the Fourth* at the King's House; but, not liking either of the plays, I took my coach again and home[2]."' I have noted elsewhere that Mr Lawrence has given no evidence to support his view that this sort of thing rested upon Elizabethan precedent, whereas many Elizabethan documents indicate that in the old days groundlings and gallants alike *paid at the door before entering*[3]. The Restoration managers apparently connived at the practice on the theory that it would help to fill their houses, and, perhaps, in the hope of collecting from a fair proportion of the gallants at the close of the first act or some time before they left the house. Lawrence's further quotations from Pepys, Shadwell, and D'Avenant indicate, however, that if such was the managers' expectation they must often have been disappointed. We read of 'gentlemen' who 'run on Tick for Plays...as familiarly as with their Taylors[4],' and of some who,

> A deuce take 'em...pretend
> They come but to speak with a friend,
> Then wickedly rob us of a whole play
> By stealing five times an act in a day[5].

Still another passage, not noted by Lawrence, elaborates the theme. Laton, in the first scene of *Sir Hercules Buffoon*, gives us the following definition of 'wit':

[1] A shilling was the lowest price at which admission could be had in Restoration times, whereas twopence was the corresponding charge before the closing of the theatres.
[2] See *Elizabethan Playhouse*, II, pp. 102–3, and compare Lowe's *Betterton*, pp. 22–23.
[3] Compare *Studies in Philology*, April, 1919; 'Playwrights' Benefits, and "Interior Gathering" in the Elizabethan Theatre.'
[4] Shadwell, *True Widow*, Act IV.
[5] Epilogue of D'Avenant's *Man's the Master*.

That's wit to...see plays for nothing—one act in the pit, another in a box, and a third in a gallery—that's wit.

In the matter of the free-list, moreover, it was a case of 'like master, like man,' except that the privileges of the latter rested upon direct and open grant on the part of the management. Long before the close of the century the footmen and other domestics of the nobility had been permitted to see the last act of the play from the upper gallery free of charge. Colley Cibber did not become one of the managers of Drury Lane until 1710, but he had long been a successful actor and playwright and a keen observer of what was going on. In his *Apology* Colley gives the best available account of subsequent developments, and he may be permitted to speak for himself. About 1697 or 1698, we learn, Christopher Rich, then manager of Drury Lane, resenting 'the partiality wherewith he imagined the people of quality had preferr'd the actors of the other house[1], resolv'd at least to be well with their domesticks, and therefore cunningly opened the upper gallery to them gratis, for before this time no footman was admitted or had presum'd to come into it till after the fourth act was ended[2].' Cibber roundly denounces 'this additional privilege' as 'the greatest plague that ever play-house had to complain of.' Rich's idea was that his generosity would incline the footmen 'to give us a good word in the respective families they belonged to,' and 'incite them to come all hands aloft in the crack of our applauses. And indeed it so far succeeded, that it often thunder'd from the full gallery above, while our thin pit and boxes were in the utmost serenity. This riotous privilege so craftily given, and which from custom was at last ripen'd into right, became the most disgraceful nuisance that ever depreciated the theatre.' Dryden, indeed, testifies that the footmen had been a nuisance long before Rich sought their friendship. Dryden had paid his respects to them in 1682, in his *Epilogue on the Union of the Two Companies*:

> Then, for your lacqueys, and your train besides
> (By whate'er name or title dignified)
> They've grown a nuisance beyond all disasters:
> We've none so great but their unpaying masters[3].

Farquhar, too, rebelled against the high and mighty arbiters of the upper gallery, and, in the Prologue to his *Sir Harry Wildair* (1701), lamented the hard case of the poet:

> Your footmen there...
> To pleasure them his Pegasus must fly,
> Because they judge, and lodge, three stories high.

[1] I.e., Betterton's company, at Lincoln's Inn Fields.
[2] For this and the following passages, see Lowe's edition of the *Apology*, 1, pp. 294 ff.
[3] Lowe cites this and the following passage in his *Betterton*, pp. 29 ff.

'The Privilege of the Footmen's Gallery' remained a serious cause for complaint in 1730, when, in a printed letter, 'A Citizen' protested to the Lord Mayor of London against the abuses of the Stage[1]. Seven years later, however, after a riot in the course of which three hundred of these 'free-cost noisies' all but demolished Drury Lane, this portion of the free-list was permanently abolished[2].

Colley Cibber calls attention to another bit of special privilege at least distantly related to the free-list, and he again blames Rich for sanctioning it and permitting it to flourish: 'From the same narrow way of thinking, too, were so many ordinary people and unlick'd cubs of condition admitted behind our scenes for money *and sometimes without it*. The plagues and inconveniences of which custom were found so intollerable...that at the hazard of our lives we were forced to get rid of them, and our only expedient was by refusing money from all persons without distinction at the stage-door; by this means we preserved to ourselves the right...of chusing our own company there[3].' It appears that this action was taken in 1711, and so, with the subjugation of the footmen some twenty years later, some of the worst evils of the free-list were done away with.

Other and later growths of this hardy theatrical weed, however, did not fail to make their appearance. Sheridan glances at one or two of them in the opening scene of *The Critic* (1779). Witness Mr Dangle's question to his lady, anent the advantages accruing to the family through his theatrical connections: 'And doesn't Mr Fosbrook let you take places for a play before it is advertised and set you down for a box for every new piece through the season?' Again, there is an allusion to a certain managerial practice which is attested also by information from other sources. When Dangle asks Sneer whether he intends to be at the first performance of Puff's tragedy, Sneer replies: 'Yes—but I suppose one shan't be able to get in, for on the first night of a new piece *they always fill the house* with orders to support it.' That there is something in Sneer's remark appears from the Memoirs of Mrs Bellamy, who, in the famous *Romeo and Juliet* season of 1750, played Juliet to Garrick's Romeo at old Drury, against Mrs Cibber and Barry at Covent Garden. With charming candour Mrs Bellamy admits that Barry excelled Garrick, but that her own performance turned the scale in favour of Drury Lane.

[1] *A Letter to the Lord Mayor of London.* By a Citizen. London, 1730, p. 28.
[2] See Lowe's ed. of Cibber's *Apology*, I, p. 295 n.
[3] *Apology*, I, p. 295. It will be remembered, however, that Pepys had been admitted to the intimacies of certain back-stage tiring-rooms considerably before the days of Christopher Rich. See his *Diary* for October 5, 1667.

'But,' she adds, 'this was not done *without a great deal of paper* which was bestowed upon the occasion[1].' Mrs Bellamy also notes that during one of her seasons at Dublin[2] she personally distributed passes to the value of £75—this 'at the express desire of the manager[3],' and we learn elsewhere that in the year 1763, when Sheridan was manager in Dublin, 'nearly one hundred persons in the Lord Lieutenant's household claimed free admission,' the government, however, allowing the rather inadequate sum of £100 to reimburse the management[4].

I shall not attempt to trace the progress of the free-list through the nineteenth century. Certain it is that this good old institution was not crowded out of existence. We may note merely that the Haymarket had its regular 'Free List Book' in 1828, and that from May to July, 1824, when Charles Kemble was manager of Covent Garden, his treasurer issued no less than 11,000 passes, to the value of some £3850[5]. On the other hand, certain old abuses had been done away with even before the turn of the century. As early as 1782, the enforced prepayment of tickets effectively checked the sport of the gallants who used to demonstrate their wit by seeing plays for nothing[6]. Perhaps the free-list does not flourish as vigorously to-day as it did at times in the golden past. And yet the legend, 'Positively no free-list,' which still greets the playgoer at some of our box-offices, perhaps remains a legend in more senses than one.

Theatre tickets did not come in quite so early or so spontaneously as the free-list. Collier long ago called attention to several passages in Elizabethan documents which, taken together with other evidence[7], indicate that, in general, seats were not reserved either in the private or the public theatres of Shakespeare's day. Perhaps the most pertinent of Collier's quotations is the following, from W. Fennor's *Compters Common-Wealth* (1617): 'Each man sate down without respecting of persons, for he that first comes is first seated, like those that come to see plays[8].' It seems that, then as now, some fine gentlemen came too late, and consequently returned home disgusted, having been either unable to gain admission or forced to take their chances and stand up with the groundlings[9]. They could avoid this predicament, however, by hiring a

[1] *Life of A. G. Bellamy*, ed. 1785, II, p. 98.
[2] About 1760.
[3] *Life*, I, p. 182.
[4] Doran, *op. cit.*, II, p. 38.
[5] Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 418, 425.
[6] See Lawrence, *op. cit.*, II, p. 118.
[7] See below, p. 134 *mid.*
[8] 1617 quarto, p. 8; cf. Collier, *Annals*, ed. 1831, III, p. 340.
[9] Collier quotes (correctly) from the journal of Sir Humphry Mildmay (Harleian MS. 454, f. 20) who, on February 3, 1638, notes that he 'came home dirty and weary, the play being full.' (*Annals*, II, p. 86.)

private box, and to insure undisturbed possession thereof they could—and on occasion did—have such boxes locked, and the keys delivered to them. So much appears plainly from 'a little pique' which, in the year 1635, 'happened betwixt the Duke of Lenox and the Lord Chamberlain about a box at a new play in the Blackfriars, of which the Duke had got the key[1].' It seems further, from a passage in Fletcher's *Wit Without Money* (ca. 1620)[2], and from other contemporary allusions, that half a crown was the regular charge for box seats.

On the subject of Elizabethan theatre tickets practically nothing has been written, and yet more or less information is available. From the contract between D'Avenant and his actors in 1660 we learn that 'the general receipte' of the new theatre then building was to be 'by ballatine or tickets sealed for all doores and boxes[3].' The contract specifically states that this method of admission was not to be practised at the old Salisbury Court, which the company occupied until the new house was ready. Apparently, then, tickets were a novelty. A passage from Samuel Vincent's version (1674) of Dekker's *Gull's Horn Book* indicates, however, that tickets of a sort had come into regular use fairly early in the Restoration. 'Let our Gallant,' writes Vincent—who scorns to suggest the mean devices of the frugal Pepys—'having paid his half crown and given the Door-keeper *his Ticket*, advance himself into the middle of the Pit[4].'

There is but one mention of theatre tickets earlier than the D'Avenant contract, and this, dating from 1613, indicates that they were then not generally employed. In that year sixteen apprentices secretly prepared a presentation of *The Hog hath lost his Pearl*. Next, according to a contemporary account, 'they took up the Whitefriars for their theatre, and...invited thither (as it should seem) rather their Mistresses than their Masters, who were all to enter *per bulletini, for a note of distinction from ordinary comedians*[5].' Perhaps the 'bulletini' were merely written or printed invitations[6]. At all events, I think it likely that

[1] See *Strafford Letters* (Dublin, 1740, I, p. 511), and compare Malone and Collier.

[2] Act I, Sc. 1. Lance asks Valentine, his gay young master, 'Who extol'd you in the Half-crown-boxes, where you might sit and muster all the beauties?'

[3] See Malone, *op. cit.*, III, p. 260.

[4] See R. B. McKerrow's edition of *The Gull's Horn Book*, London, 1904.

[5] Towards the end of the play the sheriffs came 'and carried off six or seven of them to perform the last act at Bridewel.' (L. P. Smith's ed. of the *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, II, p. 14. Cf. Collier, I, p. 384.)

[6] Florio's *Dictionarie* (1611) defines 'bulleta' as 'a little bill, billet, or note of paper'; the 1598 edition does not list the word. The *Oxford Dictionary* gives as an obsolete seventeenth century use of the word 'bulletin'—'an official certificate, a short note, a memorandum.'

theatre tickets or 'bulletini' were an importation from the Italian playhouses, and that the English managers heard of them from some of the Italian companies who acted in England in Queen Elizabeth's reign[1]. I have been unable to find any allusion to theatre tickets in the historians of the early Italian theatre, but they might well pass over so slight a detail. Coryat, indeed, speaks of the 'beggarly' Italian playhouses—but he adds that he saw women act in them, a thing he had never seen before[2]. The Italians may well have led the way also in this matter of theatre tickets[3].

It should be noted that the tickets in use after the Restoration appear to have differed decidedly from those now most generally in use, though they were not very unlike the pit and gallery checks still used in the London theatres. At the end of the second volume of Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata* (1819), there is a page reproducing twenty-four 'checks and tickets of admission' to the early theatres. These were round metal checks about the size of quarter or dollar coins, and Wilkinson states that they were made of brass. Most of them bear a date and the name of a theatre, and such words as 'pit' or 'upper gallery,' but even the latest one, dating from 1817, has no indication of a seat number. The earliest date that can be definitely assigned to any one of the original checks in Wilkinson's possession is 1671, though some may have been older[4].

I am not able to say with absolute exactness when printed tickets came in, or to what extent they were used side by side with these metal checks. But certain inferences may be drawn from facts at hand. It appears that printed tickets came into something like regular use after 1700, particularly at benefit performances. I shall come in a moment to a detailed description of one of these tickets, dating from the year 1717; meanwhile it is interesting to observe that even with printed tickets the seemingly obvious device of reserving seats did not suggest itself to the eighteenth century managers.

[1] 'Drousiano, an Italian commediante,' travelled in England in 1578, and 'Drousiano's company can hardly have been the last.' (W. Smith, *Modn. Phil.*, 1908, p. 559. See also J. W. Cunliffe in *Modern Phil.* for 1906.)

[2] Coryat's *Crudities*, 1776 reprint of ed. 1611, II, p. 16.

[3] This, in spite of the fact that Riccoboni (*Account of the Theatres in Europe*, p. 56) reports that the old method of collection by iterated payments—i.e., a general admission fee upon entering, and further payments at the doors leading to the galleries, boxes, or the stage, if seats were desired there—persisted in the Venetian theatres in 1741, and, according to Creizenach (*The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare*, p. 418), is still partially current in Italy.

[4] An undated check from the Red Bull may be earlier. In the collection there is also a very rude check bearing the letters 'S. T.' on one side, and the word 'Box' on the other. This has been assigned to the Swan Theatre.

It seems reasonably certain that printed tickets were first used at benefits 'for a note of distinction' from ordinary performances. Benefits as a rule brought crowded audiences. It is not surprising, therefore, that on such occasions special attention was given to advertising and to ticket arrangements. We shall see presently that the printed ticket itself originally served as an advertisement. Meanwhile it is well to bear in mind that it was the custom of the players until the close of the century to dispose of tickets for their respective benefits by personal solicitation or other direct appeals to their friends[1]. For this purpose it was obviously desirable to use something more distinctive than the regular metal checks. Accordingly, it seems natural enough to find the following note in an advertisement of a benefit in the year 1702: 'The boxes will be opened into the pit, into which none will be admitted *without printed tickets*[2].' Genest, I think, must have had in mind this use of printed tickets in his entry concerning a benefit performance of the year 1755: 'Mrs James had *a ticket night* Nov. 22—when she probably retired from the stage[3].' At all events, such early printed tickets as have been preserved are benefit tickets[4].

Fitzgerald, in his *New History of the English Stage*, prints the following communication from his friend, Mr Sala: 'There is extant an extremely rare print, designed and engraved by William Hogarth as a ticket for his friend Joe Miller's benefit at Drury Lane Theatre on the 25th of April, 1717. The actor is delineated in the character of Sir Joseph Whittol in Congreve's comedy of *The Old Bachelor*...[5].' I have found a print of this ticket bound in the Harvard University Library copy of Curll's *Life of Wilks* (1733). It is a beautiful engraving measuring $5\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and it illustrates Act III, Scene 3, of the play. Sir Joseph Whittol, Captain Bluffe, Bellmour, and Sharper, make up the *ensemble*—Sharper being busily engaged in kicking Bluffe, who has sought to prevent Whittol from paying Sharper £100 for a pretended rescue. The scene has an ornamental frame, and two cherubs at the top hold a scroll which bears the legend, 'For the benefit of Joe Miller.' At

[1] See *Life of A. G. Bellamy*, I, p. 64; *Pepys' Diary*, Sept. 28, 1668; Genest, *Account of the English Stage*, VI, pp. 461, 520; Doran, II, p. 225.

[2] Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, I, p. 228.

[3] Genest, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 411.

[4] Printed tickets, however, probably soon came into use for other occasions of special interest. See Genest, II, p. 601—entry for Drury Lane, June 18, 1717: 'By particular desire of several Ladies of Quality. Fatal Marriage....An exact compilation being made of the number which the Pit and Boxes will hold, they are laid together, and no person can be admitted without tickets—by desire the play is not to begin until 9 o'clock.'

[5] Fitzgerald, I, p. 306.

the bottom appear Hogarth's name and the words 'Theatre Royal—Drury Lane—The Old Batchelor[1].'

It is noteworthy that this ticket does not bear the least sign of any seat reservation. The boon of numbered and reserved seats was not yet, and playgoers who could not send their servants to the theatre at an early hour to keep seats for them[2], long continued to have a hard time of it. The only way to be sure of a place was to come early—and that, too, had its disadvantages, some of which are set forth in James Ralph's *The Taste of the Town* (1731): 'Some honest Gentlemen press by Three o'clock into the first Row of the Gallery of the Opera or back seat of the Pit in the Play-House; pleased with their Success, and tir'd with expecting the Entertainment they fall asleep before the Overture or first Musick, and fairly take out their Time and Money in Snoring, till, rous'd by the Chorus or Dance at the End of the Play, they start up—gape—and cry Damn'd Musick! A most execrable Play.' In view of the fact that the play at this time did not, as a rule, start before six—sometimes, indeed, not until eight or nine[3]—one can hardly blame the honest gentlemen for dozing off. So far as I am able to determine, they and their kind had perforce to make martyrs of themselves until after the close of the century. Reserved seats were still unknown in 1769, when, at Mrs Clive's farewell benefit, the public was requested to be in the house by 'half an hour after five and to let their servants come to keep [their seats] a quarter before four[4].' Nor had any change been made by 1786. On May 15th of that year, the management advertised the appearance of Mrs Siddons as Ophelia, for her benefit performance, and it added the following suggestion: 'To prevent confusion, Ladies are desired to send their servants by half past four[5].' Reserved seats, then, appear to be a luxury for which we have to thank the managers of the nineteenth century.

ALWIN THALER.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U.S.A.

[1] A number of later benefit tickets are listed among Hogarth's engravings, among them tickets for Fielding and Milward. See Dobson and Armstrong's *William Hogarth*, pp. 203, 224. The Miller ticket is not listed in this work.

[2] See Dryden's Prologue to *Arviragus and Philicia* (1672):

> And therefore, Messieurs, if you'll do us grace,
> Send lacqueys early to preserve your place.

(Cf. Lowe's *Betterton*, p. 18.)

[3] Compare *Letter to the Lord Mayor of London*. By a Citizen (1730), p. 19; Fitzgerald, II, p. 155; Genest, II, p. 601 (quoted above, p. 135, n. 4).

[4] Fitzgerald, *Life of Mrs Clive*, p. 82.

[5] Genest, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 385.

DOORS AND CURTAINS IN RESTORATION THEATRES.

ALTHOUGH the minutiæ of Elizabethan stage construction and practice have been fully examined and elucidated, there still remain a few moot points in regard to the later development of those earlier theatres—the theatres of the Restoration. It may appear to some as ridiculous to trifle with such minor details as the question of how many stage doors there were in the Theatre Royal or at Lincoln's Inn Fields in the days of Dryden, or whether the curtain fell between the acts or not, but the fact is that such apparent trivialities of theatrical technique often exercise a wholly disproportionate influence, not only upon acting, but upon actual drama produced. The difference between *Almanzor and Almahide* and, let us say, *Othello* is due not only to foreign influence or to the influence of heroic poems: it is due as well to the altered interior of the respective theatres in which these pieces were played.

The question as to the number of doors in the Restoration theatres was first raised by Mr R. W. Lowe in his illuminating study of the art and times of *Thomas Betterton* (1889, pp. 49—51), a work which renders all students of seventeenth century drama indebted to him for ever. There, relying mostly on the stage directions to Etheredge's *She Wou'd if She Cou'd* (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1668) and on the description by Colley Cibber of the reconstruction of the Theatre Royal about 1696[1], Mr Lowe decided in favour of the 'two doors' theory: that is to say, he thought that at each side of the stage there were a pair of doors, each used as entrances and as exits by the actors. This supposition Mr W. J. Lawrence sternly combated, at first in *Anglia* and then in his *The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies* (Series I, 1913, pp. 164 ff.), in which he adduced many instances of stage directions in which 'one door' and 'the other' were mentioned. Conclusive, however, as his arguments seem at first sight, more detailed examination rather appears to prove that Mr Lowe's almost unerring theatrical judgment is once more vindicated. In the first place, numerous as are the stage directions mentioning 'the other' door, numerous also are those in which

[1] Cf. Colley Cibber, *The Apology*, ed. R. W. Lowe, 1890, II, p. 85.

'another door' is referred to, as, for example, in Duffett's *The Empress of Morocco* (Theatre Royal, 1674). The fact is that neither of these, alone, can prove anything the one way or the other, for careless writing on the part of the dramatists might make the two phrases almost interchangeable. As I shall endeavour to show later, however, the more particular terminology very likely did refer to one special pair of doors—the 'entrance' doors—but not to the exclusion of any others. There are, happily, further cases which can be cited, and which go to indicate, not only that there were the two doors on each side postulated by Mr Lowe, but also that of these two doors one was in front of the curtain and the other behind. It was no doubt this front door which was cut away by Riche's alteration of the Theatre Royal mentioned above, the second door then becoming the front one.

In Edward Howard's rather worthless comedy, *The Man of Newmarket* (Theatre Royal, 1678), II, i, Luce, who is supposed to be overhearing a conversation, '*peeps out*' of one of the doors—so goes the stage direction. Four lines further down she '*peeps again*,' and, on being called by name, two lines still further, she answers, whereupon follows immediately the stage direction 'Luce *appears at another Door*.' From the action of the piece, which depends on her immediate appearance, it would have been manifestly impossible for her to move round behind the wings to the other side of the theatre. What she actually must have done was to 'peep' in at the front door before the curtain and then again at the door within the curtain. A very similar phenomenon occurs in the tragedy of *Alphonso, King of Naples* (Theatre Royal, 1691), written by George Powell the actor. There (III, iii) Caesario and Urania are attacked by banditti. He '*fights them off*,' and she '*Ex. confusedly, at the wrong Door*.' It would certainly have been a very unnatural action on her part if she had so far mistaken as to cross the stage and depart by a door on the opposite side. Had there not been the double door on each side, the dramatist (who be it remembered was an actor and manager as well) could easily have commanded her to retire 'through the scenes,' a stage direction occurring not infrequently in Restoration drama. These two examples are still further strengthened by the notes, hitherto unnoticed, printed in a peculiar play of John Banks, entitled *The Albion Queens: or, The Death of Mary Queen of Scotland*. This tragedy was originally written in 1684 as *The Island Queens*, but was inexplicably banned the stage at that period (the actions of the censor's office seem always inexplicable). It was published then 'only in Defence of the Author and the Play' and did not appear

on the stage until 1704, when it was reprinted with the former title. The copy from which this reprint was taken seems to have been a prompter's copy, and it contains additional directions invaluable for any student of Restoration stage conditions[1].

The first thing which catches one's eye in reading this play is the direction in large letters across the second page—'A LETTER for Mr *Wilks*.' Wilks in that play acted the part of the Duke of Norfolk and that character enters some 40 lines lower down. The 'letter' seems to have been a contemporary theatrical phrase for a 'call.' It occurs again on page 5—'A LETTER for Mr *Mills*' who acted Morton. He also enters about 30 or 40 lines later. To the former entrance of Norfolk, moreover, are attached the letters V.D.O.P., a series that appears again in II, i (p. 13), after Morton's entrance, and later spasmodically throughout the play. Similar combinations, reading V.D.P.S., L.D.O.P., and L.D.P.S. are also of frequent occurrence, and once the letters O.P.P.S. appear. On my first noticing these letters, while recognising them as prompters' notes, I was at a loss to explain their full meaning, until I remembered that P.S. is the *present* theatrical abbreviation for 'prompt side'—i.e. the actor's left—and O.P. for 'opposite prompt side'—i.e. the actor's right. The latter portions of each series were therefore explainable, leaving L.D. and V.D. respectively. No such theatrical terms are extant to-day (L.D. and R.D. still remain for left and right doors) and the only possible solution is that L.D. stands for Lower Door and V. or U.D. stands for Upper Door, a solution that, coupled with the other instances already given, at once puts beyond doubt the validity of Mr Lowe's double door theory[2]. The once occurring note O.P.P.S. appears after a double entrance (III, i) and may probably be split in two as an indication for the separate characters to enter from opposite sides.

That these doors were separated from one another by the curtain is shown, not only by Cibber's remarks on the Theatre Royal reconstruction, but also by another stage direction, this time occurring in a rhymed tragedy, *The English Princess: or, The Death of Richard the*

[1] The occasional printing of actors' names instead of the characters in the body of plays and of notices for actors to be 'ready' (i.e. from prompters' copies) was a bad habit which the Restoration printer inherited from his Elizabethan predecessor. There are a good many examples to be found in D'Urfey's works—cf. *A Fool's Preferment: or, The Three Dukes of Dunstable* (Dorset Gardens, 1688), where '*Call* Longo, Bewford' occurs in IV, iii: others appear in the same author's *The Injured Princess: or, The Fatal Wager* (Theatre Royal, 1682), II, i, and in *The Richmond Heiress: or, A Woman Once in the Right* (Theatre Royal, 1693), III, iii; IV, i; IV, iv. In Rawlins' *Tom Essence* (Dorset Gardens, 1676), I, i, we have '*Mrs* Essence *ready above*,' and in Powell's *The Treacherous Brothers* (Theatre Royal, 1691), V, '*Enter Mr* Harris.'

[2] 'Lower door,' be it observed, is the phrase used by Cibber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 85.

III (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1667), written by John Caryl, not the friend of Pope, as is so often averred, but that John Caryll's uncle. In this play (IV, viii) there is a very detailed direction: '*The Curtain is let down. Enter* Catesby *and* Ratclife *at one of the Doors before the Curtain.*' These characters speak and then '*Enter* Lovel *at the other Door before the Curtain. The Curtain is opened.*' After this scene '*The Curtain falls.*'

Rarely are Restoration directions so clear and conclusive. The mention of 'one of the Doors' and then 'at the other Door' may serve to display the erroneousness of Mr Lawrence's argument from similarly worded examples. Cibber, it has been noted, refers to one pair of doors as 'the lower' and to the other as 'entrance.' It is quite possible, therefore, that one pair, as in this last instance, were more regularly used than the other, better known as 'upper' or 'entrance' doors as taste dictated. The prompter's notes in *The Albion Queens* indicate upper door entrances in five cases out of six. This, of course, is exactly what one would have expected, as the actors in Restoration theatres had, in speaking, to come fairly far forward, on to the projecting 'apron.' Only for special reasons would they be required to enter behind.

The quoted direction from *The English Princess* brings to light yet another point on which Mr Lawrence would appear to have erred. The curtain there is decidedly let down both after the preceding scene and at the end of this one. Of that there is no doubt. While noting an occasional curtain ending or beginning Mr Lawrence came to the conclusion that that now necessary theatrical appurtenance remained up almost in every case from the commencement of the play until the close—at least until well on into the eighteenth century. It is perfectly true that several plays still retained the 'dying fall' necessitated by Elizabethan conventions, and that bearers of the dead were still employed: but, at the same time, these remnants of earlier tradition cannot be brought forward to obscure the fact that, from the second decade at least of the Restoration period, plays were tending more and more to be sudden in their beginnings and in their endings. Mr Lawrence has laid much stress on the '*Exeunt*' which appears as a final stage direction to almost every scene in late seventeenth century plays: but that '*exeunt*' it would seem must not in every sense be taken literally. In Powell's *The Cornish Comedy* (Dorset Gardens, 1696), for instance, '*Exeunt*' occurs as a finale to the third act: yet the first scene of act IV opens with '*Curtain drawn.*' At the close of that scene the same appears—'*Exeunt*' at the close of scene i and '*Curtain*

drawn' at the beginning of scene ii. An even more noticeable example may be found in Orrery's *The Black Prince* (Theatre Royal, 1667), where at the end of act I '*The Curtain Falls*' although immediately before had occurred an '*Exeunt.*'

Although one cannot postulate with absolute certainty, the curtain seems to have been raised after the Prologue[1]: in most cases, to have been lowered before the Epilogue[2]: and, besides, to have been employed with ever-increasing frequency between the acts. Instances of curtain discoveries at the commencement of a play are almost too many to tabulate. A few, however, may serve to stand for them all. A curtain rising (not a scene 'drawing') is precisely referred to in Ravenscroft's *King Edgar and Alfreda* (Theatre Royal, 1677), in Tate's *Brutus of Alba: or, The Enchanted Lovers* (Dorset Gardens, 1678), in Saunders' *Tamerlane the Great* (Theatre Royal, 1681) and in Harris' *The City Bride: or, The Merry Cuckold* (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1696). In Shadwell's opera of *The Tempest* (Dorset Gardens, 1674), also, it rises during the overture to reveal a new proscenium or 'frontispiece,' a relic of Caroline masques.

That generally at least it fell at the close of the last scene, may also amply be proved. Several instances occur in the works of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, whose plays generally are very valuable for their full and detailed stage directions[3]. At the close of the fifth act of *The Black Prince* (Theatre Royal, 1667) '*The Curtain falls,*' as it does in the corresponding act of *Henry the Fifth* (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1664) and of *Tryphon* (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1668). The same stage direction occurs, also, in Betterton's *The Prophetess: or, The History of Dioclesian* (Dorset Gardens, 1690).

There are fewer examples, it is true, of curtain risings and lowerings during the course of the play, very frequent use being made of 'scene-drawings'—that is to say, a front scene drawn aside to reveal a scene behind[4]. From the cases, however, in which the two appear, it would

[1] Dilke in the Dedication to his *The City Lady: or, Folly Reclaim'd* (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1697) attributes the cool reception of that play to 'the tedious waiting to have the Curtain drawn, after the Prologue was spoke.'

[2] Although in Motteux' *Love's a Jest* (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1696) Underhill comes forward with Bowen:

'Mr *Underhil*: Now for the Epilogue.

Mr *Bowen*: There's none I think!

Mr *Underhil*: Let down the Curtain then, and let's go drink.'

[3] See Montague Summers' *Orrery's* '*The Tragedy of Zoroastres*' in *The Mod. Lang. Rev.* XII, p. 24, Jan. 1917.

[4] Examples of this are innumerable. Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus, Father of his Country* (Dorset Gardens, 1681), III, i, furnishes a typical instance of a scene-drawing discovery. A somewhat similar one is in Dryden's *An Evening's Love: or, The False Astrologer* (Theatre Royal, 1668), IV, ii, '*The Scene opens and discovers* Aurelia,' etc.

seem that very soon in the Restoration period the curtain had crept into popularity for indicating act division, and that scene-shifting within the compass of the acts took place generally without a lowering of the curtain. Very similar, of course, is the occasional practice of our own modern theatres, particularly in pantomimes and spectacular plays, where a scene is often changed in darkness before the eyes of the audience. This was used to considerable advantage in Mr Martin Harvey's English production of Maeterlinck's *Pelleas and Melisande* some few years ago. In Settle's *Cambyses, King of Persia* (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1666), to revert again to Restoration example, in II, v a masque is presented by drawing the scene: yet at the close of act III the curtain falls to rise again with act IV. In *The Surprisal* (Theatre Royal, 1665) of Sir Robert Howard, on the other hand, a masque (this time introducing an act) is revealed by the raising of the curtain. The stage direction in Mrs Behn's *The Forc'd Marriage: or, The Jealous Bridegroom* (Dorset Gardens, 1672), it is true, might be taken as a special show piece of theatrical business[1], but no such criticism can be applied to the similar directions in her later play, *The Young King: or, The Mistake* (Dorset Gardens, 1679). There changes within the acts are regularly indicated by '*The Scene draws off*' or '*The Scene changes,*' whereas, in act III, it is precisely stated that '*Curtain is let down—being drawn up, discovers* Orsames.'

To adduce more examples would undoubtedly be wearisome. As it is, the discussion to some may seem trivial enough; yet it must be ever borne in mind that it is to this use of the curtain that the modern plays owe their external technical difference from Shakespearean ones. In drama more than in any other art we must know the conditions in which masterpieces were produced before we can come to a complete realisation of their beauty and of their worth. Before we can appreciate aright *Venice Preserv'd* or *The Way of the World* we must seat ourselves in imagination in the theatre in which they were played: just as surely as we must sit in a fancied amphitheatre to grasp the full wonder of the rolling cadences of Aeschylus or of Sophocles.

Allardyce Nicoll.

Oxford.

[1] '*The Curtain is let down, and soft Musick plays: The Curtain being drawn up, discovers a scene of a Temple,*' etc.

THE ORIGINS OF THE ESSAY COMPARED IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH LITERATURES.

II.

THE purpose of this paper is to determine, if possible, the characteristics of the Essay, and the conditions under which it can be produced. In the first half of the contribution (published in January) Montaigne's work was taken as the most suitable type of the Essay, and it was argued that the essayist, as exemplified in his writings, displayed three characteristics. He is a thinker who, dissatisfied with the prospects which life offers, has recourse to the art or erudition of another age; but one who, instead of burying himself in the world of books, uses them as a guide to reconcile himself and others to things as they are; and thirdly a writer whose style conceals its art so well that his pages read like a soliloquy. It was contended that without any one of these characteristics the Essay loses its individuality and charm, ceases to be a genre, and should be relegated to some other class of detached writing. As literature is a growth and not a mechanical process, it is infinitely susceptible to social and cultural influences, and the present writer then went on to show that the French Essay lost and never recovered its identity owing to certain conditions. Chief among these, in the seventeenth century, was the rise of the *Salons*, with their ideals of intellectual conversation. It remains to see whether the development of the Essay, in other countries, corresponds to the principles laid down.

The material for the most striking comparison is to be found in England. The Renascence was the golden age of essay-writing and as English prose did not become academic or even formalised till the Revolution, the mere habit of keeping common-place books was bound sooner or later to end in the publication of essays. The first English collection is anonymous and is entitled *Remedies against Discontent*, but the writer was followed by Cornwallis, Robert Johnson, Tuvill, Stephens, Brathwaite, Mason, Peacham and others who all called their fragmentary productions essays and more or less followed or coincided with Montaigne in the choice of subjects. Though their desultory writings have the moralising and meditative manner which characterises the type, neither

the style nor the opinions are remarkable. As the story of practically all their lives is unknown, we can form only the most general idea of the conditions which influenced their work. Its mediocrity proves that essay-writing had become a habit, if not a fashion. Fortunately there appeared another essayist, second only to Montaigne, and when we examine his life we find that his literary greatness is due to the same kind of impulses as those which actuated his prototype.

Bacon's first slim volume, which appeared in 1597, does not contain essays in the true sense of the word. The style is aphoristic and epigrammatic, but jejune and impersonal, and the thought is confined to the narrow and practical problem of success at Court. Whether or no these were suggested by Lord Burghley's *Precepts or Directions*, which at that time existed in MS., they read more like a book of courtesy brought up to date than a collection of essays. They might almost be styled the manual of the opportunist. These limitations are not the result of inexperience. Bacon was thirty-seven years old when he published his first edition and the style, with all its faults, displays that concentration and control of thought which marks the born writer. The thought itself is not that of an essayist. Bacon was then full of ardour and of ambition. The glamour of a public career, which in that enterprising age hypnotised even poor Gabriel Harvey, had taken possession of his imagination. As a boy he had served in the British embassy at Paris. Since the age of twenty-three he had been a member of Parliament. Since 1591 he had intrigued with Essex. He believed in the promise of the future, and however much he had set his heart on scientific research, he intended also to be a man of action and not a penurious and secluded student. It is not out of such confidence and enthusiasm that an author can expect to rival Marcus Aurelius. Montaigne or Lamb. He had not, at this stage, the essayist's attitude of mind. By 1625 the final edition appeared 'enlarged both in number and weight, so that they are, indeed, a new work.' As compared with Montaigne, Bacon's essays at first sight seem fundamentally different. London had, at that epoch, developed far more rapidly than Paris. The forces of the nation were already centred in the capital, and the Court and Parliament had become not only the seat of political power but a laboratory for studying the science of government. So it is not surprising to find that Bacon's mind still runs on questions of statecraft and of courtiership. But when we start to re-read the volume, we find that Bacon's point of view has completely changed since 1597. Like Montaigne he is now an onlooker. He is no longer teaching himself or

others how to succeed at Court; he is teaching his readers how to think, and the art of ruling happens to be uppermost in their minds. So he explains, exposes, unmasks. For this reason, again like Montaigne, Bacon is now impressed with the immense value of learning, especially of the classics. Fuller describes him as 'a great honourer of antient authors, yet a great deviser and practiser of new waies of learning[1].' After drawing on his own experience or observations to discuss what is fittest, he refers to antiquity to decide what is best. Many of the most striking thoughts put forth without any acknowledgement are (to say the least) similar to passages in Greek, Latin or Italian authors. He even maintains that for a real grasp of business a knowledge of books is even more helpful than a knowledge of men[2]. But as we become more familiar with the rather disconcerting mannerisms of Jacobean thought, we penetrate to the fundamental idea of Bacon's essays and realise how profoundly his purpose resembles that of his French prototype. Bacon's thought is the best equipment for a man engaged in the unavowed duel with himself. The ex-chancellor is never tired of warning his readers against trusting to appearances or admiring what is merely imposing. As if by accident, he is always discovering new and unexpected examples of self-deception and of meanness. While discussing topics of public interest, he is constantly turning one's eyes in upon oneself. While seeming to teach men how to mould their fortunes, he is really teaching them how to mould their characters. Thus in spite of an appearance of worldliness and of administrative capacity the tenor of Bacon's mind harmonises with the tenor of Montaigne's.

Their two styles are distinct but similar. Unlike Montaigne, Bacon lived in an age of conceits and clinches, and he could not escape the atmosphere of his time. But his epigrams are the illustrations of thought and not the triumphs of conversational wit. Ben Jonson declared that 'no man ever spoke more neatly, more presly, more weightily, or suffered less emptinesse, lesse idlenesse, in what he uttered[3].' Rawley concludes that his 'opinions and assertions were, for the most part, binding...rather like oracles than discourses[4].' As was shown in the first part of this article the influence of the *Salons* had seduced many French authors from the essay-writing for which they were gifted, and the sign of this defection will be found in the conversational *préciosité* of their style. But with Bacon the art of

[1] *Church-History of Britain*, 1655.
[2] Essay XXII.
[3] *Timber*, 1641.
[4] *Resuscitatio*, 1657.

conversation ended in the precision of thought and he wrote in the style of soliloquy. There is all the difference in the world between describing children as 'hostages given to fortune' and describing chairs as 'les commodités de la conversation.' Bacon's is the style of a writer who is communing with himself, who is winning his way into other people's minds by showing the working of his own. It is only because his disposition is so reticent and his thought is so chastened and concentrated that its character is lost in the effect.

In fact Bacon, as an old man clinging to the emoluments and submitting to the humiliations of high office under a court favourite, or languishing in disgrace, is essentially one of the spiritual exiles who turn to study for the satisfying sense of reality which they cannot buy at the world's price. In some respects the Jacobean and Caroline ages were more congenial to men of this stamp than was the corresponding epoch in France, because the male portion of society was left to pursue culture in its own way. Women played a prominent part in the gay life of the capital, but if they influenced literature, it was only as a theme for cavalier lyrics. There were no *Salons* and there was little or none of the kind of literature which, as we have seen, *Salons* produced. Fuller, Sir Philip Warwick, Clarendon and Burnet did indeed write portraits of historical characters, modelled on Thucydides or Livy, but the reader will look in vain in our language for an encomium of social accomplishments such as the *portrait* of Cléomire (Mlle de Rambouillet) or of Parthénice (Mme de Sablé) in *Grand Cyrus.* Englishmen, such as Arthur Wilson, Weldon, Warwick and Richard Baxter, wrote more or less private histories from a personal point of view, yet Sir William Temple was the first to write anything even distantly comparable to the French *Mémoires.* On the other hand there were plenty of notable conversationalists, including, besides Bacon, Ben Jonson, Howell, Carew, Hampden, Vane, Hutchinson, Earle, Hales, Waller, Cowley; but they made their reputations among men in private symposia. Those who had inherited from the age of Euphuism the taste for conversational artistry succeeded in exercising their gifts by developing the Theophrastan character sketch. Aristotle in Bk II of his *Rhetoric* delineated a few human types as models for 'Middle Comedy,' and his disciple Theophrastus following the same idea created a much larger number of social types, suitable as *dramatis personae* for the 'new Comedy.' Jacobeans went further and described any character and finally any institution which lent itself to humorous treatment. The art consisted in selecting for enumeration those traits which are common to all

members of the class portrayed so that the type is at once recognised. At the same time the descriptions must have so much of the warmth and colour of conversation that the subject appeals to some emotion. The reader should be filled with amusement or contempt or admiration. This form of composition has little in common with the French *portrait*, but it amounts to a series of illustrations for the Essay. The character sketch embodies the same spirit as the Essay, but leaves out its erudition and its contemplation. In the hands of Overbury and his circle it became an appendix to Bacon's *Essays* and Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*. In the hands of Earle it deals with the less conspicuous questions of conduct and of conscience and should be read with Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*.

It is not of course to be expected that all humanists and moralists should write essays. Some, like Burton and Sir Thomas Browne, though admirably qualified, both by disposition and training, were more in love with the academic dignity of a connected treatise, and others, like Reginald Scot, Nashe, Dekker, Gifford, Cotta, Milton, Filmer, Ady, Wagstaffe and Webster, were too completely absorbed by the controversies of the time to miss opportunities of writing pamphlets. But a sufficiently large number of authors have produced essays and characters, to prove that the age was congenial to that form of self-expression. The period from the accession of James I to the outbreak of the Civil War is characterised by an ever-growing veneration for learning and by an ever-increasing spirit of reaction after the hopes of Elizabeth's reign. Erudition and disillusionment were the note of the time and, as we have seen, these were the chief features of Montaigne's immediate environment.

The Civil War suspended but did not abolish these conditions, and as no new literary form took possession of the field at the Restoration, it is not surprising that the Essay survived until the Revolution. With the succession of William and Mary, English culture was possessed by a new spirit. It became the function of literature not to mirror life but to recreate it. Almanzor was conceived to be more noble and imperious and Cato more virtuous and resigned than any real mortal. Even fraudulent prentices like Barnwell and dissolute gamesters like Beverley were expected to inspire tears of compassion. Vergil and Homer were translated, because they were supposed to depict a heroism and a gentility which no story of modern life could offer. Satire was to exhaust the arts of rhetoric in order that vice might be portrayed with all the disfigurements of a monstrosity. Genres which could have no

pretensions to such creativeness were yet to civilise by adventitious excellencies. If the subject-matter was trivial, they could at any rate display their author's ingenuity and give the reader the pleasure of exercising his literary taste. These conceptions, which gradually took possession of the nation from the age of Dryden to the age of Johnson, were partly borrowed from Silver Latin and partly from the court of Louis XIV and expressed the nation's new felt desire for progress and culture. It was, in the language of Defoe, a projecting age. The atmosphere of the seventeenth century, in which the Essay flourished, had disappeared, and the type ought to have vanished from England as completely as it had vanished from France. Instead of that, it reappeared in a new form sufficiently important to inspire imitation in both France and Germany and so popular that Addison compared the genre to Ulysses's bow 'in which every man of wit or learning may try his strength[1].'

Though literature, since the Renascence, had become as imitative as the art of war, this development finds no parallel in other countries, and as a phenomenon it appears, at first sight, so contrary to the principles laid down in the foregoing inquiry, that a few words must be spent on its explanation. The cause will be found, not in any cult of the Essay of the Renascence, but in the peculiar social condition of England. While the compatriots of Richelieu and Mazarin were learning to think nobly in drawing-rooms, aloof from the friction of ordinary life, the contemporaries of Hampden and of Milton were realising their power as a class in politics. All through the Civil War, the Protectorate and the Restoration, this great body of citizens became more and more homogeneous and conscious of its destiny. They found their own literature in the enormous output of pamphlets, corrantos, diurnals and broadsides, and when the theatres were closed and the taverns were shut, they made coffee-houses their place of assembly. The absolutism of the Stuarts, the dissipation of the aristocracy, the schemes of Louis XIV, the intrigues of the Jesuits, whether real or imagined, continued to keep this class united and on its guard, and when the Revolution at last brought them security, there was little in the new and unpopular Court at Hampden to charm them out of their bourgeois culture. They cared little for Congreve's wit, Waller's sentimentality or Dryden's efforts at heroic drama, but they were very far from losing the habit of reading and discussing. To satisfy their interest, a new and multitudinous growth of fugitive literature came

[1] *Guardian*, 98.

into existence and English journalism was established. In all the periodical publications from Pecke's *Perfect Diurnall* to Defoe s *A Review of France* the investigator will find nothing which foreshadows the recrudescence of the Essay. They were, for the most part, factious fly-sheets and broadsides engaged in an unequal contest with the restrictions of the censorship. But after the Licensing Act had collapsed in 1688 and periodicals appeared every year dealing with topics as different as etiquette and plague precautions in France, their immense importance was accidentally discovered by Richard Steele in 1709. The journalistic press of London was at that period the only means of catching a reader when he or she was in a natural mood. All other kinds of literature were imposing; their form or their subject-matter or their associations transcended the reader; they could be approached only after an interval of mental preparation. The newspaper was the one literary recreation which the average person could enjoy without sacrificing his ordinary self.

It was thus that the essayist of the eighteenth century was given his opportunity. The industrious and domesticated middle class was full of a practical and intelligent curiosity in life. They were interested in character, education, manners and morality. They had a sense of humour and a sense of pathos; above all they were determined to learn how to live well. Though no man could assimilate the culture of his age without absorbing its artificiality, the literature of the coffee-houses still kept open an approach to their common-sense. The same reader who perused a book of verse epistles for the pleasure of tracing analogies to Horace would welcome a friendly discussion of his own personal problems in so informal a publication as a news-sheet. Thus there was an eager and appreciative public waiting for the essayist; that is to say for the writer who could give intimate and confidential counsels on conduct, based on the experience of other ages. Once again a comparison will reveal the significance of these facts. France also had her popular press. Between 1649 and 1652 the Fronde occasioned a crop of *Courriers* and *Mercures* no less polemical than the Thomason tracts and no more lacking in merit. These were followed by a number of *Gazettes*, beginning with *La Muse historique* (1650–65), many of them couched in verse and all of them more elegant than their counterparts across the Channel. But the French middle class lacked a civilisation of its own and looked to the aristocracy for culture, so their journalism reached its goal in *Le Mercure Galant*, a lively record of high society in the form of a letter which, founded by Donneau de Visé in 1672, con-

tinued as *Mercure de France* till 1820, but reached its highest usefulness as the prototype of the 'petits journaux' and its greatest distinction when it was 'lu par le Roi.' The English middle class produced the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, *Examiner*, *Guardian*, *Freeholder*, *Onlooker* which contain some of the suavest humour, the most homely wisdom, and the least affected prose in the language. Many of the contributors were not essayists in the more scholarly sense of the word. Steele in spite of his flashes of insight and his touches of characterisation was never more than a social pamphleteer of genius. Defoe in his hundreds of contributions hovers between the rôle of a political agitator and the rôle of a sensationalist. Gay, Budgell, Arbuthnot, Wotton, Tickell display no particular talent for occasional writing. Pope lacked sympathy and Swift lacked every other feeling. But Berkeley with his fund of abstract knowledge which he knew how to distil into moral counsels[1] would have developed into a great essayist if *The Minute Philosopher* had not claimed his energies.

The most complete type of the eighteenth century essayist is, of course, Addison, and it is instructive to notice that his education and temperament correspond to the qualities which we have laid down as being typical of the genre. Though he rose to be under-secretary of State and one of the lords commissioners of trades and married a countess, Addison had no reason to regard his public career or his wedded life as a success. He was shy, reticent and utterly inept at business. His timidity and self-suppression are well illustrated by his habit of ridiculing others with ironical praise. On the other hand, he had visited foreign countries and had observed men, and had acquired the faculty of divining other people's thoughts and peculiarities. His mind was so stored with erudition that his point of view was that of the classics. He had their sense of proportion, their eye for the fitness of things, their interest in moral questions and their urbane amusement at human frailty. Unpractical and reserved as ever, Addison had great difficulty in finding a field for these gifts. He tried Latin verse, then archæology, then a book of travels, then English verse and drama[2]. At last Steele, by founding *The Tatler*, brought him into touch with his proper public. From 1710 till 1715, Addison succeeded in transforming his classical wisdom and insight into counsels, admonitions, and illustrations homely enough to suit the middle class, which inspired and responded to these efforts. Like the Grecian that he was, he frequently made a practice

[1] *Guardian*, Nos. 27, 39, 49, 70, 77.
[2] The first four acts of *Cato* were completed by 1703.

of symbolising his ideas, sometimes in allegories imitated from the Platonic *mythus*, and sometimes in character sketches, like the incomparable Coverly papers. At the same time it must not be forgotten that his genius was constrained by the necessity of attracting and holding a public that would buy his and Steele's daily issues. The Essay was already beginning to fall a victim to journalism.

This paper leaves many difficulties in the appreciation of the Essay unsolved. Even if it is not necessary to review Italian and German literatures which are comparatively barren in this genre, no theory can be established without investigating and explaining the nineteenth century, which promised an immense revival of this kind of writing and yet (always excepting Lamb) achieved only a half result. Some pages would also have to be devoted to ancient literature from the age of Augustus onwards, for no civilisation seemed to provide more amply the conditions out of which the Essay develops and yet neither Plutarch, Horace, Seneca nor Marcus Aurelius is a true essayist. But the present article has already exceeded its allotted bounds and these questions must be reserved for a future contribution or for the investigation of the intelligent reader.

H. V. ROUTH.

LONDON.

'CLÉLIE' IN THE CORRESPONDENCE OF A PRÉCIEUSE.

Victor Cousin, referring to Madame de Sévigné, writes in *La jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*[1]:

> Dans une correspondance manuscrite de Madame de La Fayette, que j'ai pu parcourir, j'ai rencontré plus d'une allusion au temps où elle faisait pour ainsi dire ses études sous Ménage.

To this statement he adds a long note concerning the letters:

> Cette correspondance a été vendue à Sens, en 1849, à la vente de M. Tarbé. J'ai pu l'examiner quelques heures. Elle se compose d'environ cent soixante-seize lettres inédites, et parcourt presque toute la vie de Mme de La Fayette.....D'ailleurs nous n'avons ici que les lettres ou plutôt les billets de Mme de La Fayette; il n'y en a pas un seul de Ménage. La plupart sont autographes, quelques uns dictés et signés, tous parfaitement authentiques. M. Tarbé avait fait de cette correspondance une copie qui s'est vendu avec les autographes. Le tout appartient aujourd'hui à M. Feuillet.

M. le Comte d'Haussonville saw these letters before publishing his book on Madame de La Fayette[2]. By this time there had been added many first drafts of letters by Ménage and some letters copied and despatched.

The letters by Ménage are hard to decipher, and M. d'Haussonville does not appear to have considered them worth the trouble[3]. He quotes a few of Madame de La Fayette's letters but unfortunately does not always respect the text.

The entire collection was placed at our disposal some years ago by the late Madame Jagerschmidt and Mademoiselle Feuillet de Conches. They are now nearly all dated from internal evidence and will soon be available to students of seventeenth century literature. Space forbids the giving of the entire collection to the readers of this *Review*, so a choice has been made among the early letters. A first selection contains only such as refer to *Clélie*, and it is hoped that these will show the interest with which the various volumes were awaited, and that the interest resided chiefly in its being a *roman à clef*.

If space can be found a second selection from the early letters will

[1] Paris (Didier), 3e édition, 1855, pp. 23–4.

[2] Hachette. In the series *Les Grands Écrivains français*.

[3] This is to be regretted, for they would have cleared up at least one point—the authorship of the *Princesse de Clèves*. See *Revue d'hist. litt. de la France*, July—Dec. 1914.

show the opposite side of Madame de La Fayette's character—her efforts to deal with life's little worries and to help her husband in his law-suits.

The later letters, written towards the end of the lives of both correspondents, portray a beautiful friendship amid physical suffering. They will appear on this side of the Atlantic.

[Probably from Champiré near Angers. Early in 1654.]

Jay a faire responce a trois de vos lettres que ie receus il y a deux jours tout a la fois a cause du desordre que ie vous ay mandé qui estoit arrivé a Angers il faut que je commence tout ce que jay a vous dire par une belle et grande reprimande de la folie que vous aués faitte de prester quatre cents pistolles a un Suedois il ny a que vous au monde qui allies chercher des gens du Nort pour leur prester vostre argeant ie pense que cest afin destre plus asseuré qu'on ne vous le rendra point car ie ne croy pas que vous pretendies le retirer de vostre vie vous scaues que cest tout ce qu'on peut faire de faire payer des gens qui sont a la porte au juges(?) donc comment lon vient a bout de ceux qui sont dela des mers et sil y a de sergent qui veille aller donner un exploit a Stocolm ie vous dis quil ny a rien desgal a ce que vous faittes et qu'en bonne justice il vous faudrt mettre en tutelle mais est ce que vous ne comprenés point ce que cest que quatre cent pistolle pour les jetter comme cela a la teste d'un Ostrogost que vous ne reverés jamais si M^r^ le Cardinal de Richelieu eut fait une chose de cette force on luy eut pardonne mais pour vous qui naués point de richesse que celle des beaux esprits on ne peut pas vous en faire assés de reprimande ie me sens si forte sur ce chapitre la que si ie me croyois ie ne finirois point M^e^ de Sevigné[1] doit auoir bien de la honte que vous ayes fait cette sottise en sa presence charlot[2] et vous faittes mille belles affaires ce n'en est pas une de grande consequence que dauoir pris un Cirus pour lautre mais c'en est une de ne me lauoir pas envoyé si tost que vous me lauies mandé car vous scaurés que cest voler sur lautel que de retarder un plaisir a une pauvre campagnarde comme moy lon ma mandé que vous alliés en Suede[3] et que lon vous promettoit des tresors pour faire ce voyage la ie ne croy pas que cela soit veritable puisque vous ne me laués pas mandé ie suis bien aise que vous trouuiés mes lettres a votre gré vous ny en trouués pas si souuent i'en recevray des vostres si tost que celle cy sera partie le commerce dicy a Angers est si mal estably que i'en

[1] Madame la Marquise de Sévigné.

[2] Charles de Sévigné was only six years old. This may refer to him if the reference to the *Cyrus* is a mere transition.

[3] Ménage had been invited to the court of Sweden, and his poem *Christine* is a reply to this invitation.

perds patience et cela me donne plus de soing que toutes les affaires de lestat n'en donne a Mr le Cardinal[1] Mr de Sevigné[2] se porte mieux il est le plus humble des vostres et ma Mere[3] vous remercie de larioste fleury[4] la retiré de se Mr Neveu la pauvre Caterine[5] a la fievre double quarte et laura tout lhiuer ien suis bien faschee pour lamour delle et pour lamour de moymesme ie vous prie mandes moy un peu si Mlle de Scudery ne songe point a faire quelque autre Cirus[6] pour moy ie ne m'en scaurois passer et ie perdray tout a fait si elle sesse de trauailler il me semble que ie feray assés bien de finir ma lettre et quelle est assés grande pour que vous soyés content. De La Vergne.

ce 17*me septembre* [1655].

Je trouue les deux vers qui sont au commencement de vostre lettre si beaux et si touchants que ie ne puis menpescher de vous demander d'ou ils sont et qui est leur Pere puisque le second tome de Clelie est acheué ie vous conjure demploier vostre credit et ma consideration si elle est de quelque chose aupres de Mlle de Scudery pour obtenir ce second tome vous luy pouues asseurer qu'en lenuoyant en Auuergne cest comme si elle lenuoyoit dans les estats du grand cham de tartarie et quil y sera aussi incogneu et aussi caché hormis moy qui que ce soit au monde ne le lira et pour plus grande asseurance cest que si elle veut ie vous le renuoiray ie vous asseure que ie veois auec joye les nouuelles asseurances que vous me donnes de vostre amitié cest une.....[7]

ce 24*me septembre* [1655].

Vous me promettés bien des choses de me promettre la Clelie les œuvres de Sarasin et le livre de Mr Costar ie vous prie mandes moy dans quel temps ie pouray auoir tout cela afin que mon impatience ait un terme ou elle puisse arester ie suis fort satisfaitte de ce que vous me mandes des jours et des nuits de vostre jardinier[8] et ie le suis fort aussi de ce que lendroit qui ma plu ait este asses fauorisé des Muses pour que vous ny ayes rien trouué a redire il nest pas juste que vous me mandies tous les jours des nouuelles du monde sans que ie vous mande quelques

[1] Mazarin.
[2] Renaud de Sévigné, Madame de La Fayette's stepfather.
[3] Mme Renaud de Sévigné, widow of Pioche de La Vergne.
[4] Servant.
[5] Servant.
[6] The last volume of the *Grand Cyrus* was printed in 1654; the first volume of the *Clélie* in 1655.
[7] The second page of this letter is missing. Mme de La Fayette refers to the Second Part of the *Clélie*, i.e. Tomes 3 and 4. It would appear from the secrecy promised that the volumes were not issued as soon as printed (the *achevé d'imprimer* of these is Sept. 15th, 1655) but were kept until some fixed date.
[8] *Le jardinier*, poem by Ménage, *Ægidii Menagii Poemata*, 1656, p. 105.

fois des nouuelles de mon domestique Caterine vostre bonne amie se marie apres demain a un valet de chambre de M^r de La Fayette que vous aues veu a Paris venir a la ville auec moy ce garcon la est hors de ceans depuis quatres mois par une sottise quil fit mais si grande que ie ne lay pas voulu voir depuis et que ie ne verray point caterine quand elle laura espousé ce garcon la a du bien et elle est tout a fait heureuse de lespouser Dieu veille quelle le soit apres l'auoir espouse ie suis vostre servante de tout mon cœur adieu ie nay pas encore receu vos lettres de cet ordinaire.

de NADES[1], *ce* 26^me^ *octobre* [1656].

Il n'y a rien de plus obligeant que tout ce que M^r de Limoges[2] dit de moy i'espere que vous ne diminurés pas la bonne opinion quil en a ie voudrois fort que cette bonne opinion me seruist a loger auec luy vos dernieres lettres nous ont apris bien des nouuelles celles qui regardent M^r de Candale[3] sont bien plus considerables en cette prouince icy quelles ne sont ailleurs la qualité de gouuerneur donne une grande atention pour ses actions a ce que ie voy Cristine[4] est tout a fait dans le dessein de ce faire catolique ie ne doute point que vous ne la voyons dans une deuotion extrodinaire mais ie ne doute pas aussi quelle quitte cette deuotion aussi bisarement quelle a fait la couronne de suede jatends auec une impatience que ie nay pas acoutume dauoir pour les nouuelles publiques la confirmation de la nouuelle de la prison du Roy de Gots[5] ie ne voudrois pas quelle fut veritable pace que trouué asses beau de voir de nos jours un conquerant prendre des Royaumes en trois mois mais ie voudrois bien aussi que cette pauure Reine de Poulogne[6] ne revint point icy miserablement ie pense que M^e^ de choisi[7] se tourmente furieusement la dessus M^e^ de Seuigné[8] me mande que vous aues trouue un milieu entre luy donner clelie ou luy vendre deux fois plus quil ne vaut en luy prestant seulement cela ma paru tout a fait plaisant et ie me suis mis dans la teste que ie ne dois point douter de vostre amitié tant que vous me

[1] In Bourbonnais. One of the family seats of the La Fayette family.
[2] François I^er^ de La Fayette—uncle of Madame de La Fayette's husband. Bishop of Limoges from March 19th, 1628, to March 3rd, 1676.
[3] Louis Charles Gaston de Nogaret, duc de Candale (1627–1658). The news referred to here is probably an account of his departure for Spain. Candale was Governor of Upper and Lower Auvergne.
[4] Christine de Suède, in France at this time. Public entry into Paris Sept. 8, 1656.
[5] Charles X of Sweden 1622–1660. See the first letter of this series for 'Ostrogost' applied to a 'Suédois.'
[6] Marie Louise de Gonzague, daughter of the Duc de Nevers, widow of Wladislas VII.
[7] Mademoiselle gives a 'portrait' of Mme de Choisy. Segrais writes 'Elle étoit amie intime de la Reyne de Pologne qui a entretenu un commerce de lettres avec elle pendant vingt ans.'
[8] La marquise.

donnerés clelie et que cela signifie la plus grande amitie du monde quand ie voudray scauuoir si vous aimes quelqu'un ie demanderay si vous luy donnés clelie si vous ne luy faittes que prester ie me tiendray pour dit que vous n'aues qu'une honneste indiference mais si vous luy faittes payer cela marquera toute la haine imaginable Mr de Bayard[1] et Mr de La Fayette sont mille fois plus vos serviteurs que ie ne vous le scaurois dire et moy ie suis bien plus vostre servante que vous ne le scauries penser. DE LA VERGNE[2].

ce 2me nouembre [1656].

Je ne scay si ie suis bien aise que vous ayés donné ma lettre au cadet Barillon[3] car il me semble quelle estoit si mal bastie quil eut este aussi bon quil ne leut pas euee ie trouue assés plaisant que Mr de Candale vous fasse des compliments de ne mauoir pas veue ie pense que cest pour vous seul quil les fait car pour moy il ne me cognoist point du tout et na pas seulement songé a me vouloir cognoistre ie suis bien aise que vous aprouuiés ce que ie vous ay mandé sur Clelie mais ie suis fachee que vous ne soyes pas de mon sentiment ie suis bien du vostre sur ce que vous dittes du bel esprit des Romains mais songés aussi que le bel esprit des Romains tournoient du costé dune generosité extrodinaire et dun amour infiny pour la patrie qu'il n'alloit pas a disputer des questions tendres et galantes comme elles sont dans Clelie et songés encore que du temps de tarquin leloquence et la politesse nestoient pas cogneues a Rome comme elles ont esté depuis Rome ne faisoit que commencer et nestoit point encore derouillee vous ne me mandes rien des œuures de Sarasin[4] cela me fait croire quelles ne sont pas encore imprimées ie vous prie de me dire si vous croyes que la pucelle[5] de Mr chapelain reuissise dans le monde et quelle responde a latente que lon a depuis si lomtemps

[1] M. l'abbé Bayard referred to several times in the correspondence of Mme de Sévigné and in t. III, p. 209, as doing business for Mme de La Fayette. The latter mentions him in this letter to the Marquise together with M. de La Fayette. The *Grands Écrivains* edition gives a note explaining that the reference is to the second son of Mme de La Fayette. The editor believed that her husband died soon after the marriage. The reference is more probably to her husband who was still alive and who is frequently mentioned in conjunction with M. de Bayard in the unpublished correspondence.

[2] It is quite usual in the seventeenth century for a married woman to continue to sign her maiden name.

[3] Probably Antoine Barillon, mentioned as being a witness with his brother Paul and his mother Anne Fayet, widow of Jean Jacques Barillon, conseiller du roi, at the contract of marriage between the Chevalier de Sévigné and Elisabeth Péna (widow of Pioche de La Vergne and mother of Madame de La Fayette).

[4] Jean François Sarasin (1605–1654). Pellisson and Ménage published his works in 1656. He was a close friend of Mlle de Scudéry. See Cousin, *La Société française*, Vol. II, pp. 192–196, ed. in 12°.

[5] The first twelve cantos appeared in 1656 (in folio). Chapelain was a friend of Madame de La Fayette's parents the La Vergnes.

ie voudrois bien voir la d^ere^ Elegie de La Comtesse de la Suse[1] comme vous la loues fort et que vous nestes pas grand loueur de vostre naturel cela me fait croire quelle est belle mon espoux est mille fois vostre seruiteur adieu vous scaues ce que ie vous suis.

[No indication of date, no address, no seal.]

Je vous renvoye Clelie apres lauoir leue auec tout le plaisir imaginable ie suis charmee de lelegie[2] et ie lay fait lire a tous ceux qui sont venus ceans quy en ont este charmés aussi bien que moy lon ma dit que vous estes venu aujourduy me chercher et si ie n'auois entendu un sermon admirable du Pere Le Bout[3] ie serois au desespoir de ne vous auoir point veu mais ie vous auoue que la beauté du sermon me console un peu d'auoir perdu le plaisir de vous voir mais si vous auiés bien enuie de me trouuer vous ne feries pas vos visites au hasard et vous enueriés le matin scauoir si ie seray ceans adieu.

le 23 *janvier* [1657].

Vostre derniere lettre est escrite auec tant de haste que vous n'aués pas mesme eu le loisir de me dire que vous auies haste mais quoy que vous ne me l'ayés pas dit il est aisé de s'en aperceuoir car le dernier mot est tranché a moittié M^e^ de Sevigne m'a enuoyé un almanach qui vient de chés Sapho[4] ie voudrois bien scauoir votre sentiment auant que de dire le mien mais a tout hasard ie prends la liberté de ne pas trouuer cet almanach a beaucoup pres si joly que la carte du tendre[5] ni que mille autres choses qui sont venues de ches les mesmes maistres M^r^ Charbonier[6] homme quelque fois asses mal habile a pris la peine de me garder le liure de M^r^ Costar[7] en attendant dit il quil recoive mes ordres ie les luy ay donnés une fois pour toutes de menuoier tous les liures que vous luy donneres par le p^er^ messager ie luy ay donné cet ordre la bien precis pace que sentant venir le troisieme tome de Clelie il me

[1] Some eighteenth-century authors mention an edition of the *Poésies* by Mme de La Suze of 1656. Modern bibliographers do not mention it and Magne could not find a copy. See Magne (Emile), *Mme de La Suze*, Paris (Mercure), 1908, p. 290, note 2.

[2] Is this by any chance the elegy by Mme de La Suze asked for in the letter of November 2nd, 1656?

[3] Villers writes of the Père Le Boux—'26 mars 1657... Nous fusmes contraints...de nous mettre dans le carrosse de nostre couzin pour aller entendre le père Le Boux, prestre de l'Oratoire, dans la grande salle du Louvre, où le Roy assista avec toute sa cour. C'est un des plus excellents et éloquents prédicateurs de tout Paris et qui débite ses pensées avec une si bonne grâce et admirable facilité, qu'il en est fort estimé : on croit qu'il aura bientost un évesché.' *Journal du voyage de deux jeunes hollandais à Paris*, Paris, 1899, p. 103.

[4] *Le grand almanac d'amour*, Paris (de Sercy), 1657. Mlle de Scudéry (Sapho).

[5] The Carte de Tendre appeared in *Clélie* (August 31st, 1654) but it had circulated in Paris before appearing in print. Madame de La Fayette's stepfather (Renaud de Sévigné) sent it to Madame Royale in a letter dated April 1654.

[6] Employed to look after Mme de La Fayette's law cases in Paris.

[7] The first volume of Costar's Letters? Or the *Apologie de M. Costar à M. Ménage*, Paris, 1657, 4°?

metteroit au desespoir sil le gardoit mandes moy ie vous prie si M^r^ de treuille n'a point donne sa demission de la charge des mousquetaires[1] et si lon ne le recompense point adieu vous ne me dittes point comment vous vous trouues du retour de M^e^ de Sevigné[2].

ce 20^me^ *fevrier* [1657].

Jay recu aujourduy lalmanac damour que vous maués envoyé et je nay point manqué a receuoir de vos lettres tous les ordinaires passés ie ne scay si ie vous ay mandé que vous ne m'envoiastiés point les Cleopatres[3] lon me les a desja enuoiees pour Clelie ie l'attends de vous et ie croy par la lauoir des premieres veu la faueur ou vous deues estre dans le lieu ou on les fait ie nay pas este plus estonné d'aprendre que M^e^ de Mercœur[4] estoit morte que d'aprendre que vous n'aués veu M^e^ de Sevigné qu'une seule fois depuis son retour il faut auouer quil y a de grandes reuolutions dans lempire amoureux jay receu le liure de M^r^ Costar le mesme jour que ie vous mandé que ie ne lauois point encore ie lay tantost leu et ie lay admiré comme ie fais toujours les œuures de M^r^ Costar mais neantmoins la lecture nen est pas fort agreable pour les fammes qui nont aucune cognoissance de toutes les choses qui font les disputes de M^r^ de Girac[5] et de lautheur ie vous prie de bien remercier M^r^ du Raincy[6] du compliment que vous m'aués fait de sa part et de croire que ie ne vous en fait point de vous dire que vous estes lhomme du monde que jestime et que jayme autant.

ce 27^me^ *fevrier* [1657].

Il y auoit lomtemps que vous ne mauiés escrit une lettre si lettre (belle ?) que la derniere que jay receu de vous toutes les autres ne sont quasi que des memoires des nouuelles du monde mais dans celle cy vous me parlés de vous et de vos œuures ie suis comme jalouse quelles saduancent si fort en mon absence et jay dans la teste que quelquun vous aide au lieu de moy mandes moy sincerement ce qui en est [au] moins si ie ne suis celle quy vous aide que ie sache quy elle est ie ne scaurois mimaginer que vous trauailiés sans secours et quand ie repasse toutes

[1] Mazarin was opposed to de Tréville, Captain of the Musketeers, and had disbanded the troop in 1656. It was re-established in 1657, by Mazarin's orders, and the command given to his young nephew Philippe-Julius Mancini, duc de Nevers.

[2] Madame de Sévigné was in Brittany in the autumn of 1656. (See *Lettres*, Paris, 1862–66, I, p. 417.)

[3] La Calprenède's novel. 12 volumes. Paris, 1647–58.

[4] Victoire Mancini, Mazarin's niece, married the Duc de Mercœur in 1651, died January 8th, 1657. Her sudden death caused a sensation in court circles.

[5] Girac (Paul Thomas, sieur de), writer. He had a sharp quarrel with Costar on the subject of Voiture whom he had attacked.

[6] Jacques Bordier de Raincy, conseiller aux finances. See Tallemant, *Historiettes*, t. III, p. 361.

vos œuures et que ie considere quil ny en a pas une ou quelque belle n'ait part jay peine a comprendre que vous trauailliés presentement en lair ie viens de receuoir une de vos lettres ou vous[1].....Clelie au p^er^ ordinaire ie mestonne que M^e^ de Seuigné y soit si peu cognoissable[2] que vous ayes eu peine a la cognoistre ie gagerois toutes choses que ie deuine la raison quy vous la fait mecognoistre mais ie ne vous la dirois pas pour quoy que [ce] soit un gentilhomme de mes amis ma donné un petit memoire pour scauoir des nouuelles dun frere quil a quy a esté au seruice du Roy de Suede ie vous enuoye ce memoire afin que vous le fassies voir a M^r^ le Comte tost[3] lequel peut estre en poura scauoir des nouuelles ou en aprendre sil veut prendre la peine de sen enquerir ie vous prie de len suplier de ma part adieu jay presentement une migraine horible et une dousaine dautres maux aussi douleureux mais plus dangereux.

ce 6^me^ mars [1657].

J'atends presentement Clelie avec toute limpatience que jay acoutumé davoir pour elle mais cette impatience est encore augmentee par les louanges que vous luy donnés quand vous loues quelque chose pour estre bien ecrit il faut s'en fier a vous car pour lordinaire vous ne loues guere que ce qui merite d'etre loué je pourrois tirer de la une consequence qui me seroit asses avantageux car vous maves tant louee en francais et en italien que ie serois en droit de croire que j'aurois quelque merite mais ma vanité ne me mene pas si loin et j'attribue les louanges que vous mavez données a l'amitié que vous aves pour moy sans y chercher dautre cause il faut que ie vous aime bien pour vous ecrire presentement que jay une migraine si horible que ie ne vois goutte adieu[4].

ce 13^me^ mars [1657].

Je suis fort offencee que vous ne mayés point mandé que vous esties dans Clelie[5] vous aues voulu voir sans doute si ie vous recognoistrois he bien Monsieur ie vous ay recogneu au p^er^ trait et ie trouue vostre pinture fort resemblante jay recogneu aussi M^e^ du Plessis[6] M^r^ de Mauleurier[7] et le Port Royal[8] du reste ie ny cognois quy que soit la Princesse Derice[9]

[1] Words omitted when turning the page.
[2] The 'portrait' of Mme de Sévigné (Clarinte) appeared in the continuation of Part 3 of *Clélie*.
[3] Count Tott was ambassador of Sweden in Paris—a friend of Mme de Sévigné and of Mme de La Fayette.
[4] The inconsistencies in spelling are due to the fact that this is from a *copy*.
[5] Ménage is Anaxemène in Vol. VI, 3rd part, p. 1494.
[6] Mme du Plessis-Guénégaud is Amalthée in Vol. VI, p. 816.
[7] M. de Maulevrier died in July 1657.
[8] The description of Port Royal is in Vol. VI, pp. 1139 to 1152.
[9] The Princesse d'Erice is in Vol. VI, p. 1324.

nest pas depinte tout a fait comme je voudrois mandes moy ie vous prie qui est Merigene[1] asseurement il ny a rien de plus spirituel que ce liure la pour moy ie ne cesse de ladmirer ie ne vous ay point parlé du mariage de mon oncle[2] parce que ie ne men soucie nullement et que cela ne me touche en facon du monde jay toujours bien veu qu'il faloit que cela ariuast et ainsi ie nen ay point este surprise et ie nen suis point fachee parce que ie ne suis pas fort sensible a linterest et celuy dune sucession dun homme quy est encore jeune est une chose si incertaine que ie ne croy pas que lon sen doiue soucier la seule chose quy peut deplaire au mariage de mon oncle cest la personne quy nest pas comme nous la pourions souhaitter mon Oncle mescrit fort souuent et moy a luy et nous ne parlons point de cela il nest pas encore certain quil soit marie comme ma tante s'opose a cette affaire la et quil craint de perdre sa succession cela le retient un peu pour moy ie ne men mesle en facon du monde comme ie vous viens de dire et ie nay garde den user autrement parce que mon Oncle pouroit me soupconner dinterest et ie nayme pas a en estre soupconnee adieu souuenes vous de moy dans vostre solitude et ie vous promets de me souuenir de vous en voyant esclore les fleurs de mon jardin.

ce 27*me aoust* [1658 or '59].

Vous ne voyés pas si rarement M*e* de Seuigné que vous neussies pu aprendre delle que iestois acouchois mais ie croy que ce quy est cause que vous ne laues pas sceu est que vous ne parles guere de moy lorsque vous estes aupres delle ie vous pardonne de tout mon cœur cet oubly la car il est vray quelle est bien capable de faire oublier les autres vous me mandes que vous alles a la campagne mais vous ne me dittes point ou et ie trouue fort mauuais que depuis que ie suis icy vous ne mayes point parlé de vostre proces il me semble que ie minteresse asses a ce quy vous touche pour que vous minstruissies de vos affaires vous ne maues engagee

[1] Merigène is as unknown to the editor as to Mme de La Fayette. In the Conrart Papers (Arsenal 5420), Vol. xi, f. 339, are two notes from Merigène to Sapho, October 1656. There is no indication of identity and I have not access, at present, to a key to *Clélie*.

[2] The uncle is probably Gabriel Péna, sieur de Saint Pons. He married before Nov. 1657, for under that date Villers gives the following portrait of Mme de Saint Pons. It will serve to show why the person was not such as Mme de La Fayette would have wished. 'C'est une dame de nostre voysinage, dont la beauté fait tout l'agrement, car on ne treuve pas en sa conversation cet esprit delicat et adroict qui se rencontrant ioinct à cet advantage de la nature, en rehausse le prix et en rend les charmes plus puissants. Elle a pourtant esté si heureuse que d'avoir donné dans la veuë d'un homme de condition qui l'a espousée et qui, ayant sceu qu'elle avoit esté un peu coquette, l'eclaire de si pres qu'il ne luy laisse que la volonté de vivre de la manière qu'elle vivoit avant qu'il fust son mari ; et afin qu'elle ne treuve pas cette contraincte rude, il luy permet de iouer tout autant qu'elle veut. Elle aime fort le ieu, et ayant moyen de satisfaire cette passion, elle est moins emportée pour la galanterie.' (*Journal du voyage de deux jeunes hollandais à Paris*, Paris, Champion, 1899.)

a rien en disant au cadet Barillon[1] que ie luy ferois responce pourveu que vous vous luy ayes dit aussi que ie me seruiray de lexemple quil m'a donné de nescrire que trois ans apres qu'on la promis ie m'impatiente fort de nauoir point encore le deuxiesme tome de Clelie[2] mandes moy pour combien de temps il faut que ie me resolue a la patience mon Mary est vostre treshmble serviteur et moy la toute desireuse de vous complaire

a Monsieur de St Pons a la Ruee guenegau derriere lautel de neuers a Paris[3].

de Vichy, 16*me* 7*bre* [1658].

Je suis icy dans les eaux jusques a la gorge mais ie menporte si mal que ie croy que ie les quiteray demain ie noserois pourtant le faire sans les ordres de M*r* de Lorme[4] et jay envoyé aujourduy les luy demander ie seray fort atrapee sil me les refuse car ie souffre tous les jours des douleurs incroyables depuis que ie boy cela est bien facheux pour moy de trouuer de laugmentation a mes maux dans les mesmes remedes dont ien attends la guerison jay receu Lalcidalis de M*r* de Voiture[5] et jatends Clelie[6] auec impatience ie vous rends graces de lun et de lautre vous maues fait plaisir de ne me point faire cognoistre les personnes car jauray au moins le plaisir de le deuiner jay des maux de testes insuportables quy mostent tout a fait le pouuoir descrire adieu ie vous plains furieusement destre malade le manque de santé est le seul veritable malheur de la vie.

de Vichy, *ce* 24*me* 7*bre* [1658].

Il est vray que j'aurois fait la plus vilaine chose du monde si jauois neglige vostre amitié mais il est vray aussi que jay toujours este tres esloigne de faire cette faute et si vous aues remarque un peu diregularite dans mon procede pendant que jai este a Paris il est certain que cela vient plus tost de la disipation de mon esprit quy m'empesche de faire des choses a quoy jay pense et que jay resolues que cela ne procede de la tiedeur de mon amitie pour mes amis ie suis rauie que vostre santé soit tout a fait remise et puisque vous maimes autant que vous aues jamais fait personne du monde na plus dinterest que moy a la conserva-

[1] See first note to letter 2 Nov. 1656.

[2] Part III, 2nd Vol. *Achevé d'imprimer*, August 1, 1658. How does it happen that, after announcing her *grossesse* in a letter of October 1657, Mme de La Fayette has not announced to Ménage in August the birth of her son (February 1658)? Does this refer to her second son—1659?

[3] Mme de La Fayette was living at his house in Paris at the beginning of 1658 while the house she had rented was being furnished.

[4] Charles de l'Orme. For a study of this eccentric doctor see Bernardin, *Hommes et mœurs au XVII*e *siècle*. Paris (Lecène Oudin). 1900.

[5] *Histoire d'Alcidalis et de Lélide.*

[6] Volume VII.

tion de vostre vie ie nay point quitte ces eaux icy et M^r de Lorme ne me la pas voulu permettre ainsi que ie lauois preueu jay leu Lalcidalis et ie croy vous auoir mande quil mauoit paru tres agreable mais sil mapartenoit de dire mon aduis de telles choses ie vous dirois que le stile m'en paroist trop fleury et trop orne pour un stile naratif iay desja leu la moettie de Clelie et jay eu plus de plaisir que vous puisque ie nay cogneu aucun des acteurs que M^e de St Ange[1] que ie scavois quy s'apelloit Elismonde ie ne scay quy est Elisante Chrisile ny Clarice[2] faittes les moy cognoistre ie vous en prie adieu.

J'atends auec impatience de scauoir quelles suittes aura la mort du Proctecteur[3].

H. Ashton.

Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

[1] Ennemonde Servien, femme de François Charron, marquis de Saint Ange. See Somaize, Elzev. ed., T. II, p. 348.

[2] Portrait of Elisante, Tome VII, p. 358; Chrysile and Clarice, same volume, pp. 359 ff.; Elismonde (Princesse d'Elide), *id.* p. 134. Vol. VII appeared during second half of 1658.

[3] Cromwell died Sept. 3, 1658.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Dramatic and Bibliographical Problems in 'Hamlet.'

It would be difficult, if not impossible, for me to reply in any detail to the two articles upon the Ghost and the Play-scene which appeared in the October number of the *Modern Language Review*. And this for three reasons. In the first place, a reply pretending to completeness would be far too long for a periodical. The editors are a tolerant triumvirate, but they have already devoted some 85 pages to this controversy, and neither their patience nor their space is inexhaustible. In the second place, it is unfortunate, though entirely due to action on my part, that neither critic has taken full stock of my case. In replying to Dr Greg's original article I had, as I conceived it, two tasks to perform: (1) to demonstrate that his hallucination theory was wrong, (2) to provide a theory of my own to account for the apparent logical inconsistencies which he was the first writer to lay bare. The bulk of my answer was concerned with the former undertaking, and despite Dr Greg's valiant efforts to retrieve his position, in the course of which I am free to admit he makes some very palpable hits on minor issues, I still feel that his hypothesis is thoroughly unsound and am content to leave the matter to the judgment of the indifferent reader. When, however, turning from his particular solution I faced the problem he has set us—a problem which cannot be evaded by any student of *Hamlet*—my consideration of it led me into such strange and unexpected paths that I was quite unable to explore them fully at the end of an article. The English editor of this *Review* naturally held up hands of horror when I explained that my own theory would involve 'copy' three or four times the length of that concerned with the demolition of Dr Greg's; and I had therefore no alternative but to wind up my reply with a very bald statement of it and to seek publication of a complete exposition elsewhere. The editor of the *Athenaeum* was good enough to provide me with paper, and the essay appeared in 1918 as four articles entitled *The Play-scene in 'Hamlet' restored*. Dr Greg thought it better not to read these articles before making his rejoinder to me. Mrs Ferguson, though she refers to them,

had clearly not read them either, or she would have seen that two of her chief arguments—the Italian character of Claudius and the necessity for finding a dramatic motive for the dumb-show—so far from being missed, were dealt with fully therein. Thus if I here attempted a further rejoinder, I should be obliged to traverse ground already covered in the *Athenaeum*, which to say the least of it would be a sad waste of printer's material.

In the third place, I have a confession to make. Since writing my reply to Dr Greg and the *Athenaeum* articles which followed from it, my views upon the whole question have developed considerably. For example, while still believing firmly in the honesty and genuineness of the Ghost, I have come to see that I did not allow nearly enough weight to Hamlet's doubts about it. Moreover, I am satisfied that neither Dr Greg's nor the orthodox interpretation of the 'cellarage scene' will hold water. It is significant that Dr Greg preserves almost complete silence on this matter in his reply. Yet no interpretation of the Ghost and its relations with Hamlet can be satisfactory until the scene has been explained, since the clue to everything may lie just at that point. Further, it is uncritical to consider the problem of the Ghost in isolation. That he has seen the problem and related it to the problem of the dumb-show is to Dr Greg's eternal credit. But these are by no means the only problems in *Hamlet*; there are dozens of others. And since *Hamlet* is, presumably, an artistic unity, the only scientific method of dealing with it is to attack all the problems it presents at one and the same time, seeing that the solutions must all hang together. As I shall shortly be attempting this comprehensive attack, it is not necessary for me to say more about it now.

Again, I had not proceeded far in my investigations before I discovered that the dramatic anomalies in *Hamlet* were in many cases textual, i.e. bibliographical, in character. In other words before we can fathom Shakespeare's intentions, we must understand the nature and history of the original texts of the drama. Dr Greg and I, for instance, have been arguing as to why Shakespeare introduced this strange dumb-show into the Play-scene. We both overlooked the fact that Shakespeare did nothing of the sort; he found it there in the old *Hamlet* when he began his work of revision. For there is a dumb-show not only in the First Quarto but also in the *Brudermord*, which I suppose Dr Greg will agree was derived from the pre-Shakespearian play. Or take the Ghost's speeches, upon the style of which Dr Greg—quite unnecessarily to my thinking—pours such scorn. If, as on biblio-

graphical grounds I am now led to believe, they were written some ten or twelve years before the play received its final revision at Shakespeare's hands, the comparative crudity which Dr Greg sees would be explained, though the argument he builds upon it would be correspondingly weakened. In this connexion I should like to lodge a most vigorous protest against Dr Greg's supposition that I hinted—even 'delicately'—at the desirability of his confining his attention to bibliography in future. Nothing could have been further from my thoughts. On the contrary I hold that in propounding this riddle of the Ghost and the dumb-show he has performed a signal and unforgettable service to Shakespearian criticism, and I can only hope that he will turn his relentless powers of analysis upon other plays in the canon and bring similar problems to light. All I urge is that, if he does so, he will not forget to reckon with Shakespearian bibliography of which in other connexions he has been one of the foremost exponents.

This brings me to say a few words on the second paper he contributes to the October number of the *Modern Language Review*. Here he is far too generous to a very recent recruit, whom he honours with the title of 'the Punnett of the infant science'; and, as is his way, far too modest about his own work in this field. No reader of Mr A. W. Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* can be ignorant of the help which the founder of the new critical method received from Dr Greg, especially in dealing with the quartos of 1619. And even though it may be, as he states, ten years since he has done any work directly in connexion with Shakespearian bibliography, that is chiefly because he has been engaged upon tasks which are of the very highest importance in their indirect bearing upon it. In the Malone Society typographical facsimiles, issued under the general editorship of Dr Greg, the world of Elizabethan scholarship now possesses a collection of plays by Shakespeare's contemporaries so scrupulously exact in their reproduction that they are to all intents as good as the originals. Among them is that masterpiece of patient transcription, Dr Greg's edition of *Sir Thomas More*, a play whose bearing upon Shakespeare is very direct indeed. But it is idle to insist upon facts which are well known to all Elizabethan scholars; and more important than the distribution of credit for past work is the planning of future campaigns. Dr Greg writes 'in the hope of encouraging others to lend a hand in laying firmly the foundations of what is practically a new science.' Now there is only one secure foundation for Shakespearian bibliography and that is the texts themselves. At present scholars are unable to study these texts properly, because

there exist no reliable reproductions of all the originals. The Griggs-Pretorius facsimiles of the quartos were a considerable feat for the age in which they appeared, but they are sometimes bad and often indistinct, which is a serious defect when one is dealing with matters of punctuation. The First Folio has fared better, but a Folio facsimile is unwieldy to handle, while in view of the unequal character of that famous text it would be a very great advantage to have the plays reproduced separately each with its own bibliographical introduction. Moreover, where two or more texts are extant for the same play, parallel-text editions are absolutely essential. Shakespearian study loiters in its task for sheer lack of tools. Can Dr Greg or any other reader of this *Review* suggest some way of rectifying this sorry state of affairs, which is greatly to the discredit of English scholarship?

J. Dover Wilson.

London.

Dekker on 'Steering the Passage of Scaenes.'

In the well-known chapter in *The Guls Horn-booke*, on 'How a Gallant should behave himself in a Playhouse,' there is a passage which has proved a frequent stumbling-block:

> By sitting on the stage, you have a signed patent to engrosse the whole commodity of Censure; may lawfully presume to be a Girder; and stand at the helme to steere the passage of *scaenes*; yet no man shall once offer to hinder you from obtaining the title of an insolent, overweening Coxcombe.

It is extraordinary that the absurd interpretation of Dekker's third clause given by Drake a century ago in his *Shakespeare and his Times* should still have its ardent supporters. Drake not only saw in it proof that the Elizabethan stage was furnished with movable scenery but maintained on the strength of it 'that those who obtained seats on the private stage, occasionally amused themselves by assisting the regular mechanists in the adjustments of the scenery.' It is not, of course, amazing to find random shots of this kind in the old commentators: they had no scientific methods of attack and their knowledge of the physical conditions of the early stage was elementary. What is amazing is to find the well-equipped scholar of to-day endorsing such theories (e.g. F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, I, p. 173).

As it happens, what Dekker meant to convey in his third clause, and probably did convey to contemporary readers, is revealed in the prologue to Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust*. From this I quote all that is

relevant, merely adding that the last five lines read almost like a direct gloss on the clause:

> Thus from the Poet am I bid to say,
> He knowes what Judges sit to deeme each Play,
> (The over-curious Criticke, or the wise)
> The one with squint, t'other with sunne-like eyes,
> Shoots through each Scaene: the one cryes all things downe,
> T'other hides strangers faults close as his owne.
> .....
> Tis not a gay sute, or distorted face,
> Can beate his merit off, which has wonne grace
> In the full Theater, nor can now feare
> The teeth of any snakie whisperer:
> But to the white, and sweet unclouded brow,
> (The heaven where true worth moves) our Poet does bow;
> Patrons of Arts, and Pilots to the Stage,
> Who guide it (through all tempests) from the rage
> Of envious whirle-windes. O doe you but steere
> His Muse this day, and bring her to th' wish'd shore,
> You are those Delphicke powers, whom shee'le adore.

[Chance has shown me since the above was written that what I have really been doing is to quote Dekker in elucidation of himself. The prologue to Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust* (1633) is identical with the prologue to Dekker's *A Wonder of a Kingdome* (1636). Whichever play came first, there is no reason to doubt that the lines were Dekker's, and the probabilities are that they were originally written for his own play. I take them to be his, not only because of the expansion of his own metaphor, but because of the writer's resort four times within so brief a space to brackets, a familiar note (especially in his pamphlets) of Dekker's style. Unfortunately, this curious but not unique transference yields no clue to the date of *A Wonder of a Kingdome*. At first one is disposed to say that, since *All's Lost by Lust* was first produced at the Cockpit by the Princess Elizabeth's players *ca.* 1622, Dekker's play must belong to a slightly earlier period. Prologues would not be re-used in this way without a decent interval, probably at least five years. But we know from the title-page of *All's Lost by Lust* that, just before its publication, the tragedy had been revived by the Queen's Men at the Cockpit, and the transference of the prologue may have been made at that time. With the existing uncertainty as to the facts, no deduction of any consequence can be made: still I take leave to draw attention to one point. It seems to me that transferences of prologues or intercalated songs were only made either by the players who had originally produced the plays for which they were written or by players who had acquired those plays either by succession or by purchase. The inference would be that *A Wonder of a Kingdome* was originally produced either

by the Princess Elizabeth's Men or the later Queen's Men. This surmise runs counter to Fleay's identification of the play with Day's *Come see a Wonder*, licensed by Herbert for performance at the Red Bull by 'a Company of Strangers,' in September, 1623. And of a surety the prologue does not read as if addressed to the rough-and-ready audience of the Red Bull. Neither 'the over-curious Criticke' nor the 'Patrons of Arts and Pilots to the Stage' were to be found there. The Cockpit, where plays were 'arraigned daily' seems a more likely milieu.]

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'Paradise Lost,' iv, 977–1015.

Readers of *Paradise Lost* have long noted the Homeric or Virgilian origin[1] of that figure in which Milton represents 'Th' Eternal' as hanging 'forth in Heav'n his golden Scales' to decide the imminent conflict between Satan and the angelic squadron on the borders of Paradise. But, so far as I know, it has not been observed that this and indeed the whole group of figures at the end of Book iv are actually inspired by the last 300 lines of the *Aeneid*. Milton used material from the final conflict of Aeneas and Turnus to shadow forth in symbol combatants so sublime verging on a shock so vast that the 'sum of things' was endangered.

I shall take the passages in their order, which is the same in both poems.

1. soli pro portis Messapus et acer Atinas
sustentant aciem. circum hos utrimque phalanges
stant densae, strictisque seges mucronibus horret
ferrea. (xii, 661–4.)

While thus he spake, th' Angelic Squadron bright
Turnd fierie red, sharpning in mooned hornes
Thir Phalanx, and began to hemm him round
With ported Spears, as thick as when a field
Of *Ceres* ripe for harvest waving bends
Her bearded Grove of ears, which way the wind
Swayes them; the careful Plowman doubting stands
Least on the threshing floore his hopeful sheaves
Prove chaff. (iv, 977–85.)

Here the mere suggestion of a metaphor grows into a simile, but the language of vv. 978–80 reveals the source. The lines about the 'careful Plowman' are not simply a Homeric expansion: they suggest an issue still in the balance, and prepare for the vaster figure which makes Satan, though solitary, seem a fit adversary for the angelic host.

[1] *Iliad*, viii, 69, xxii, 212; *Aeneid*, xii, 725.

2. Virgil passes from Turnus to Aeneas in v. 697:

> At pater Aeneas .....
> .....
> praecipitatque moras omnes, opera omnia rumpit,
> laetitia exsultans, horrendumque intonat armis:
> quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipse coruscis
> cum fremit ilicibus quantus gaudetque nivali
> vertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras.

> On th' other side *Satan* allarm'd
> Collecting all his might dilated stood,
> Like *Teneriff* or *Atlas* unremov'd:
> His stature reacht the Skie, and on his Crest
> Sat horror Plum'd; nor wanted in his graspe
> What seemd both Spear and Shield.

Virgil's simile moves from distant Athos to Sicilian Eryx and thence to Italy itself, when, having thrice suggested Aeneas' stature, it expands into a concrete image of the familiar roaring agitated forests with the serene snowy peak above. This suggests the vibration and clang of Aeneas' arms, and softens the remoteness and vastness of the comparison. But no similitude is too tremendous for Milton's Satan. One unadorned line likens him to the solitary firm-rooted pillars of heaven. Stripping away the Virgilian detail, Milton enhances the awe of this figure by the suggestion of indescribable horror looming over his crest (contrast *nivali vertice*) and of the dimly apprehended shape in his hand. Further, I strongly suspect that *pater Appenninus* with his swaying holm-oaks has an equivalent in the mellower picture of Ceres and her *grove* of waving grain[1]. Milton thus gains the full effect of the contrast between the glowing throng of the angels in movement and their adversary, *unremov'd* like Teneriffe or Atlas.

3. Iuppiter ipse duas aequato examine lances
> sustinet, et fata imponit diversa duorum,
> quem damnet labor et quo vergat pondere letum.

Jupiter decides the fate of Turnus and Italy. In Milton the figure must transcend the similes that lead up to it, and suggest the ruin into which two such sublime forces would hurl the universe. The earlier poem, *Naturam non Pati Senium*, had given the same hyperbole a cosmic setting, but had not as yet transformed the figure itself:

> Tunc etiam aërei divulsis sedibus Haemi
> Dissultabit apex, imoque allisa barathro
> Terrebunt Stygium dejecta Ceraunia Ditem
> In superos quibus usus erat, fraternaque bella.
> At Pater omnipotens fundatis fortius astris
> Consuluit rerum summae[2], certoque peregit
> Pondere fatorum lances, atque ordine summo
> Singula perpetuum jussit servare tenorem.

[1] Contrast: 'A Forrest huge of Spears: and thronging Helms' (I, 547).
[2] Cf. *P.L.*, VI, 671–3.

But now Milton exalts the figure into an hyperbole in full harmony with its setting:

> now dreadful deeds 990
> Might have ensu'd, nor onely Paradise
> In this commotion, but the Starrie Cope
> Of Heav'n perhaps, or all the Elements
> At least had gon to rack, disturbd and torne
> With violence of this conflict, had not soon
> Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray
> Hung forth in Heav'n his golden Scales, yet seen
> Betwixt *Astrea* and the *Scorpion* signe,
> Wherein all things created first he weighd,
> The pendulous round Earth with ballanc't Aire 1000
> In counterpoise, now ponders all events,
> Battels and Realms.....

4. It may be that Satan's acceptance of his 'lot' is parallel to Juno's tardy acquiescence in Fate. However that may be, undoubtedly the last line of the book is a subtle adaptation of the last line of the *Aeneid* to Satan's flight:

> ast illi solvuntur frigore membra,
> vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras. 952

> The Fiend lookt up and knew
> His mounted scale aloft: nor more; but fled
> Murmuring, and with him fled the shades of night. 1015

It is arguable that a remoulding so extended and so skilful sheds some light upon Milton's method of composing. Did he know the *Aeneid* almost by heart, or did he, as contemporary evidence suggests, have the end of the *Aeneid* read to him and then combine the appropriate material freely from this recent impression?

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The 'Prologue[1]' to Gaimar.

At the very outset of the present inquiry we are confronted by a difference of opinion as to where exactly Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis* begins. In his article in *Romanische Studien*, vol. IV, Kupferschmidt says (p. 423): 'dass diese 40 Verse[1] von Gaimar selbst herrühren, ist nicht anzunehmen, dagegen spricht einmal die Unwahrscheinlichkeit, dass Gaimar dasjenige, was er soeben erzählt hat, in so verworrener Weise wiederholen wird und zweitens der Widerspruch zwischen v. 9 ff. und v. 822 ff.' and ascribes them to the copyist who first united Wace's *Brut* and Gaimar's *Estoire* in the same manuscript. Vising also denies

[1] Viz. 1—40 in the numbering of the edition in the Rolls' Series, which is retained here to facilitate reference.

the authenticity of these same lines in his *Étude sur la dialecte anglo-normande*, basing his objections largely on metrical grounds and also apparently on the occurrence of the word 'Engelant' (v. 32) which is not found elsewhere in the poem. On the other hand Skeat, in a footnote to § 23 of the introduction to his Clarendon Press edition of *Havelok the Dane*, appears to consider the Haveloc episode in Gaimar as beginning with v. 37, the previous lines being from 'another book by Gaimar, viz. his translation of *The Brut* from Geoffrey of Monmouth.' For the purposes of this article, however, vv. 1—40 will be referred to as the 'prologue' though the term is not a very exact description of their nature.

With the exception of vv. 1—2, the prologue is found in three out of the four Gaimar MSS. (Durham C. IV, 27 = D., Lincoln A. 4. 12 = L., Royal 13. A. XXI = R.), its omission from the fourth (Arundel XIV = H.) being accounted for by the fact that this MS. leaves out the whole of the Haveloc episode and follows directly on to Wace's *Brut* with v. 819 of Gaimar. The text has not been well copied, there being a number of lines which are metrically incorrect as they stand, especially in R., but these irregularities will be found to disappear in a critical text. As D. is the oldest of the MSS., dating from the turn of the century (c. 1200), and the language of the scribe responsible for the version of Gaimar is very little different from that of the author, I take it as the basis of my critical text. The MS. which contains Wace's *Brut*, Gaimar's *Estoire* and Fantosme's *Chronicle*, is the work of four 'hands'; 'hand' II is responsible for the latter part of Wace and vv. 1—414 of Gaimar and differs slightly in his orthography from 'hand' III who copied the remainder of Gaimar with the exception of the short epilogue. Only two of these differences affect the 'prologue': (*a*) II prefers 'ki' as the relative; (*b*) II uses 'jorz' where III prefers the form with 'u'; into the text I introduce the forms which are used by III. Further, as D., like Gaimar, on the whole, maintains the final, 'unfixed,' dentals, I have retained them in the form 'đ' in this extract.

(Ca en arere el livere bien devant,
Si vus en estes remembrant,)
Oid avez cum faitement
Costentin ot cest casement
E cum Yvain refait fuđ reis
De Mureif e de Loeneis.
Mes de co vait mult malement :
Mort sunt tuit lur meilur parent
E li Seisne sunt espandu(z)
Qui od Certiz erent venu(z).
Des Humbre desqu'en Cateneis
Duneđ lur ot Modred li reis
Si unt saisi e tut purpris
La terre que ja tint Hengis ;
Cele claiment en eritage
Kar Hengis fuđ de lur lignage.
Este vus ci un achesun :
En grant travail entrent Bretun
Si funt Escot e li Pecteis
Li [Galweien] e li Cumbreis.
Tel guerre funt la gent estraine
En grant dolur entrađ Bretaine.
[E] li Engleis tuz jurz creisseient
Kar d'ultre mer suvent veneient ;
Cil de Seisuine e d'Alemaine
S'ajustoent a lur cumpaine.

Pur dan Hengis, lur ancessur,
Li altre firent d'els seignur,
Tuz jurz si cum il cunquereient
Des Engleis la recunuisseient,
La terre que vunt cunquerant,
Si'l apel[o]ent Engelant.
Este vus ci un achesun
Parquei Bretaine perdid sun nun :
E li nevoz Arthur regnerent
Qui encuntre Engleis guerreierent.
Mes li Daneis mult les haeient
Pur lur parenz qui mort esteient
Es batailles que Arthur fist
Cuntre Modred qu'il puis ocist.

1, 2. D.L. omit. 3. R. Avez oi, L. oy. 4. R. Costentin tint apres Artur tenement. 5. L.R. fud feit. 7. D.L. omit mult. 8. D.L. omit tuit, R. tut. 9. L. Sedne. 10. D.L. de Kerdiz. 11. R. tresk, D.L. Kateneis. 13. R. omits tut. 16. R. estait. 17. D.L. une chancon. 18. R. dunt en. 20. D. Galwein, L. Galwais, R. Gawaleis. 21. D.R. estrange. 23. R. acreisseient. 26. R. sajustent. 28. D.L.R. les altres. 30. D. recunciseient. 31. D. querant. 32. D.L.R. apelent. 33. D.L. une chancon. 37. D. les Daneis, L. haoent. 38. R. morz.

In v. 20 the readings of D.L. appear to support that adopted though that of R. is quite satisfactory on metrical grounds; in v. 23 the reading of R. would give the line its full complement of syllables, but in view of Gaimar's use of 'creistre' in a similar connection on other occasions and of the similarity of construction in the opening hemistich of v. 9 I incline to the reading adopted; the emendation in v. 32 is so obvious as to call for no further comment; in two cases, vv. 8, 28, I have introduced the correct nominative plural forms.

In my reading of v. 23 I have been guided by Gaimar's usage elsewhere and so suggested my belief in the authenticity of the 'prologue'; in view of the shortness of the passage in question it is of course difficult to give the incontrovertible proof founded on similarity of language, as deduced from the rimes employed, and on similarity of metrical structure, as shown by a comparative analysis of two passages; on these two points the only evidence is negative, there being no rime which betrays a later date than, and no lines[1] strikingly different in metrical arrangement from, Gaimar. At the same time there are parallels, in vocabulary, in diction, and in style, which make it to my mind probable, on linguistic grounds alone, that we owe vv. 3—40 to Gaimar. The use of 'Engelant' in v. 32 was a stumbling-block to Vising, as it does not occur elsewhere in the body of the work; but if we remember that Gaimar knew English, that he translated a large part of the A.S. Chronicle, that he constantly uses 'Northumberland' and 'Cumberland,' and that he uses, in vv. 1468, 2716, the form 'Mercenelant' even where the English form does not occur in his source, there does not seem any valid reason for denying the 'prologue' to Gaimar because of this one form in v. 32. Further we note the following words both in the 'prologue' and in the body of the work: 'casement' v. 4 and vv. 1274, 6200; 'cumpaine' v. 26 and

[1] Verse 1 is an exception to this statement but, as the couplet is only found in R., it is already suspect on that account and is not, I think, to be attributed to Gaimar.

vv. 948, 2828; 'travail' = affliction v. 18 and v. 3164; also the use of 'faire,' to avoid repetition of a verb, v. 19 and vv. 3075, 4150. In the matter of parallels in diction, cf. vv. 23—4 and vv. 3465—6 'E lur force tuz dis cresseit, Qui d'ultre mer suvent veneit'; vv. 37—8 and vv. 510, 513 'E icel rei forment haeit...Pur sun seignur qu'il aveit mort' and v. 877 'E li Bretun mult le haeient'; and finally, though style is here involved as well, vv. 19—20 and vv. 3525—6 'Sur les Escoz e sur Cumbreis, Sur [Galweien] e sur Pecteis,' where the divergent readings of the MSS. (D. Galwains, L. Galweneis, R. Gawaleis) point to the same unusual form as in v. 20. Turning now from questions of diction to those of style we find this fourfold enumeration used by Gaimar, not only with reference to peoples (cf. also vv. 1015—6, 4119—20), but on other occasions, cf. vv. 1003—4 'E lur herneis e lur maneirs, E lur tresors e lur aveirs' and vv. 3677—8 'Cuntes i ot, baruns chasez, E arcevesques e abez'; another feature of the 'prologue' is the repetition of almost identical lines at a short interval (vv. 18, 22) and for this there are parallels in Gaimar, cf. vv. 3042, 3045 'Pristrent triwes d'Elvred li reis—od les Daneis' and vv. 4006, 4015 'A la maisun Elftroed alad—turnad' and especially in the Buern Bucecarle episode v. 2659 ff.; for the repetition of identical lines, as in vv. 17, 33, I have not found a parallel case in Gaimar at such a short interval though we find the line 'De hardement semblad leupart' used twice (vv. 4350, 5521). Considered separately these resemblances are not perhaps sufficient to establish the authenticity of the 'prologue' but collectively they warrant, I think, the assumption that, from the linguistic point of view, the passage in question is actually by Gaimar.

Let us now turn to an examination of the contents, which, it is alleged (*v. supra*), are but a mangled account of what has gone before and a direct contradiction of what follows. In the first place the passage, strictly speaking, does not constitute a prologue but is really a connecting link between the *Estoire des Engleis* which follows and a British history which preceded it and falls naturally into three divisions: (*a*) vv. 3—16 giving a brief statement of the conditions following Arthur's death; (*b*) vv. 17—36 foreshadowing vaguely the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain; (*c*) vv. 37—40 alluding to the presence of Danes at this date in anticipation of the Haveloc story. In all the extant MSS. of Gaimar his work follows immediately on Wace's *Brut* and the theory has been generally held that the 'prologue' was written by the scribe of the MS. in which Wace's and Gaimar's works were first joined together. If that were the case, then we should expect to find in (*a*) some reference at

least to the conclusion of the previous work even though the scribe were not so candid as to call attention to the change of authorship, as does that of MS. L. for example when introducing a version of the *Prophecies of Merlin* into Wace's *Brut*[1]. What we do find is this: (1) a general reference to Constantine (v. 4) which might refer as well directly to Geoffrey of Monmouth as to Wace; (2) a reference to the succession of Yvain (vv. 5—6) with statements as to his kingdom not explicitly made in either Geoffrey or Wace though deducible from either; (3) a reference to the calling in of the Saxons by Modred and to his giving them land, both that from beyond the Humber to the confines of Scotland (cf. v. 11) and that which had been given by Vortigern to Hengist (cf. v. 14), a most important point being that the Saxon leader is not Cheldric as in Geoffrey and Wace but Certiz (v. 10).

Turning now to the second part (*b*) of the 'prologue' we find that in what follows immediately on v. 40 there is not only no reference to the Anglo-Saxon conquest but a relation of something totally different, viz. the Haveloc story, and it is this sudden transition which is largely responsible for the belief that the 'prologue' is not by Gaimar. If, however, we omit for the present this disturbing element and read on until we return to Anglo-Saxon history with v. 819 ff. we shall be at once struck with the fact that these verses are the true continuation of vv. 17—36 as their simple juxtaposition will show:

17, 18	Este vus ci un achesun:	En grant travail entrent Bretun...
23—8	E li Engleis tuz jurz creisseient	Kar d'ultre mer suvent veneient;
	Cil de Seisuine e d'Alemaine	S'ajustoent a lur cumpaine.
	Pur dan Hengis, lur ancessur,	Li altre firent d'els seignur...
33—6	Este vus ci un achesun	Parquei Bretaine perdiđ sun nun:
	E li nevoz Arthur regnerent	Qui encuntre Engleis guerreierent.
819—26	Dunc ot des la nativitet	Ben pres de cinc cenz anz passeđ
	N'en ot que sul cinc anz a dire.	L'altre Certiz od sun navire
	Arivađ a Cert[ice] sore—	[Co est] un muncel qui pert uncore—
	La arivađ il e sun fiz,	Engleis l'apelerent Chenriz.

Still stronger proof that this is the correct sequence is afforded by the expression 'l'altre Certiz' in v. 822 which implies a definite distinction between the historical Saxon leader and some other 'Certiz' previously referred to by Gaimar; that this is the value of the expression is shown by the following instances. In v. 1783 Gaimar uses a similar phrase—'l'altre Wilfreiz'—to distinguish Wilfrid, the successor of John of Beverley, from his more famous namesake, St Wilfrid; in v. 4215 he distinguishes Edmund Ironside from his uncle, 'l'altre Edmund'; and in v. 5233 he distinguishes, by the same means, Harold of England from

[1] The passage referred to is quoted in the introduction to Gaimar, vol. I, in the Rolls' Series.

'l'altre' Harold of Norway. The only 'Certiz,' however, of whom any mention has been made so far is the one in v. 10 and thus we have a reference by Gaimar himself to the 'prologue'; consequently a confirmation of the authenticity of the passage already affirmed on linguistic grounds. Further, as v. 819 ff. originally followed directly on v. 36, the question as to the status of the Haveloc episode once more arises; on the ground of the abrupt transitions, both at the beginning and ending, it had been assumed that vv. 37—818 were possibly interpolated and yet, as Kupferschmidt held—and I have discovered no grounds for rejecting his conclusion—they are by Gaimar. The solution of the problem is provided, I think, by the assumption that our author had already commenced translating the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle when he came across the story of Haveloc, and also that of Wasing, both of which he decided to incorporate in his *Estoire* and inserted them in that part of his already completed narrative to which he thought them most fitted, viz. the hazy period after the death of Arthur and before 'real' English history commences with the arrival of Cedric[1]; vv. 37—40 would then be added in order to link up the old and the new.

Having thus established the authenticity of the 'prologue' one of the chief reasons advanced for postulating an intermediary between the common source of the four extant MSS. of Gaimar and the author's original MS. falls to the ground; further we now have definite proof that he actually wrote a work dealing with the earlier history of the country—a work which was most probably a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth as far as the death of Arthur, but omitting that part of the earlier chronicler which competes with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

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'LE ROMAN D'ÉNÉAS,' 1601—1602.

The use of the semicolon after *oblië* in the following passage is incorrect:

> Fols est ki en femme se fie,
> Molt a le mort tost oblië;
> *Ja ne l'avra si bien amé,*
> Puis fait del vif tot son deport;
> En nonchaleir a mis le mort[2].

As *ja ne l'avra si bien amé* ('however much she may have loved him') is a concessive clause and depends upon the preceding sentence, *oblië*

[1] Whether Gaimar adapted his story to this post-Arthurian interregnum or whether the two were already connected in his source, I leave an open question at present.

[2] See Salverda de Graves' edition of the *Roman d'Énéas*, 1600—1604.

should be followed by a comma and a semicolon should be placed after *amé*:

> Molt a le mort tost oblië,
> *Ja ne l'avra si bien amé*;
> Puis fait del vif tot son deport;
> Et nonchaleir a mis le mort.

If *obliĕ* is followed by a semicolon, the phrase *ja ne l'avra si bien amé* is meaningless. On the other hand, if *obliĕ* is followed by a comma, the construction is perfectly regular. The following examples will serve to illustrate the use of the comma to connect concessive clauses of degree with the sentences upon which they depend:

> Ne refuse chose nes une,
> *Ja n'iert tant vils ne tant despite.*
> (*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 1029—1030.)

> Et l'espee est an son aguet,
> Desus, qui tret et fiert et prant;
> Qu'ele eschape lués et desçant,
> Que riens nule adoise a la clef,
> *Ja n'i tochera si soef.* (*Yvain*, 916—920.)

> Ne jamais cil ne le verront,
> *Ja tant garde ne s'en prendront.*
> (*Guillaume de Palerne*, 1284—1285[1].)

OLIVER M. JOHNSTON.

[1] For other examples of this construction, compare my article on 'The Irrational Negative in Concessive Clauses in French,' *The Romanic Review*, Vol. VIII, pp. 82—87.

REVIEWS.

The Old English Elene, Phoenix, and Physiologus. Edited by ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1919. 16mo. lxxxix + 239 pp. 17*s.*

Comprehensive, scholarly, careful, this edition sets a standard which will not easily be equalled.

The Introduction, besides its critical summary of our present knowledge of the texts and their authors, dates and sources, places at our disposal the fruits of the editor's own wide reading and sound scholarship. Whether he sets forth the material for the growth of the Kreuzeslegende, or summarizes the history of the Phoenix myth from Aelfric to Rameses II; whether he sketches the tradition of the Earthly Paradise, or weighs the evidence respecting Lactantius, Professor Cook's learning and judicial skill are equally apparent.

The texts are edited on sound conservative principles. (Note e.g. the defence of the MS. reading *Elene* 921 and 1196.) The editor has made many valuable emendations (e.g. the brilliant one in *El.* 610); but he scorns all showy guesswork. In the majority of cases he sets forth clearly his reasons for adopting this or that particular reading.

There are full explanatory notes on historical, literary, grammatical and metrical points, and copious quotations and cross-references in elucidation of syntax, spellings, etc. In all this, the beginner has been considered as well as the advanced student.

I pass to the discussion of a few points, which though relatively unimportant, would seem to be worth further weighing, or further comment, in the next edition of the book.

In the following cases I would defend the MS. reading:

El. 25. *herecumbol* and *heorucumbol* are both hapaxlegomena, and one is *a priori* as possible as the other; cf. *heorawulfas* (*Ex.*) and *herewulfa* (*Gen.*), *hiorosercean* and *heresyrcan* (*Beo.*).

El. 243. Cf. *El.* 477, 511, 632; *Beo.* 395; *Andr.* 215, etc., etc.

El. 608. *Bosworth-Toller* makes good sense of the MS. reading. If *þæs* be objected to—'which of this selection' instead of 'which of these two'—one might perhaps emend to *þe.*

El. 631 b. The MS. reading can be paralleled, at any rate in modern dialect, 'whether he should lose his life or whether he shouldn't point out the cross.'

El. 852. The MS. reading is supported by l. 424.

El. 863. The MS. reading though illogical is intelligible.

El. 1004. A pret. subj. is as good syntax here as an infin. and involves no emendation.

El. 1235. The E.W.S. *sð* of the MS. might be retained here as well as in the verbs in ll. 93 and 1075.

El. 1308. If we begin the new paragraph with *Bið* (1306) and put full-stops after *God* (1308) and *fyr* (1314), then *Moton seon...Hie beoð* is exactly parallel with *Moton brucan...Him bið.*

Ph. 166. The MS. reading might perhaps be retained if *æghwylc... mærum* be placed in parenthesis.

Ph. 177. Clearly a demonst. pron. is here more in place than a pers. pron.; which is not the case in the references used in support of *he.* In *Rid.* 41. 90 I take *se* to be a demonst. pron. If I err here, we are still left with one instance of *ana* with a relat. pron. and one of it with a demonst. adj. One ought therefore, until further evidence be forthcoming, to allow it to stand with a demonst. pron.

In three cases I disagree with the reading adopted in the text.

El. 11. Surely the right reading is *lindhwæt.* Grein's emendation involves simple transposition rather than violence, and is as well supported (*secghwæt Beo.* 3028) as Holthausen's guess.

El. 31. MS. *burgenta.* The earliest emendation would appear to be the best: *Burgendan.* As there were Burgundians near the Danube in the third century and on the Rhine in the early fifth, they may in the fourth century actually have been in the direct line of route of Franks, Hugas and Hrethgoths. At any rate there is nothing strange in the poet's placing them there. But I cannot see why he should trouble himself to make the invading army hasten past 'fortified places' before it reached the Danube.

El. 314–15. If the scribe copied mechanically, there is a two to one chance that he made his mistake in the *second* line. As Prof. Cook notes, the MS. reading in the first line is supported by l. 419. I should like to read *æðelum deore* in the second line; cf. *Exod.* 186.

A note would be helpful: on the etymology of *hegende, El.* 279; on the mood of *hyrdon, El.* 839; on the construction and meaning of ll. 9 and 10 of *Panther.*

I have noted only five misprints:

El. 293, *var. lec.* MS. þære snyttro; 299, superfluous comma; 749, *p* for *þ*; *Ph.* 173 note, *he* for *þone*; *Ph.* 330, ought not the vowel in *fægerran* to be short here?

Hunting for imperfections is a service owed by the critic to the master; but it is not often that a new edition affords the zealous sportsman so small a bag.

J. H. G. Grattan.

London.

The English Ode to 1660. An Essay in Literary History. By Robert Shafer. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1918. 8vo. vi + 167 pp. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This is a valuable monograph, based on ample research, and marked by independence and sobriety of judgement. The author opens his essay by canvassing the definitions of the ode which have been put forward by Mr Edmund Gosse, William Sharp and others. After some reasonable strictures on these attempts he enunciates his own definition, which unfortunately is not concise enough for quotation in this article. To enquire if that definition squares with the literary evidence is the avowed object of this dissertation. With conscientious thoroughness Dr Shafer examines the antecedents of the English ode from the earliest times; and Pindar, as the great archetype of ode-makers, is naturally dealt with at considerable length. The metre of his odes, their stanzaic structure, the accessory music and dancing, the poet's material, his handling of it, his mentality, and his diction, alike receive in turn illuminating treatment. We pass on to Horace, whose odes differ so widely from those of Pindar in metrical structure, in subject-matter, and in spirit. The productions of these two poets, one of them a Greek, the other a Roman imitating Greek models, are the exemplars to which the ode-writers of modern Europe have constantly looked for guidance and inspiration. We say modern Europe advisedly, for it was not until the Renaissance that the ode came once more into vogue as a form of literary expression. The *editio princeps* of Pindar was published by Aldus Manutius in 1513, and, before the century ended, nearly twenty editions and translations of the *Odes* had been given to the world.

Though the delimitation of the successive lines in Pindar's stanzas was not perfectly understood before Boeckh applied himself to the problem in the early years of the nineteenth century, still from the first it was clearly apprehended that these odes, with the exception of the few so-called monostrophic odes, were 'constructed in a series of triads, each triad containing a strophe and antistrophe, and an epode; and that in the same poem, strophes and antistrophes were all alike in form, and the epodes also all alike in form, but different from the strophes and antistrophes.' Armed with this knowledge, the Italian poets ventured on the task of imitating Pindar. Trissino's efforts are barely recognizable as Pindaric, but Alamanni in 1532—33 reproduced the tripartite Pindaric form in his 'hymns,' and tried, though not often with success, to follow Pindar in choice and treatment of subject. A little later Pierre de Ronsard, who, with the Latin sympathies of his race, had already written several delightful odes in the Horatian manner, turned to the study of Pindar under the friendly direction of Dorat, and in 1550 published in his native tongue fourteen Pindaric odes, which, while they exhibit the Pindaric form as it was then understood, reflect but faintly the essential qualities of Pindar's style. Ronsard found an English admirer and imitator in John Soothern, whose *Pandora*, published in

1584, abounded in puerile imitations of his French model, with Gallicized English and limping verse, and very properly exercised no influence whatever on the development of the English ode.

Another warm admirer of Ronsard's work was Michael Drayton. It stands to the credit of the English poet that he endeavoured to restrict the applicability of the term 'ode,' and give it a more definite meaning than it had hitherto enjoyed. Even to-day the term is used with lamentable vagueness. Stopford Brooke, for instance, calls *The Battle of Brunanburh* a fine war ode, but Dr Shafer seems nearer the mark when he says that it is 'an exceedingly spirited piece, and perhaps has enough of lyrical feeling in it to make one hesitate about classing it with narrative poems; but this is all.' In spite, however, of his clearer view of the nature of the genuine ode, Drayton's own odes (1606—19), which are more or less of the Horatian type, did not raise this species of composition to an assured and dignified rank in English literature. That achievement was reserved for two poets whose natural genius and acquired scholarship were far superior to those of Drayton. In the year 1629 Milton, fresh from the study of Pindar, and still a Cambridge undergraduate, began to write his *Nativity Ode.* In the same year Ben Jonson, then in advanced middle age, wrote his *Pindaric Ode on the Death of Sir H. Morison.* These noble poems, differing from each other in many features and yet bearing signs of a common Pindaric ancestry, showed with what complete success the true ode could be naturalized in our literature. Ben Jonson has a further claim to the gratitude of all lovers of English poetry for his adoption of a highly elaborated and complex stanzaic structure in his Horatian and Pindaric odes alike. This structure, with its melodious oscillation of long and short lines, and its subtle intricacy of rhyme, is not without English precedents, but Jonson, probably because he recognized in it a fairly approximate representation of Pindar's measures, took it up, cultivated it, made it peculiarly his own, and passed it on to his disciples, who in their turn handled it with a skill and charm to which their master did not often attain. It is sufficient to particularize Randolph's *Ode to Master Anthony Stafford* and Herrick's *Ode to Sir Clipsebie Crew.*

The next outstanding event in the history of the English ode is the publication in 1656 of Cowley's *Pindarique Odes.* The free verse in which these poems are written is very fully discussed by Dr Shafer, who demonstrates that this form had been occasionally used by English poets from Spenser's time onwards. It was in all probability derived from the Italian *madrigali,* or rather the English madrigals, poems in which the irregularity of the metre was intended to supply a more generous basis for the musician's melodies than was to be found in recurrent stanzas of rigid construction. Among those who practised free verse before Cowley published his *Pindariques* was his intimate friend, Richard Crashaw, whose *Steps to the Temple* appeared in 1646. It is more than likely, therefore, that Cowley was attracted to the free verse-form by Crashaw's example. The assertion frequently made that

Cowley used free verse under a misapprehension of the real structure of Greek odes is stoutly controverted by Dr Shafer. Cowley did not pretend to reproduce Pindaric structure, but he did make deliberate choice of a verse-form which enabled him, as he thought, to imitate in English the style and manner of Pindar. If, as one must admit, Cowley failed after all to catch the spirit of his great predecessor, he succeeded at any rate in associating with the English ode a form of verse which in more recent times has been employed with masterly effect by Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Coventry Patmore.

To end upon a humbler note, we would suggest that, if a second edition of this excellent essay should be called for, an appendix of typical odes, especially of those least accessible to the average reader, would prove a welcome addition. So, too, would a chronological summary of the chief events connected with the development of the ode.

C. J. Battersby.

Sheffield.

The History of Henry Fielding. By Wilbur L. Cross. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1918. 8vo. Vol. I, xvii + 425 pp.; Vol. II, 427 pp.; Vol. III, 411 pages. 63*s.*

The Yale University Press is to be sincerely congratulated on the production of these three elegant and excellently printed volumes, collectively running into 1290 pages. The learned author, too, will have materially increased his previously acquired reputation for thorough and laborious research and for fair-mindedness in dealing with his sources of information. The appearance of Professor Cross's *History* is a signal that the biographies of Murphy, Watson, Browne, and a host of minor writers, need be heard of no more. Henceforth a veritable storehouse of accurate and detailed information relative to Henry Fielding—and more especially to his dramatic career—will be at hand, procurable either from the admirable text or from those exhaustive footnotes with which many pages are furnished. No praise can be too high for the monumental Bibliography of 77 pages prepared mainly by that enthusiastic and veteran Fielding-scholar, Mr Frederick S. Dickson of New York; while the index, though lacking in place-names, is remarkably full and in its arrangement eminently serviceable.

Since Miss Godden enriched Fielding literature in 1910 with her valuable *Memoir*, fresh information, neither small in bulk nor unimportant in quality, has accumulated both in America and in England, and has thrown increased illumination on those varying scenes amid which Fielding moved. But the research of the past decade has contributed rather to the attainment of a higher standard of accuracy than to greatly increased knowledge; the new 'finds' are utilisable not so much in extending the edifice, as in replacing and repairing material so unsound when first used as to have become the veriest tinder. A series of breaks and awkward gaps precludes a continuous narrative, and

Fielding, without the pale of Early Georgian journalism, still remains an elusive personality. But Mr Cross displays an obvious reluctance to admit the existence of breaks and gaps, and makes valiant attempts to arch them over with conjectures, that, being often dexterously laid, might pass for facts, were it not that lacking proper bonding his structure occasionally discloses fissures.

Mr Cross has stated his case at so great a length—he would often be more effective were he briefer—that no attempt will be made to restate the story within the ambit of a short review. It will be of greater service to those who possess copies of Mr Cross's book if attention be drawn to a few errors, the presence of which is perhaps inevitable in a work so voluminous and prepared at so great a distance from the scenes described. A few observations of a more general character will then bring these remarks to a conclusion.

Vol. I, p. 13. 'John Fielding (Henry Fielding's grandfather) married Bridget, daughter of Scipio Cockayne, a Somerset squire.' All previous writers have called this lady 'Bridget,' but the signature to an affidavit sworn by her in the case of *Feilding* v. *Feilding*, the deposition of her daughter Bridget Penotier in the same case, and the will of her brother George Cockayne, proved 5 March $17\frac{17}{18}$, place it beyond cavil that her name was 'Dorothy.' Scipio Cokayne (or Cockayne) is so often described in deeds as either 'of Weybred, Suffolk' or 'of London' that his connection with Somerset is hard to trace. A possible explanation of his temporary residence in the west of England is afforded by Payne Fisher in his *Tombs of St Pauls* 1684, where, in speaking of Sir William Cokayne's monument, he mentions 'his well accomplist kinsman Mr Scipio Cokayne, gentleman of the Horse to the right Honourable Heneage, Baron of Deintry, Lord High Chancellor of England.' As Heneage Finch, created Baron Finch of Daventry in 1674, was in the same year made Lord Lieutenant of Somerset, an intelligible reason for Cokayne's residence in that county offers itself. Being thus connected with an exalted office in Somerset it may be questioned whether Scipio Cockayne would have appreciated being known to posterity as a member of its squirearchy, especially in the *Life* of one who painted 'the boisterous brutality of mere country squires' (*Tom Jones*, IV, 5).

Vol. I, p. 18. 'Sharpham Park passed to the Crown, and was granted to Edward Dyer Esq^{r} from whose descendants it came to the Goulds after the Civil War.' Sharpham Park came to Sir Henry Gould, Fielding's maternal grandfather, not by descent, but by marriage with Miss Sarah Davidge. This is the inference to be drawn from the case of *Newcourt* v. *Davidge* (Chancery Bills and Answers before 1714 'Mitford'). The bill, dated 1662, states that Richard Davidge of the City of London had six years previously, when living at Greenwich, purchased the manor of Sharpham Park in Glastonbury, Somerset, and land etc. there from the Dyer family and Lady Milton.

Vol. I, pp. 22 and 23. Two pages are here devoted to canvassing the question of Fielding's pre-Eton education, and the person by whom it was directed. Mr Cross is versed in the affidavits made in *Feilding*

v. *Feilding*, but appears to be unacquainted with the 'Answers to Interrogatories' in that lengthy case, in one of which Frances Barber swore that 'Before the time of the said Henry Feilding's coming up to London this deponent doth well remember that one Mr Oliver Divine of the Church of England did before and during all the time that this deponent lived with the Defendant in the country come to the Defendant's house twice or thrice every week in order to teach him the Latin tongue.' This was the Rev. John Oliver (the son of Thomas Oliver of Stower Provost) who officiated at Matcombe from 6 Nov. 1706 to 6 June 1749. Mr Cross gives us again the story of Oliver's widow indignantly denying the identity of her late husband with Parson Trulliber of *Joseph Andrews*. As an examination of Mr John Oliver's will makes it clear that his 'widow' predeceased him, it is time that no more paper and ink were wasted upon this fable.

Vol. I, p. 164. 'Lawrence says there were three sisters named Cradock, one of whom Fielding married....Mary Penelope may have been a sister of Charlotte and Catherine. If this be so, she was incorrectly described in the burials register as "of the Close," for the house, where the Cradocks who concern us lived, was outside the Cathedral Close. My own opinion is that there were but two Cradock sisters.... No evidence has been produced to show that the Cradocks ever lived within the Close.' There is preserved in the Archives of Salisbury Corporation 'An Assessment made for the Liberty of the Close of New Sarum on Land for the year 1724.' There are 81 assessments amounting to £114. 11*s.* In it appears 'James Harris Esq^r' assessed at £1. 18*s.* whose house stood on the north side of St Ann's Gateway, within the Close, as Mr Cross correctly states on p. 247. The next assessment in this list is that of 'Madam Cradock' at the figure of £1. 14*s.* This is for the house next, but opposite, to Harris', lying on the south side of St Ann's Gate, and originally the dwelling of the Vicars Choral of the Cathedral. Mr Cross refers to the house on p. 246 as one that tradition associates with Fielding, but he gives it little credit. Assessment after assessment affords the same evidence until 1734, the year in which Fielding married Charlotte Cradock, when Madam Cradock disappears from the Close list and re-appears in an assessment to Poor Rate for that year for St Anne Street, St Martin's Parish. But to whatever house Mrs Cradock removed in St Anne Street—be it the Friary House or not—it could have been for a brief occupation only, as she soon after came to London to consult the celebrated Dr Wasey and died here early in 1735. The burials registrar of 1729 was, presumably, not such an ignorant and careless fellow as Mr Cross would wish his readers to believe; and that it was at Friary House 'the young Romeo, having failed to abduct Miss Andrew, found his wife'—to use Mr Cross's words—may be regarded as an absolute myth, and the two photographs he gives of this house, though excellent pictorially, as practically worthless biographically.

Vol. I, pp. 174 and 177. 'Tradition points to Fielding's retirement to East Stour this spring (1735) after a visit to Salisbury.... The quiet

of East Stour gave him an opportunity to take a comprehensive view of his dramatic talent—to see that it lay, not in depicting the irregular sex relations of fashionable society, but in farce, burlesque and political satire. On mature consideration he must have known why *The Universal Gallant* had failed.... Perhaps while at East Stour he sketched out "Pasquin," and went up to London with it early in 1736.' This blissful rural repentance may be all very true, but it was unusual for him to spend his time there in such tranquillity. Let us turn to the King's Bench Plea Rolls for Trinity Term 10 & 11 George II, when 'Dorsetshire to wit Thomas Bennett...brought into Court his certain bill against Henry Fielding...that he the said Henry on the twentieth day of February one thousand seven hundred and thirty four ($173\frac{4}{5}$), and on the tenth of January one thousand seven hundred and thirty six ($173\frac{6}{7}$) with force and arms to wit with swords, staves, clubbs, fists and knives at Shaftesbury made an assault upon him the said Thomas..... to the damage of him the said Thomas five hundred pounds.' As Fielding was represented by the Salisbury attorney Robert Stillingfleet his identity will not be questioned. As Shaftesbury is five miles from East Stour the case confirms the tradition that Fielding was in the neighbourhood at these periods, but it at the same time demonstrates how dangerous it is to speculate on the manner in which he may, or may not, have occupied his time. It is not overlooked that in those days pleaders pleaded at their peril, and that grossly exaggerated allegations were every-day practice.

Vol. I, pp. 246–248. Mr Cross at this point exploits tradition to show that Fielding's family, and himself to a great extent, were living out of London, probably at Salisbury, during 1737–1739. The evidence afforded, however, by the cases of *Gascoigne* v. *Fielding*, *Blunt* v. *Fielding* and *Kempson* v. *Fielding* shows that he, at any rate, was in town, and contracting debts there on 13 December 1736, 1 October 1737, 1 January 1738, 1 January 1739, 6 June 1739, 4 August 1739. Tradition must therefore be accepted with caution especially as the debt of 1 January 1739 was for £15 for hire of 'Coaches, chariots, chaizes, horses, mares and geldings.' The cause of action could scarcely have arisen in London if Fielding was all the while galloping about Salisbury Plain.

Vol. I, p. 306. It is only fair to Mr Austin Dobson to observe that the slight mistake made by him in 1900 (really an inheritance of Jeffery) with regard to Dr Slocock was corrected by him ten years ago; see Dobson's *Fielding* 1909, Appendix IV. The important Appendixes to the later editions of Mr Dobson's *Fielding* appear to be unknown to Mr Cross.

Vol. I, p. 376. It is not correct to say that the roll in the case of *Fielding* v. *Seagrim* no longer exists. Its contents are of some importance, and bear a relation to the case of *King* v. *Fielding* to which Mr Cross refers, but their connection will only be appreciated when Mr Cross's dates are rectified. Fielding gave his note for £197 on 27 March 1742 (not 1741) and the judgment of the Court is dated 7 July 1743 (not 1742).

Vol. II, p. 62. Mr Cross corrects Lady Louisa Stuart for implying that Fielding had more than one child (Harriott) when he remarried. As a fact he had at least five children by his first wife—Charlotte, Harriott, Penelope, Katherine and Henry. Although the dates on which the last three died are unknown, Lady Louisa probably spoke advisedly. When referring to Fielding's 'prattling babes' (who figure in *Tom Jones*) Mr Cross, on p. 109, interposes with: 'This was Harriott playing with William.' As Harriott was not less than ten years old 'a prattling babe' would be a curiously inapt term, and it is very possible that it was one or more of Charlotte's infants whose play was often interrupted by their father's labour, but who did not survive to 'be amply rewarded by them.'

Vol. II, pp. 167 and 168. 'Dowling the dishonest Salisbury lawyer in *Tom Jones*...was probably the Robert Stillingfleet to whom Fielding conveyed his property at East Stour on its way to Peter Walter, another scoundrel.' Why may not Stillingfleet have been the original of the lawyer who gave employment to Partridge? Recounting his history since leaving Little Baddington 'where he had been in danger of starving with the universal compassion of all his neighbours,' Partridge exclaims: '"The first place I came to was Salisbury where I got into the service of a gentleman belonging to the law, and one of the best gentlemen that ever I knew, for he was not only good to me, but I know a thousand good and charitable acts which he did while I staid with him; and I have known him often refuse business, because it was paltry and oppressive." "You need not be so particular," said Allworthy; "I know this gentleman, and a very worthy man he is, and an honour to his profession"' (*Tom Jones*, XVIII, 6).

Vol. II, p. 234. 'His four worthy sisters, all unmarried, then lived at Ealing, Hammersmith.' This is a misdescription for Fulham, near Hammersmith Turnpike. There is a photograph of their house extant taken before its demolition.

Vol. II, p. 292. The two important letters written by Fielding to the Duke of Newcastle in 1753 on the Canning case were not discovered by Miss Godden, although she was the first to publish the full text. Their existence in the Record Office was made known by Dr Courtney Kenny, late Downing Professor of English Law in the University of Cambridge, who quoted from them in his too-little-known article 'The Mystery of Elizabeth Canning' (*Law Quarterly Review* for October 1897).

Vol. II, p. 310. Says Mr Cross: 'On 19 March 1751 the Rev. Richard Hurd wrote to the Rev. Thomas Balguy after a visit at Prior Park: I wish you had seen Mr Allen....I dined with him yesterday where I met Mr Fielding.' The supposed visit to Prior Park is a gloss of Mr Cross suggested doubtless by the presence of Mr Allen. The letter is in fact dated from the Inner Temple, and in 1751 it usually took three days to reach town from Bath. (See *The Connoisseur*, Feb. 1914, p. 88; Matcham's *The Nelsons of Burnham Thorpe*, 1911, p. 28; Lewin's *Her Majesty's Mails*, pp. 76–83.) It is much more probable that Allen was visiting London.

Vol. III, p. 63. Fielding had remarked in his *Journal of a Voyage*

to Lisbon that 'When the late Sir Robert Walpole, one of the best of men and ministers, used to equip us a yearly fleet at Spithead, his enemies of taste must have allowed that he, at least, treated the nation with a fine sight for their money.' This is certainly a somewhat surprising utterance, but Mr Cross's criticism is yet more surprising. Says he, 'The phrase "one of the best of men and of ministers" has been sometimes quoted to show that Fielding, just before death, recanted his lifelong opinion of Walpole. This is a misapprehension. The phrase, as may be seen from the sentences which follow it, was used in irony just like similar phrases in *Jonathan Wild*. Fielding always regarded Walpole as the head of a body of plunderers who deceived the people by shows like the one at Spithead every year.' And again, 'So far as literature is concerned, Walpole has found his resting-place among the arrant villains of all time.' A change of feeling towards Walpole is surely traceable in Fielding's *Opposition: A Vision*, 1742. An alteration in demeanour need not be altogether a matter of surprise in the friend of William Pitt and of Charles Hanbury Williams. Let us hear Lord Rosebery: 'Pitt and Walpole were not far apart; they secretly acknowledged each other's power and merit. Pitt had already begun to appreciate the solid sagacity of Walpole, and to repent of some random invective. Walpole saw the rhetorical boy developing into the man of the future, and was more and more anxious to enlist him. "Sir Robert Walpole," said Pitt in Parliament at a later period, "thought well of me, and died at peace with me. He was a truly English minister"' (*Chatham*, p. 231). May not Fielding, too, have wished to make restitution ere he died?

Vol. III, p. 269. 'There is no evidence that Fielding ever consorted with lewd women.' This is a sentence from Mr Cross's final chapter intituled 'Fielding as he was.' With every respect for Mr Cross's desire to place Fielding's life on a high plane and to regard his career as one of splendid endeavour and noble achievement, this dictum cannot be allowed to pass uncontroverted. Surely there can be no ambiguity in that final paragraph of the sixth chapter of the first book of *Amelia*: 'I happened in my youth to sit behind two ladies in a side-box at a play, where, in the balcony on the opposite side was placed the inimitable B[ett]y C[areles]s, in company with a young fellow of no very formal, or indeed sober, appearance. One of the ladies, I remember, said to the other "Did you ever see anything look so modest and so innocent as that girl over the way? What a pity it is such a creature should be in the way of ruin, as I am afraid she is, by her being alone with that young fellow!" Now this lady was no bad physiognomist; for it was impossible to conceive a greater appearance of modesty, innocence and simplicity, than what nature had displayed in the countenance of that girl; and yet, all appearances notwithstanding, I myself (remember, critic, it was in my youth) had a few mornings before seen that very identical picture of all those engaging qualities in bed with a rake at a bagnio....' Does Mr Cross wish us to believe that Fielding was at the bagnio only for the purpose of bringing the rake his shaving water?

No, no, Fielding associated with lewd women, as well as with fellows of the baser sort, but he never fell into the error, so common with rakes, of supposing that a knowledge of brothels alone implied being deeply versed in the ways of mankind. Fielding's mental vision took a wide sweep, and, in the society of Charlotte Cradock, an upward movement, and perhaps it has never been sufficiently appreciated how great has been that fair lady's indirect influence on English literature; consequently it was with some pardonable feelings of emotion that the present writer not long since unfolded a document in the Record Office bearing the autograph signature of Charlotte Fielding. Fielding, with all his vast abilities, was probably surpassed in knowledge and capacity by Smollett, but in one faculty he stands supreme, as has been well pointed out by Andrew Lang: 'You appear to me to outshine all our authors in the portraits of ladies so beautiful, kind, good, manly and humorous that we must needs fall in love with them....Our affections shift between Amelia and Sophia. Each is the perfect woman, neither has the slightest trace of smallness or jealousy....How happy must you have been, if, as we are told, your paragons are drawn from Mrs Fielding! For you have the art, without small and fatiguing touches, to paint these ladies as beautiful as they are good....'. And Mr Lang concludes with the remark: 'I do not know whether your novels are widely read, and I have fears, well-grounded fears, that our critics know very little of them. One of these gentlemen I lately detected in talking of you very learnedly, as inferior to our Muscovite masters and our Irish wits. But he was egregiously and conspicuously ignorant of your books, as I took the liberty to inform him and the Town' (*Letters to Dead Authors*).

This last observation by Mr Lang brings us now to a remark or two of a more general nature. It has already been noted that Mr Cross's account of Fielding's dramatic career has been prepared and written in a most masterly manner. His relation of the Grub Street attacks on Fielding is equally minute and exhaustive, but it is not equally interesting for the reason that it looms much larger in Mr Cross's pages than the attacks could have done in Fielding's own life. Fielding possessed too strong a character to allow Grub Street enemies to overshadow his natural cheerfulness, although, by somewhat adroit confederacy, they might succeed in disheartening him for short periods. It is well known that Hogarth suffered also from detractors and pirates. 'They call me a mean and contemptible dauber,' said he, 'but I can despise the cloud of insects, for though their buzzing may tease, their stings are not mortal,' and Fielding's nerves were no more easily paralysed than Hogarth's. Finally Mr Cross has a very long chapter on 'Defamers and Apologists,' the fruit of great labour and research, but we are amazed that the opinions of so distinguished a writer and so great a Fielding-scholar as Mr Saintsbury should be overlooked, while three pages are allocated to the utterly valueless strictures, written in 1810, of such a nonentity as William Mudford. If in Edward Gibbon's judgment: 'The romance of *Tom Jones,* that exquisite picture of human manners, will outlive the palace of the Escurial, and the imperial eagle of the

house of Austria'; if Sir Joshua Reynolds pronounces *Tom Jones*, 'a work of the highest merit,' and Lord Byron dubs its author 'the prose Homer of human nature,' of what moment is it to recall the opinions of all who have chosen to put fist to paper on the subject of Fielding?

J. Paul de Castro.

London.

Currents and Eddies in the English Romantic Generation. By F. E. Pierce. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 8vo. 342 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

'We have heard the complaint from critics of the Gallic school that even in the days of the marvellously fertile English "Romantic generation" there was no one "movement," no Ten Commandments, and everybody was at sixes and sevens.' So writes Mr Squire in his *Editorial Notes* in the first number of *The London Mercury*. Critics have attempted, by 'the unifying colour of the imagination,' to paint the Romantic generation into a single picture, have sought to give the movement a single title, whether the false and absurd 'Return to Nature,' the subtler, though now unduly discredited 'Renascence of Wonder' or the ingenious if inadequate 'Convalescence of a feeling for beauty.' None have succeeded. You cannot make Blake and Scott, Lamb and Wordsworth, Southey and Shelley, march in couples under the same banner.

Mr Pierce, a critic not of the Gallic school, does not find in this diversity a cause for complaint; rather, he revels in it. The American genius, like Mr Compton Mackenzie's Miss Peasey, presumably welcomes 'a little variety.' If he sees,—though he does not claim to see,—one thread running through the web of mingled yarn, it is the exceptional aliveness of the 'Romantic' writers. It is as living, breathing men and women that he represents them; an aspect, of poets even more than of prose-writers, that many readers overlook. He states his aim: to 'present a brilliant transitional age in its habit as it lived,' and he leaves us with the impression,—to misquote a famous line,—that

Great spirits then on earth were sojourning,

with 'the earth' emphasised somewhat at the expense of the 'great spirits.' The book would scarcely give to a reader ignorant of the period an impression that it was an age of passion and aspiration, of energy and rapture. The depths and heights of Blake and Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats he leaves to others to interpret.

But books of criticism ought not to be, and possibly are not, read by ignorant persons, and to many a student Mr Pierce brings great news. We all knew that there were giants in those days, we sometimes forget that there were ordinary sized men and even dwarfs as well. Some of us are forced to admit to having never heard of Leyden; now he stands out in our minds for ever, not only as an inspirer of Scott but as the man 'who walked over forty miles and back to find an old person who knew the last remainder of a ballad fragment.' Severn, Rogers,

Joanna Baillie, Mrs Hemans and many another 'minor,' as Mr Pierce calls them, are now realities where they used to be shadows.

He has fixed not only nebulous personalities but nebulous ideas. A geographical basis for literary criticism may seem at first preposterous; it is, as a matter of fact, exceptionally sound. As it is used in this book, in many, though not in all chapters, it throws considerable light on literary relationships. But, while it is clearly shown for how much propinquity counts in many cases, especially at Stowey and Hampstead, a mortal blow is dealt to the moribund though still breathing notion of a 'Lake School.'

Though Mr Pierce lays so much stress on environment rather than on 'the magic of poetry,' he has more than a few illuminating flashes. Of Wordsworth, after citing examples of admirers, he says, 'he and his poetry stand essentially alone.' He has a discriminating paragraph on the succession of influences felt by Shelley. There is exceptional originality in his comparison of Byron to the tiger of reality, and perhaps inspiration in the idea that the hostility of the Scotch reviewers to the 'Cockney School' may have had something in it of race antipathy.

It is not race antipathy, for we are of one blood, but a certain insular conservatism, which makes some of us feel acute discomfort to learn that Galt lived 'at London,' which causes a sort of exhaustion at the frequent occurrence of 'molding' influences, and which gives rise to honest wonder as to the identity of one Robert Stevenson.

But such carping is mere childishness. English students welcome always with interest, often with delight, all criticism of their literature from abroad, especially of late years from France, and now from America. Writers of both countries show an inexhaustible faculty for research which would shame many an English scholar. Mr Pierce's book, even without its list of sources and authorities, shows him to be no exception. And it may be noted that out of his vast mass of reading, he selects quotations, particularly prose quotations, with exceptional felicity.

And though, as has been said, he disclaims any attempt at the highest flights of imaginative criticism and sedulously avoids the moral or sententious, yet he brings from the 'Romantic' age one message for his own, revealing a side which he is at pains elsewhere sedulously to conceal: 'In the age of submarines and iron order the mysticism of Blake may prove a rock of refuge in a weary land.'

ELEANOR W. ROOKE.

SHEFFIELD.

European Theories of Drama. By BARRETT H. CLARK. Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Co. 1918. 8vo. 503 pp. $ 3.50.

This is 'an attempt to set before the reader the development of the theory of dramatic technique in Europe from Aristotle to the present time' by reprinting a selection of critical texts, either in part or in full, ranging over the whole of Western Europe from Aristotle's *Poetics* to

Bernard Shaw's *The Author's Apology* and Wm Archer's *Playmaking*. Without exception, the non-English texts inserted are translated into English.

The appearance of the book has the very pleasing implication that America is fortunate in the possession of a wider public with interests in dramatic theory than is England's lot: and not a little of the credit for this belongs to Mr Clark and men like him, who in recent years have stimulated an intelligent interest in the critical and technical study of the theatre. The readers of this book will undoubtedly get a clear bird's-eye view of the development of dramatic theory.

But the author would have been well advised to seek his audience entirely in the general theatre-going *intelligentsia*, without overburdening a necessarily thick volume with lengthy *impedimenta* like bibliographical lists to catch the scholar's eye. Not that this collection of texts will be altogether useless even to the scholar; he will find here, though unfortunately in translation, one or two comparatively inaccessible texts like those of Jean de la Taille and Lope de Vega. But the book will by no means satisfy nor even greatly help scholars.

In the first place, scholars must always insist on the original text, even where the translations are likely to be thoroughly abreast with modern scholarship and uncontestably accurate. But here the translations are neither completely reliable nor wisely chosen. Ancient texts like Buckley's Aristotle and Smart's Horace mislead rather than guide the modern student: and even the editor's translation of Jean de la Taille's *Art de la Tragédie* obscures technical problems raised by the original text; thus the precise sense of 'en un mesme jour, en un mesme temps' is lost, and the somewhat difficult sentence 'Seulement vous adviseray-ie...etc.,' Mr Clark turns into patent nonsense. But particularly unfortunate is Mr Clark's complete reliance on the reviewer's *Castelvetro's Theory of Poetry* (1913) for translations to represent Castelvetro: it limits the editor's choice to the relatively little of Castelvetro which appeared in that book, and even further, to the small portion of that little which happened to be included in translation.

Such utter neglect of original sources really disqualifies Mr Clark from speaking with authority on critical theory before Molière, although no one will impugn his competence to expound later and more especially dramaturgical theory. His comparative ignorance of the earlier period prevents his selections from being fully representative: one glaring instance of this is the omission from the selected texts of Cinthio's *Discorso*—glaring, because no other critic before Corneille and Molière possessed an interest in criticism so completely focussed, like Mr Clark's own, on the purely technical and dramaturgical side of the subject.

The bibliographical lists are without exact point. The more general ones are too long and too indiscriminate for the general reader, and the specifically critical ones too incomplete and too incidental for the scholar. For instance, the section of the book dealing with Latin Dramatic Criticism reprints nothing but the complete text of Horace's *Ars Poetica* in Smart's translation (and of course much of Horace's epistle has

nothing to do with drama); but there is a preliminary bibliographical list, 'References on Latin Criticism and Latin Literature in General,' of nineteen articles ranging from Browne's *History of Roman Classical Literature*, 1853, to D'Alton's *Horace and His Age*, 1917; a brief life of Horace and a paragraph on the *Ars Poetica* are followed by mention of six editions of Horace's works from Bentley's onwards and of four English translations of the works—all, but one, eighteenth-century translations; then comes a list of eleven books on 'Horace and his Works,' of which about half refer specially to the *Ars Poetica*. And yet from this mainly idle display of wealth, the most comprehensive book on the *Ars Poetica* is absent—A. Viola's *L'Arte Poetica di Orazio*, 2 vols. Naples, 1901. Similarly with French Renaissance criticism: the actual texts reprinted (an extract from Sebillet and nearly all of Jean de la Taille's *Art of Tragedy*) make less than four pages. But we have bibliographies comprising nineteen items under 'General References on French Literature,' twenty-four under 'General References on French Drama,' fifty-four under 'References on early French Literature and Criticism,' seven under 'On Sebillet and his work,' and four under 'On Taille and his works,' besides notes on the editions of the two critics concerned. Three-quarters of the space so filled could have been saved by omitting duplicated or antiquated references.

These defects are emphasised because Mr Clark can do and is doing in this very book extremely good work. He will do much better, if he will not hanker after the trappings of learning, but will be content with an audience which will surely appreciate his intimate knowledge of the modern stage and of modern stage problems. When his book is reprinted, he must omit the useless and extraneous material, and find room for more and strictly relevant texts like Cinthio's. The bibliographical material might be rigorously cut to an indication of one or two standard modern books on the different topics, and more space can be found by substituting, for the perfunctory lives of the authors chosen, a mere line or two of dates and facts: for instance, as Dante is represented here only by paragraph 10 of the letter to Can Grande, what justification is there for the eighty-line life of Dante? And, in any case, what use is an eighty-line life of Dante to anybody?

H. B. Charlton.

Manchester.

An Introduction to Old French Phonology and Morphology. By Frederick Bliss Luquiens. Revised and enlarged Edition. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1919. 8vo. 148 pp. $ 2.50.

This is the second edition of a book that was reviewed at some length in the eighth volume of this *Review*. According to the author's short prefatorial note it has been 'carefully revised,' but the results of this revision are not readily apparent. Not only has no change been

made in the rather unsatisfactory general plan of the book—that was perhaps hardly to be expected—not a single one of the specific defects mentioned in the previous review has been remedied. The treatment of the more difficult phenomena such as Analogy, Mutation, Assimilation, Palatalisation remains just as misleading and inadequate. Further perusal, indeed, has only shown how unclear to the author is the whole subject of palatals. He evidently confuses *lj* and ʎ, *nj* and ɲ, for in his list of sounds he states that ʎ is equivalent to *ly* in English '*will you*' and ɲ to *ny* in English '*can you*'; and to explain the passage of *k* to *g* or '*jod*' he uses elsewhere the curiously inept term 'disintegration' (148, 2).

The enlargement spoken of in the title-page seems to consist in the substitution for the Appendix that stands in the first edition one containing 'a chapter of explicit instructions' to teachers on the effective use of the book. The utility of this addendum rather escapes one, for teachers presumably prefer, as a rule, to work out their own method of using a text-book. Its value, moreover, as a model is seriously impaired by the wholly mechanical character of the treatment preconized. Sounds do not develop for the convenience of students and teachers in the order in which they stand in a word, and to encourage students to set forth the history of sound-changes in words without any regard to the chronology of sound-change leads both to a misconception of the processes involved and to loose thinking or statement of thought.

Mr Luquiens' book has, as was noted before, undoubtedly good points. His use of typographical devices is helpful for the student, his account of the simple phenomena is clear and brief, his presentment of the pronominal and verbal forms fuller and clearer than that of most of the elementary text-books. One regrets the more that he has not been able to make fuller use of the opportunity given him by the demand for the second edition.

M. K. Pope.

Oxford.

Aucassin et Nicolete. Edited by F. W. Bourdillon. (*Modern Language Texts.* French Series. Mediaeval Section.) Manchester: University Press. 1919. 8vo. xxxviii + 120 pp. 4*s.* 6*d.*

The charming 'cantefable' of *Aucassin et Nicolete* wins the admiration of an ever-widening circle of readers. Editions, translations or adaptations have appeared in most European tongues, and rarely does a year now pass without making some addition to its already lengthy bibliography. No one has done more to promote this success than Mr F. W. Bourdillon, who has not only brought the work within reach of the general public by means of his translations, but has also devoted years of loving care to the improvement and elucidation of the text. Mr Bourdillon's name has become indissolubly connected with *Aucassin et Nicolete*; a fact which is probably in his own eyes the ideal reward for his labours. Thanks to the enterprise of the Manchester University Press, his

edition is now likely to become the standard text for the use of British students.

The new edition replaces Mr Bourdillon's second edition, published in 1897, a small remainder of which was taken over by the Manchester University Press and issued by them in 1917 with a new title-page. It is in every way an improvement on its predecessor. To suit the requirements of university and other students, the Introduction and Notes have been completely recast, the text subjected to a thorough revision, the English translation omitted, the Glossary and Bibliography greatly extended, the lines of the text numbered, and references to the text systematically added to the Glossary. The result is a very handy and useful volume, supplying the serious student with nearly all the materials necessary for a complete understanding of the text. The criticisms that follow are submitted to Mr Bourdillon with all respect, in the hope that they will assist him to make his next edition still more useful and complete than the present.

The new Introduction does not aim at bringing out all the literary merits of the work (for which readers should still refer to the delightful essays in Mr Bourdillon's earlier editions), but rather at supplying the student with the necessary data for forming his own opinion. It seeks to summarise the available information regarding the work and its author, and the principal theories that have been put forward about each. The sections on 'Literary Form,' 'Origin,' 'The Manuscript,' 'Authorship and Date' and 'The Verse and Music' all contain much interesting matter in a convenient form, mostly derived from the studies by G. Paris and Brunner, and from Mr Bourdillon's own earlier editions. A number of ideas, however, appear novel, and though not always convincing, give food for thought; for instance, the explanation of the 'unpopularity' of *Aucassin et Nicolete* in the Middle Ages as due to its exceptional form (p. xii), the suggestion that the music is of an 'oriental' type adapted from an Arabian source (p. xxxi), or the remarks as to the influence of the two-lined melody on the poetic composition (p. xxxii).

Oddly enough, no mention is made of a number of interesting theories developed during the last ten or fifteen years with reference to *Aucassin et Nicolete*. Whether this omission is intentional or due to an oversight, Mr Bourdillon certainly does not show himself to be *au courant* with recent literature on the subject, and in particular neglects a number of articles that have appeared in leading Romance periodicals. An article by W. Meyer-Lübke, published in 1910[1], emphasised the dramatic character of the work, and suggested that it was a development of the liturgical drama. E. Faral, in 1912[2], pointed out in the tale of *Aucassin et Nicolete* several traits which appear to be reminiscences of the O. Fr. poem *Piramus et Tisbé*.

[1] W. Meyer-Lübke, *Aucassin und Nicolette*, in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXIV, pp. 513 ff. Cf. *Romania*, XLI, p. 311.

[2] E. Faral, *Le poème de Piramus et Tisbé et quelques contes ou romans du XII^e siècle*, in *Romania*, XLI, pp. 32 ff. (see p. 50 for *Aucassin et Nicolete*).

Earlier than either of these articles, C. Boje's thesis on *Beuve de Hanstone*[1] showed pretty conclusively that the *dénouement* of *Aucassin et Nicolete* is an imitation or at least a reminiscence of that of *Beuve de Hanstone*. Mme Lot-Borodine, who in an interesting book published in 1913[2] dealt with *Aucassin et Nicolete*, along with four other O. Fr. tales, as an 'idyllic novel,' summarised the above-mentioned theories and added useful contributions to the discussion. About the same time, H. Heiss made a detailed study of the form of the *cantefable*[3], emphasising the lyrical nature of most of the verse passages, and incidentally refuting Meyer-Lübke's theory.

Any reader who has studied French versification will be rather taken aback by the following statements (p. xxx): 'The metre of the verse sections throughout is the seven-syllabled or four-stressed line with stress on the first syllable. It can be read therefore as a trochaic measure.... The last line in all the verse sections is a hemistich of only four syllables...with two stresses; the first stress falls on the second syllable of the line; which can be read therefore in iambic beat.' As practically all French verse, ancient and modern, is based on the number of syllables and not (as in English) on stresses, this is surely a singular lapse. Or if Mr Bourdillon has some other theory regarding O. Fr. versification, he should certainly explain it to us more fully.

Section VI of the Introduction, dealing with the dialect of *Aucassin et Nicolete*, is decidedly the weakest part of the whole volume. It consists merely of a short tabulation of dialectal features, extracted haphazard from the excellent chapter on the same subject by the late Prof. Suchier[4]. The table does not profess to be complete, and it is doubtless unnecessary to classify every dialectal form that occurs in the text. But here many of the most characteristic features are passed over, and notably several which cause special difficulty to any reader not quite conversant with O. Fr. dialects; for instance, the treatment of *pl, bl* in *populus* > *pules*, *affibulatus* > *afulés*, of *l* in *talis* > *tés*, *qualis* > *qués*, of *ǫl* in *follis* > *faus*, *voluit* > *vaut*, *solvere* > *saure*, etc. Certain morphological forms of special interest are also omitted:—*men*, *ten*, *sen* for *mon*, *ton*, *son*, the fem. sing. form *li* of the definite article, and the 1st pers. sing. ending *ch* (written *c*) in *fac*, *siec*, *senc*, *atenc*, *buc*. Apart from their linguistic interest, these details are of importance even to the non-philological reader; no student can safely ignore them, without running the risk of misunderstanding the text. It is to be hoped that in his next edition Mr Bourdillon will re-write his account of the dialect[5].

[1] C. Boje, *Über den altfranzösischen Roman des Beuve de Hanstone*. Supplement 19 to the *Zeit. für rom. Phil.*, Halle, 1905.

[2] M. Lot-Borodine, *Le roman idyllique au Moyen-Age*, Paris, 1913. (Especially ch. II.)

[3] H. Heiss, *Die Form der Cantefable*, in *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XLII, Heft 5 und 7, pp. 251 ff. Cf. *Romania*, XLIV, p. 315.

[4] Pp. 67—85 of Prof. Suchier's 7th edition (French translation), Paderborn, 1909.

[5] A footnote on p. xxxiv includes *manace* and *astages* among a series of examples of the reduction of *ai* to *a*, presumably as representing dialectal forms *manaice* (?) and *astaiges*. But such forms are unknown to our text, and these two examples should certainly be deleted.

As a final criticism of the Introduction, one feels compelled to point out that it contains far too much polemic against another distinguished editor of the same text—the late Prof. Suchier[1]. Mr Bourdillon exaggerates the liberties which Suchier took with the text. By his own admission, the scribe who wrote the unique MS. worked 'hastily and often heedlessly' and left numerous mistakes uncorrected. While it may be granted that in certain cases (always clearly indicated) Suchier made 'restorations' which are not altogether necessary, yet on the whole his methods in dealing with this text showed as much moderation as was consistent with the duty of an editor. In view of Mr Bourdillon's own indebtedness to the textual criticism, notes, glossary, etc. of Suchier's edition, a more benevolent attitude might have been expected of him.

The text has been thoroughly revised, and is now in about as satisfactory a condition as one can hope to see. Words and letters missing or doubtful are supplied in italics, words and letters superfluous are enclosed in parentheses, and MS. readings not accepted by the editor are in all essential cases given in the footnotes; the whole being carried out with exemplary accuracy and caution. In spite of the editor's very conservative principles as regards correction of scribe's errors, he has nevertheless been led (quite rightly) to introduce a larger number of emendations than in his previous edition. Unfortunately he has taken no advantage of the notes published some years ago by J. Acher[2]; nor does he appear to have known of the dissertation of R. Dockhorn[3], which usefully summarises the readings and conjectures adopted in doubtful passages by previous critics. The few remarks that follow bear mainly on points of detail:

1, 2. In this much-contested line, Mr Bourdillon now prefers the simplest reading *Del deport du viel antif*, and considers it to be fully in keeping with the author's playful style to call himself 'the ancient old man[4].' This explanation, which is quite as plausible as any other yet proposed, may provisionally be accepted. But is it not high time that the theory connecting this epithet with Roland's horse *Veillantif* was allowed to fall into oblivion? The name *Veillantif*, derived from a type **Vigilant-ivus*, can have no connection with *viel antif*; yet successive commentators never fail to repeat the suggestion.

7, 1–5. The punctuation adopted by Suchier, with a full-stop after v. 2, is much to be preferred.

10, 61. Read *je vos ai pris?* as a question (Acher).

12, 29. *postic.* In accordance with the editor's method of distinguishing the different kinds of *c* (see below) this should be written *postiç*. The suffix is clearly *-icius*.

[1] See pp. xviii, xxiii—xxvi, xxxv note.

[2] J. Acher, *Remarques sur le texte d'Aucassin et Nicolete*, in *Zeit. für rom. Phil.*, xxxiv, pp. 369 ff.

[3] R. Dockhorn, *Zur Textkritik von Aucassin und Nicolete*. Inaug.-Diss. Halle-Wittenberg, 1913. The second part of this work contains a lengthy series of proposed emendations, mostly quite unnecessary, but in some cases raising interesting points of O. Fr. syntax.

[4] See note, p. 53.

24, 48. The editor reads *luiés* instead of *liués*. To judge from Mr Bourdillon's facsimile edition, the MS. can be read either way. Either form can be explained without difficulty and supported by examples from other O. Fr. texts (see Godefroy).

34, 10. *Si leva une tormente par mer qui* [MS. *que*] *les espartist.* According to Mr Bourdillon's principles, the MS. form *que* might have been retained, and explained as the feminine form of the relative pronoun, found in many O. Fr. dialects. In our text, however, it would be an isolated instance.

The use of diacritic signs is satisfactory, except for the case of *c* and *g*. As Suchier points out, *c* in this text is used to represent three distinct sounds, viz.:

(1) *c* = *k*, in *Aucassins, Nicolete, auberc, cief, ceval, rices*, etc.
(2) *c* = Eng. *ch*, in *ce, cil, douce, raencon, sacans, fac*, etc.
(3) *c* = unvoiced *s*, in *iscir, peusce, couniscons*, etc.

Accordingly Suchier adopts three different signs, *c*, *ć* and *ç* respectively. But Mr Bourdillon appears to ignore completely the second of these pronunciations, which he omits also from his section on dialectal features. He uses a cedilla to indicate softened *c* before *a, o, u* (*çou, raençon, comença, counisçons*) or when final (*faç, caç, atenç, descauç*); but does not discriminate between *ç* in *comença* and *ç* in *counisçons*, or between pronunciations (1), (2) and (3) when *c* is followed by *e* or *i*. It is to be hoped that a clearer system will be adopted in subsequent editions. Similarly, hard *g* in *gardin, gorés, renge, longe* should be distinguished from softened *g* in *sergens, borgois, argoit, mengucent*, etc.

The Bibliography, occupying twelve pages, is concerned principally with editions, translations and adaptations of *Aucassin et Nicolete*, but also includes a section on 'Studies, Articles and Reviews.' It contains a large number of items, and is clearly arranged and helpful; but no one will be surprised if it is not exhaustive. An anonymous English translation in the Langham Booklets[1] does not seem to be mentioned; nor does a free translation in German by R. Zoozman[2], in the same series. The heading *Partial Translations and Analyses* should include the careful analysis of W. Söderjhelm[3], besides that of Mme Lot-Borodine in the study already mentioned. The section on 'Studies,' etc. could be made a good deal more useful to students by the inclusion of various articles published on the Continent in recent years. I have already referred to the studies by Meyer-Lübke, Faral, Heiss, Acher and Dockhorn; others, of varying interest, have been published by Piccoli[4], Aschner[5] and Zettl[6]. The dissertation by Dockhorn contains a long

[1] *Aucassin and Nicolette*, London, 1911 (Langham Booklets). Identical with some earlier translation?

[2] *Spielmanns Lust und Leid* (1. *Aucassin und Nicolette*, 2. *Laurin*). Nachgedichtet von R. Zoozman, London, 1914.

[3] W. Söderjhelm, *La Nouvelle française au XV^e Siècle*, Paris, 1910, pp. 8—15.

[4] Piccoli, *L'assonanza dei vers orphelins in Aucassin et Nicolete*, in *Zeit. für rom. Phil.*, xxxiv, pp. 32 ff.

[5] Aschner, *Zu Aucassin et Nicolete*, in *Zeit. für rom. Phil.*, xxxv, pp. 741 ff.

[6] Zettl, *Aucassin und Nicolette in Deutschland*, Progr., Eger, 1911. A review of this work by W. Suchier in *Zeit. für franz. Spr. und Lit.*, xxxix, Heft 2 und 4, pp. 7 ff., mentions several other German translations not recorded by Mr Bourdillon.

list of reviews of the various editions of *Aucassin et Nicolete*, especially Suchier's editions. It should also be mentioned that the charming study by G. Paris, originally prefixed to Bida's translation, is incorporated in his collection *Poèmes et Légendes*[1].

The Glossary, though thorough and helpful, could be still further improved. As the book is likely to be used mainly by university students, it is important that the Glossary should be as full and accurate as possible. The following corrections and additions are therefore suggested:

ariver is always used, in this text, in its strictly etymological sense of 'to come to land.'

avoi means not 'alack!' but rather 'come now!' (an exclamation of remonstrance).

caitif in some cases certainly means 'wretched, miserable'; but in others, as **2,** 29; **34,** 7, it has its original meaning of 'captive.'

cointe has nothing to do with Lat. *comptus*. In some early examples it has the sense of 'knowing, acquainted,' and is evidently derived direct from *cognitus*. The sequence of meanings can be traced by referring to the various examples given in Godefroy.

destorbier **10,** 67, is not a verb, but a noun (**dis-turb-arium*), meaning 'molestation, injury.'

eréses. For *esrer* read *esrere*.

gauges, in *noix gauges*, is derived according to Meyer-Lübke from *galla*, a gall-nut; if this is correct, it cannot mean 'Gaulish.'

home. In **4,** 3, *hon* has the special meaning of 'liege-man.'

i **22,** 10, 11, is explained as a demonstrative pronoun used in rustic parlance, and according to a note on p. 63 may be derived from Lat. *id*. As no other relic of the Latin demonstrative *is, ea, id* has survived in French, this suggestion is quite improbable. This *i* is identical with the *i* that precedes it in the Glossary; in both **4,** 11, and **22,** 10, 11, it is the adverb (Lat. *ibi*) used colloquially in place of a personal pronoun, with the meaning 'to her.' Cf. Suchier's note to **4,** 11.

orphenine **5,** 14, has the sense of 'forlorn,' and not the literal meaning 'orphan.'

quariax **8,** 8, is missing from the Glossary.

renge **10,** 3, does not mean 'sword-belt,' but rather the 'ring' or 'buckle' by means of which the sword was suspended from the belt. Suchier also wrongly translates 'ceinturon.'

sentir. Add the form *senç* **26,** 8.

tenir. The form *tenés* **10,** 53, is not Indicative but Imperative. Cf. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I, 'Imperativ anakoluthisch im abhängigen Satze.' Suchier, in a note, explains it as perhaps an Indicative form used in Subjunctive sense; but the other explanation seems preferable.

tost **15,** 17, as pointed out by Acher, here means 'easily.'

trop **3,** 18; **24,** 45, 46, means 'very much,' not 'too much.'

[1] G. Paris, *Poèmes et Légendes du Moyen Age*, pp. 97—112.

The following misprints deserve correction: p. xxxv, section (*e*), for *st* read *si*; p. 65, note to **29**, 5, for *arestuit* read *arestiut* (cf. Suchier's edition, p. 82); p. 78, l. 14, for *Schlichum* read *Schlickum*.

E. G. R. Waters.

Oxford.

Rousseau and Romanticism. By Irving Babbitt. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. 1919. 8vo. xxiii + 426 pp. $ 3.50.

In his *New Laocoon* Professor Babbitt set himself the task of revising the problems of Lessing's treatise by the light of a modern aesthetics; in his latest work, which is essentially a continuation of the earlier one, he again chooses a great eighteenth-century writer as the basis for a consideration of nineteenth-century problems. Just as the theme of the earlier work has less relevancy to Lessing than to modern thought, so that of the present book is less concerned with Rousseau than with Romanticism. 'The appearance of his name in my title,' says Professor Babbitt, 'is justified, if at all, simply because he comes at a fairly early stage in the international movement the rise and growth of which I am tracing, and has on the whole supplied me with the most significant illustrations of it.' But it seems to me that the fundamental weakness of Professor Babbitt's whole book is just the presence of Rousseau's name on the title-page. The linking-up, not to say identification of Rousseau with Romanticism, for which M. Lasserre's brilliant book must be held largely responsible, has been overdone, and has led to confused thinking about the nature of Romanticism. Everything, of course, depends on the definition from which one sets out; and Professor Babbitt makes it his first business to add still another to the sheer endless definitions of Romanticism. 'On a défini tant de fois le romantisme,' said Deschamps as early as 1824, and we are still defining it. In his search for a formula, Professor Babbitt ranges over the entire aspect of Romanticism, connoted by the English word, which, as he reminds us, has to do service for both 'romantique' and 'romanesque'; in any case, it means something very different from its German and —*pace* M. Lasserre,—even its French equivalent. Mr Babbitt's survey extends from Rousseau down to Nietzsche and Bergson, in both of whom he recognises essentially Romantic thinkers; and he has even occasion for side-glances at Confucius, Buddha and the Great War.

That on such lines we are likely to be brought very near to a precise and helpful definition of Romanticism is hardly to be expected; indeed, I am inclined to think that the moral of Professor Babbitt's attempt is that Romanticism cannot be defined at all. There is a German Romanticism and a French Romanticism, and these are separately capable of some kind of more or less satisfactory definition; but to force the whole vague international movement, which Professor Babbitt includes in his survey into the Procrustes-bed of a definition is futile and without positive value. Can one wonder that he gets no nearer than the formula—

which stands more in need of definition than the word Romanticism itself—'emotional realism'? But apart from this, Professor Babbitt has much that is illuminating and stimulating to put before us. I have read his volume—read it twice—with unflagging interest, and very real profit. He sets out, as everyone must do, from the eternal antithesis of classic and romantic; then follows a series of chapters dealing with various aspects of the Romantic movement: the Romantic Genius, the Romantic Imagination, Romantic Morality, Romantic Love —the best chapter, because the most self-contained—Romanticism and Nature. This is a most appetising programme, and our anticipations are not disappointed. Each of these chapters is a receptacle for brilliant aperçus, new lights of criticism, and the harvest of an exceedingly wide reading.

The book is, however, not merely, or even chiefly, an elucidation of Romanticism; it is also, from a kind of neo-Aristotelian standpoint, an arraignment of Romanticism. Here, Professor Babbitt seems to me to be on less sure ground; he ceases to be a historian of literature and engages in a controversy that has little consideration for historical standpoints. He objects, as a man of the twentieth century, to the manner in which the Romantic idea has weathered the intellectual storms of the past hundred years; he drops more than one hint that the Great War itself was the inevitable nemesis. Possibly he is right; there is always a danger of ideas outliving their time, and usurping domination in an age to which they no longer belong; and perhaps all the fatal errors in history might be said to be due to the ghosts of ideas that should long have been laid. It is, at least, a suggestive hypothesis. But this attitude towards Romanticism—or what Professor Babbitt believes to be, in spite of its unromantic form, still Romanticism; and I am by no means sure that it is, as he says 'irrevocably bound up with emotional naturalism'—unfortunately reflects on the more objective side of his work and distorts in places his presentation of the Romantic movement as it actually was. It may be true, as he proclaims, that 'the present alliance between emotional Romanticism and utilitarianism is a veritable menace to civilisation itself'—in another place the 'veritable menace to civilisation' is 'the transformation of the Arcadian dreamer into the Utopist,'—perhaps this is the same thing—but what Professor Babbitt calls 'emotional Romanticism' seems to me to have little to do with what was understood as Romanticism a hundred years ago; in any case, it certainly does not lead to clear thinking about the Romantic idea that dominated the early nineteenth century. Thus the book, in its final issues, passes beyond the competency of the present journal to express an opinion of it; it becomes a prelude to that new work on 'Democracy and Imperialism' which Professor Babbitt tells us he has in store for us.

Professor Babbitt, like most brilliant writers, is overfond of paradox. 'The European thirteenth century is the most civilised the world has seen'; 'Browning can pass as a prophet only with the half-educated person, the person who has lost traditional standards and has at the

same time failed to work out with the aid of the ethical imagination some fresh scale of values and in the meanwhile lives impulsively and glorifies impulse'; 'The innovations in ethics that are due to romanticism reduce themselves on close scrutiny to a vast system of naturalistic camouflage.' And one cannot resign oneself without a struggle to the view that 'the solution of the problem of happiness that Goethe offers at the end of the Second Faust, is a sham solution,' or, as it is put later, 'an egregious piece of sham wisdom.' But there is an obvious efficacy in paradox; and Professor Babbitt's book is most stimulating reading; we are grateful to him for this contribution to a controversy which in the last few years has entered upon a new phase.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

Francesco Viglione. *L'Algarotti e l'Inghilterra.* Estratto dagli *Studi di let. it.* xiii. Naples: Nicola Jovene e Co. 8vo. 134 pp.

After Arturo Graf's *L'Anglomania e l'Influsso Inglese in Italia nel Secolo XVIII* most people would have concluded that there was nothing of importance left to be gleaned concerning Algarotti and his English interests. Yet here is Sig. Viglione, stimulated by the discovery of a packet of unpublished Algarotti letters in the British Museum, harvesting quite a useful little crop of interesting and even valuable information from the same field. He owes not a little of his success to the care he has taken to make himself familiar with the English side of his subject. This has enabled him to bring to light an unknown epigram of Gray. It lay buried in the collected edition of Algarotti's works for anyone to read, but, being signed 'James Gray,' it had hitherto escaped detection; for Sig. Viglione's note leaves little doubt as to the identity of the author. The epigram may not add anything to Gray's reputation, but when one remembers the smallness of his output, it cannot fail to be of interest.

To Count Algarotti.
Upon reading his Critical Letters on the
Translation of the 'Aeneis' by Caro.

Would you from Censure rescue Virgil's Fame
And mend the errors you in Caro blame,
You know well, Pollio skilled in every art,
To add the Poet's to the Critik's Part.
So shall the Laurel grace the Ivy Crown
And Italy once more her Virgil own.

W. T. Howe, an honorary fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, had introduced Algarotti to the writings of Gray and Mason, and had done much to interest him in our literature during the winter they spent together at Pisa. The friendship continued till the Italian's early death. Howe even seems to have kept Algarotti supplied with English books, among them being a Shakespeare. Several letters in the Museum packet are addressed to Howe, and Sig. Viglione shows how apt a pupil

Algarotti proved. At this time, indeed, the kinship between the literatures of the civilised world, under the hegemony of France, was so close, that once a foreigner had obtained some acquaintance with our language, he was not likely to find much difficulty in assimilating the mental food that reached him from across the channel. Needless to say, the friend of Voltaire and Frederick the Great fully shared the likes and dislikes of his day. His enthusiasm for Pope was typical and genuine. Though he afterwards modifies his first raptures over the imitations of Horace, he can let himself go without fear of contradiction over *The Rape of the Lock*, 'the most beautiful short poem ever written,' and he is astonished that the poem of gallantry should come from England and not from France.

Algarotti had all the eighteenth-century passion for the Classics. It is for its Roman qualities that he admires Addison's *Cato*, and he is one of the first to be impressed by the Roman virtues of the Englishman of the day which soon became a commonplace among Italian travellers in England. He also notices the important part played by the Classics in our national life. Similarly he is much interested in Dryden's translation of Virgil, which he contrasts with Caro's. It cannot be said that he goes far afield in his English reading. Of Cowley he knows something, and of Milton a good deal, though his praise of *Paradise Lost* is discriminating. If he read Shakespeare, he saw him altogether through Voltaire's spectacles.

We have dwelt rather on the literary side of Algarotti's work, but he was too true a son of his century not to try to be more or less encyclopaedic in his knowledge, doing little more than dip gracefully into such subjects as interested him. And he was too much a man of the world not to look for friends in the high places where he knew so well how to make himself welcome. He could judge to a nicety the value of a dedication and several of the new letters in the British Museum are concerned with this important question. Thus his Essay on Opera was dedicated to Chatham, for whom Algarotti's admiration is perfectly sincere and to whom he left some of his own drawings at his death. He is most anxious to dedicate a book to the influential W. T. Hollis, a member of the Society for Promoting Art and Commerce, whose acquaintance he had made in Italy; but Hollis obviously fights shy of the 'superlative panegyric' style, as Mason puts it, in which he knew it would be couched.

Sig. Viglione does not print his new letters in full; he works them into his narrative of Algarotti's relations with his English friends. They are addressed to Chatham, Gray, Hollis and Howe. The study is carefully arranged, but some kind of table of contents or index would have increased its usefulness. A number of mistakes, which sometimes tend to obscure the meaning, have crept into the English—'Blomish (probably for Flemish) painters,' for instance—and Sig. Viglione is not too careful in his spelling of names in his notes.

Lacy Collison-Morley.

London.

Einführung in das Althochdeutsche. Von Georg Baesecke. (*Handbuch des deutschen Unterrichts an höheren Schulen,* II. Band, I. Teil, ii.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1918. 8vo. 285 pp. 13 M. 50.

Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters. I. *Die althochdeutsche Literatur.* Von Gustav Ehrismann. (Same Series, VI. Band, I. Teil.) Same publisher. 1918. 8vo. 471 pp. 18 M.

These two volumes have just been added to that excellent series, *Handbuch des deutschen Unterrichts,* and they are in a certain sense companion volumes. The title of Dr Baesecke's book would lead us to suppose that it was an elementary work, just as the general title of the series suggests that the various volumes are to be used for teaching purposes. But this 'Einführung' is not an introduction in the usual sense of the term; its author even assumes a knowledge of Primitive Germanic and Gothic on the part of his readers. Dr Baesecke's aim is to give an exhaustive account of our present knowledge of Old High German. He does not attempt to link up Old High German with Indo-Germanic, as Armitage did; nor does he work backwards from Middle High German and the existing German dialects. It was not an easy task to re-say what had already been said so well by Braune, and the latter has not left much to be gleaned. With Braune's *Althochdeutsche Grammatik* as starting-point, Dr Baesecke divides his subject into two main divisions: Phonology and Accidence, with further subdivisions on Braune's lines. He has made more use of glosses and names than his predecessor, without, however, exhausting these sources; he also lays less stress on 'Gemeinalthochdeutsch,' pointing out that this standard speech is a convention of grammarians; and he pays more attention to the dialects. In his alphabetical list of words at the end, he also takes Tatian's dialect as the normal standard. In fact, his work is like a copy of Braune's *Althochdeutsche Grammatik* very fully and conscientiously annotated, and then remodelled into a homogeneous work. Dr Baesecke gives fuller paradigms of some nouns; parallel declensions show the different forms used in the chief Old High German documents. The chapter on periphrastic verbal forms has no equivalent in Braune's work, but its prototype is to be found in Wilmann's *Deutsche Grammatik.*

If Dr Baesecke does not attempt to reduce the whole range of Germanic philology to one general basic principle, to the working of one law through the centuries, it is merely because, in his opinion, we are not yet in possession of sufficient data to do so. He clearly indicates the method by which German philology can be viewed as a unity. He endeavours to bring various Old High German linguistic phenomena into a fixed relation with one general principle, and into some connection with each other (pp. 252 ff.). Even literary changes, e.g., the rise of alliterative poetry, depend on philological laws. There are also suggestive remarks about the difficulty of distinguishing between traditional and phonetic elements in orthography, the migrations of scribes, etc. (pp. 4 ff.), and an excellent paragraph on elision in Otfried's verse (p. 67).

The book closes with a map of Old High German dialects and literary centres, followed by an alphabetical list of texts and of important publications on Old High German since 1911. Finally there is an index of words, the value of which would have been enhanced had the meanings been given. What we chiefly miss is a special chapter on the dialects, a systematic account of the distinctive characteristics of Franconian, Bavarian, Alemannic, etc. There is no general index to which we might refer in order to make such a chapter for ourselves. Unfortunately Dr Baesecke's style is heavy and laboured; in his desire to be concise he frequently becomes obscure, and his imagery is occasionally quaint.

The title of Dr Ehrismann's book is to be taken in its widest sense; that is to say, it includes everything written. He includes the Old Saxon epics on the ground that these epics, no less than the Latin *Waltharius*, *Ecbasis captivi* and *Ruodlieb*, help us to reconstruct a lost literature in Old High German. The book begins with a chapter on Germanic customs, social life, mythology, etc., the second chapter deals with 'pre-literary' poetry; and there are sections on alliterative, rhyming and prose texts, as also on the Latin literature of the tenth and eleventh centuries. An exhaustive account of Notker Labeo completes the book, and there are two appendices: a chronological list of texts and a table of the latter arranged according to the dialect. Ehrismann owes a good deal to Kelle and Kögel, a debt which is duly acknowledged; but he also makes considerable additions; and without throwing new light on such vexed problems as the metre and dialect of the *Hildebrandslied*, or the orthography and text of the *Georgslied*, he resumes and criticises the more plausible theories.

Apparently Dr Ehrismann has not seen M. Wilmotte's recent publication on *Ruodlieb*, in which the Belgian scholar endeavours to prove that the poem was written in France. He is also silent with regard to M. Fauriel's contention, in the *Revue historique*, that *Waltharius* was not the work of Ekkehard. It would be interesting to hear what arguments would be brought forward to oppose these claims.

The anonymous 'Monachus Sangallensis' referred to on pp. 88–91, 95 has recently been identified with Notker II, surnamed Balbulus. The form *Kirst* in the *Lorscher Bienensegen* is explained as follows (p. 107, note 2): '*Kirst* für *krist* kann volkstümliche Entstellung sein, aus Scheu, heilige oder dämonische Namen in profanen Ausrufen zu gebrauchen, wie z. B. Potz Blitz für Gots Blitz.' The use of the phrase 'volkstümliche Entstellung' seems to imply that it is not a case of phonological development. It is simply metathesis (cf. Baesecke, *op. cit.*, 124). *Potz Blitz* is an example of assimilation: the voiced guttural stop becomes a labial because of the initial labial of *Blitz*. We have an exact parallel in the French *parbleu*, *morbleu*, *sacrebleu* for *par Dieu*, etc., where the labial *b* replaces a dental, and the liquid *l* takes the place of *i*. The Irish *begob* for *by God* is another similar case. No doubt the fear of blasphemy has tended to give permanence to these forms, but their origin is perfectly normal.

When dealing with the *Vocabularius Sancti Galli*, Ehrismann con-

jectures that it is of Anglo-Saxon origin because of certain resemblances with the Corpus Glossary. There is a much stronger reason for supposing that the *Vocabularius* was not the work of a German monk. It is in Irish (or Anglo-Saxon) script, and according to the monastery tradition, it belonged to St Gall himself. This is scarcely likely, but in the gloss on *Leviticus* xi those animals are mentioned which are found 'apud nos,' or 'in Britannia.' (Facsimile in Keller, *Zürch. Ant. Mitt.*, VII, Table XI, No. 11, or the English translation by W. Reeves in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, VIII, 1860, pp. 210–30, 291–308. Cf. also Hattemer, *Denkmahle*, I, Table II.)

James M. Clark.

Glasgow.

Von dem jungesten tage. A Middle High German Poem of the Thirteenth Century. Edited with Introduction and Notes by L. A. Willoughby. Oxford: University Press. 1918. 8vo. vii + 117 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Von dem jungesten tage, the most important of the Middle High German eschatological poems, has at length received adequate treatment, and the critical text presented by the editor will, without laying claim to infallibility, provide the necessary groundwork for all future discussions.

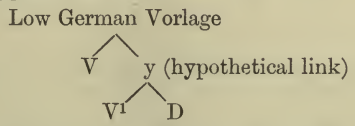
The poem is differentiated from earlier versions by virtue of its combination of the judgement scene with the motive of the body and soul (p. 7). Its popularity is attested both by its influence on contemporary writers and by the fact that no fewer than ten MSS. of the text are extant, ranging from the thirteenth-century fragments in the British Museum to a Magdeburg print of the end of the fifteenth century. The poem is original in so far as it does not show direct borrowing, but nearly every thought and image are paralleled by other German poems on the subject; cf. notes pp. 82 ff. *passim*, where the numerous quotations indicate the wide area covered by Dr Willoughby's reading. From the mention of the 'minner brüeder,' 'prediger' and 'ein niuwe ritterschaft' in ll. 679 ff. (MS. B) and from the age of the British Museum fragments, the editor is inclined to fix the decade 1270—80 as the date of the composition of the poem (p. 22). As the rhymes point to Lower Alemannia and more particularly the Black Forest, there is much to be said for his theory that the poem originated in one of the Minorite houses of the district, e.g. Freiburg (founded 1242) or Villingen (1268).

In his long, but not excessive introduction Dr Willoughby not only supplies a description of the MSS., discusses questions of authorship, dating, sources, relation of MSS., dialects and metre, but also gives chapters on 'The Judgement in Art' (p. 15) and 'Social and Historical Conditions,' which, though not organically connected with the apparatus of a critical text, nevertheless provide a useful background for its contemplation. These digressions do not call for any comment except that

the reviewer would like to direct the attention of visitors to Sussex to the remains of a possibly pre-Conquest painting on the tympanum of the chancel arch in Ford Church (between Arundel and Littlehampton) representing the devil thrusting lost souls back to hell with a pitchfork (cf. l. 186 of the poem).

The editor's first task, that of deciding upon the relative value of the MSS. for his critical text, is successfully accomplished on pp. 28 ff. A careful scrutiny of the lines referred to by number there bears out the substantial accuracy of the table on p. 31. The most difficult point to determine was the exact position of L in the group BLH, and its relation to the PKW group. Variants such as l. 261 f. lend colour to the suggestion that L had access to a MS. of the PKW group, or in other words is a *Mischhandschrift*. In at least three cases (ll. 65, 410, 440) LPK show common errors against W, which retains the reading of the original. A full interpretation of the facts is, however, at present impracticable in view of the absence of many intermediate links.

With regard to the group VV^1D—D being printed *in extenso* as Text II—the editor declines to consider it as a compressed version of the main text, but prefers to treat it as embodying a separate poem (p. 31) in which the imprecations of the soul against God and His works, derived in the main from the Low German poem *Wo de sele stridet mit dem licham*, constitute the climax. As to the interrelationship of V, V^1 and D, Dr Willoughby contents himself with a few indications on p. 103. A careful examination of the variants would have enabled the editor to attempt a more definite formulation of views. Firstly, the MS. V is conclusive against the assumption that Text II is a separate poem, for of its 290 lines no fewer than 207 are paralleled in the main text, while of the remainder 65 lines occurred in the borrowed passage containing the imprecations. It is preferable to regard the *Vorlage* of VV^1D as a shortened version of Text I with additions from other sources. The reference of the three MSS. to a common progenitor is supported by common omissions (e.g. of I 165—200, 379—412) and common substitutions (II 12, 103, 113 etc.). It was probably the work of a Low German scribe (cf. pp. 97 ff.). Possibly it was the source for the borrowing in the *Zehnjungfrauenspiel*, ll. 359 f. (cf. p. 14, note 1). It derives eventually from the X indicated on p. 31 (cf. variants to I 437, 467 and the interpolation after I 444). In length it is more comparable to L than to B or PKW, and is closer to the BLH group, as Dr Willoughby recognizes. I 452 is not conclusive for closer relationship to L, and the exact position of VV^1D in the main table must remain open. Inside the group the filiation appears to be:



(For closer relationship of V^1D, cf. II 83 f., 101, 103, 109 f., 235 etc.) Even in this small group there appear to be cross currents and con-

taminations, V and V^1 showing common variants (not derived from the original) as against D (e.g. II 61 f., 137 f. among others).

The chapter most needing revision is that on Metre, pp. 43—45. All the lists of instances could be much amplified, e.g. to those of 'beschwerte Hebung' should be added 179 *satzunge*, 435 *herzogen*, 242 *swárz áls* (assuming reduction in weight of *bleich* owing to heavy surrounding stresses). Kraus's remarks on pp. 77 ff. of his *Metrische Untersuchungen über Reinbots Georg* lead me to read 89 *fúrsàtz*, 163 *hóhvàrt*, 225 *hérschàft* with double stress (as the editor does himself with 159 *ríchtuòm*). 470 *kunnén* may be eliminated by assuming disyllabic dip. Cases of inverted stress not quoted will be found in ll. 11, 133, 227, 340, 470, 526, 617, 634. Note 2 on p. 45 should be reinforced by 234 *groz*, appearing in the Auftakt.

The critical text is on the whole well prepared, and the notes contain many illuminating parallels. The word *strouf* in l. 172 has a cognate in the East Frisian 'strôp,' 'strôp(e)' rendered in Koolman's dictionary by 'stroopvel der slangen.' The curious form *tetrenket* (p. 43, l. 3) is probably derived from the Bavarian *dertrenket*.

The book is singularly free from typographical errors, and both the editor and the publishers are to be congratulated on their very creditable achievement.

W. E. Collinson.

Liverpool.

We very much regret that Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly is obliged, owing to ill-health, to resign the editorship of the Romance Section of the *Review*, which has been under his charge since 1914. Communications concerning the Romance Section should, until further notice, be addressed to the General Editor.

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Cestaro, B. C., Vita mantovana nel 'Baldus' con nuove osservazioni su l' arte e la satira del Folengo. Mantua, G. Mondovi.

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Germano, R., Di alcuni scolari di G. Parini. Lucca, Tip. Baroni. 4 L.

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[Note. The French section has been compiled with the assistance of the Modern Humanities Research Association.]

DID SHAKESPEARE WRITE A TRAGEDY OF 'DIDO'?

HOWEVER ardent an admirer of *Hamlet* one may be—and so far as sheer admiration goes I will not yield to any man—he must have some community of feeling with Polonius when that 'tedious old fool' interrupts the First Player's Pyrrhus-Priam speech midway with the comment, 'This is too long.' It is. Shakespeare himself knew it was too long, and three times in the course of what Mr Tucker Brooke calls 'some seventy lines of melodramatic bombast'[1] he interrupts the Player's 'passionate speech' to introduce bits of humour in prose. Mr Brooke believes that the presence of the speech is to be accounted for by the necessity of giving Hamlet 'a brief moment of clear vision,' in which he plans for the play within the play. Dr S. A. Tannenbaum has little difficulty in refuting Mr Brooke's main contentions[2], but in doing so he leaves unexplained the length and dramatic remoteness of the speech. The Player must of course have a recitation of sufficient length to enable him to work himself into the state of excitement and passion which puts poor Hamlet into an equally intense frenzy of envious admiration. But even so, one feels that the Player's speech calls our attention far away from Hamlet's tragedy to the Pyrrhus-Priam story itself; and that it exhibits such marked characteristics of its own, standing out in startling contrast to all the rest of the drama, that it must have been introduced for something more than its ostensible purpose of producing some sort of effect upon Hamlet[3].

One explanation of this extra-dramatic character of the speech is that Shakespeare paused to introduce a parody on Marlowe and Nash's *Dido, Queen of Carthage.* Mr Brooke speaks of the 'obvious parody of the turgid lines on the death of Priam in Marlowe's play[4],' and some of the older critics, though with less assurance, proposed this solution. Most of them, however, find the resemblance slight. Warburton elabo-

[1] *Studies in Philology*, April 1917. The speech contains 58 lines.
[2] *Studies in Philology*, July 1917.
[3] There is nothing of this sort in the parallel situation of Act IV, scene iv; yet Hamlet's final soliloquy of self-chastisement, culminating, as here, in high resolve, is occasioned by a matter quite as apart from his particular tragedy as is the Player's speech.
[4] These lines are commonly and no doubt correctly assigned to Marlowe. Dr Tannenbaum, apparently misled by Fleay, speaks of them as Nash's.

rately praised the speech. Caldecott thought it 'affords a decisive proof of Shakespeare's *taste* in this department of the drama,' adding, 'He may here have chosen to give his conception of the true and just swell of tragedy.' Coleridge said, 'The fancy that a burlesque was intended sinks below criticism; the lines, as epic narrative, are superb[1].' Professor Schelling remarks, most truly, that Marlowe's *Dido* 'is as free from the prevailing Senecan traits as from the bombast and rant of the conqueror plays and the tragedy of revenge[2]'; Ward contends that the speech could be 'neither a parody nor a caricature, but merely a sort of rival version[3]'; and Fleay considered the speech so far superior to the passage it was supposed to parody that he conjectured that Shakespeare wrote it to show how much better he could have done the scene[4]. That there is a certain similarity can scarcely be denied; but a speech which critics have regarded as far superior to the passage it somewhat distantly resembles must not be put down as an 'obvious' parody.

Our difficulty is not solved by regarding the speech as a general burlesque of the tragedy-of-blood rather than as a particular parody of Marlowe's *Dido*. For though the speech is in the strained and forced diction of the earlier tragedies, as a whole it does not read in the least like a parody. Parody is a form of humour; and humour in this speech would wholly have defeated its purpose. Imagine the Player with

> all his visage wann'd,
> Tears in his eyes, distraction in 's aspect,
> A broken voice—

declaiming a travesty that made the murder of Priam ridiculous! And for Hamlet to take this burlesque seriously—for he certainly does take it with most desperate and tragic seriousness—it would make him also a ridiculous fool. No, the very fact that Polonius criticises is proof that Shakespeare thought the speech was good[5]. Hamlet himself sets the key of sympathy and respect which the audience is expected to take; and it is particularly notable that not only in his attitude during and after the recital does Hamlet hold steadily to his admiration of the performance, but he is at considerable pains to prepare for its right reception before the speech is given. He praises the play in which it occurred: though not popular, it was 'an excellent play, well digested

[1] For these quotations, as for others from the older commentators, I have depended on Furness, *Variorum Hamlet*, I, 180 f.

[2] *Elizabethan Drama*, II. 19.

[3] *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, I, 358 n.

[4] 'On the Extract from an Old Play in Hamlet.' *Macmillan's Magazine*, December 1874.

[5] When Hamlet challenges the unfortunate phrase 'mobled queen,' Polonius at once rises to its defence. 'That's good,' says Polonius; 'mobled queen is good.' And we need no further evidence that Shakespeare thought that 'mobled queen' was *not* good.

in the scenes, set down with as much modesty as cunning'; and particularly he notes that there was 'no matter in the phrase that might indict the author of affectation.' That all this should be only dramatic preparation for an ironical joke is simply beyond all credence.

The fact that the Player's recitation is so clearly not in Shakespeare's usual vein has even led to the theory that it was not his at all but quoted by him. Thus Pope remarked, 'Who was its author is not come to my knowledge.' Fleay, with unaccustomed diffidence, offered the conjecture[1] that Shakespeare quoted the speech from Jonson, basing his hypothesis upon the fact that Henslowe, on December 3, 1597, gave Jonson a payment for a plot which he was to finish 'before Christmas,' and that a play on *Dido and Aeneas* was produced on January 8, 1598. This theory has been more recently re-stated by Professor Wallace[2]. It is really too bad that so painstaking a scholar should commit himself to so idle a conjecture. Greg's suggestion that Jonson had probably abandoned it, since we find Chapman soon at work on 'bengemens plotte[3]' is not answered by Wallace. The verse and imagery he thinks 'characteristic of Jonson in his nobler vein'; and then hastily and discreetly adds, 'But "style," that bog of Shakespearean criticism in which so many have stuck, may be left out of the question.' If Jonson did write an unsuccessful *Dido*, which is only a possibility, the slight analogies which Wallace mentions would not warrant our supposing that this speech was quoted from it. The speech not only seems to belong to an older type of drama, but Hamlet's reminiscent references to it would be inappropriate to so recent a production. I can find neither kinship of style nor likelihood of any sort that Shakespeare did or would derive the speech in this manner. Is it not odd that the same passage could be regarded by some scholars as a serious performance of Jonson and by others as a burlesque on Marlowe?

Here one might pause to wonder if Shakespeare, desiring to leave the impression of an older type of drama, did not simply leave untouched this portion of Kyd's tragedy, thus having the contrast he desired right ready at his hand. I wish I could propose with conviction so simple a solution; and if, as Wallace would, we might leave aside this troublesome matter of style, we should have at least a plausible conjecture. But the verse here is no more like the verse of Kyd than it is pseudo-Marlovian or Jonsonese. The speech contains 8·6 per cent. of double endings, whereas Kyd, according to Robertson, has 'not ten certain

[1] *Biog. Chron.*, II, 306.
[2] *Englische Studien*, XLIII, 378.
[3] *Henslowe's Diary*, Part II, p. 188.

instances' in the whole *Spanish Tragedy*[1]. The voice is the voice of Seneca, but the hand that wrote this speech is the hand of Shakespeare.

If, then, the speech calls attention to itself as possessing characteristics which it would not have if Shakespeare had written it merely to hold the place it does in the progress of the play, and if these characteristics are not to be explained by its being either a survival or a parody of an earlier type of drama, nor yet as the exploitation of a younger contemporary, what explanation can we give?

Ritson was, so far as I know, the first to suggest that Shakespeare was here quoting from an early work of his own. 'Possibly, indeed, it might have been his first attempt, before *the divinity that lodg'd within him* had instructed him to despise the tumid and unnatural style so much and so unjustly admired in his predecessors or contemporaries[2].' This idea had instinctively occurred to me as the most natural explanation. Let us see what there is to say in its favour or against it[3].

The matter of mere style must for ever remain open for the recording of each one's individual opinion. To me the speech in question is written in the sort of heroic verse that Shakespeare might and did employ at the very beginning of his dramatic career—did, so far as I am able to distinguish it from that of his less gifted but more experienced contemporaries. What would sound like a parody of Marlowe if written by Shakespeare in 1601 might easily be an imitation of Marlowe if written by him in 1588 or thereabouts; and that critics should find the 'parody' better than the original is promptly accounted for. The early work of a poet may be so strained and crude when compared with his masterpieces that the wary critic is tempted either to reject it as spurious or accept it as burlesque. It is debated whether some parts of *Love's Labour's Lost* are to be regarded as written in emulation or in ridicule of Lyly. With youthful tragedy the danger is still greater. We smile at some of the passages in Schiller's *Robbers*. We can scarcely take with entire sobriety some of the extravagant heroics of Hugo's *Hernani*. It is difficult to believe that Oscar Wilde intended his early *Duchess of Padua* as anything but a huge burlesque; yet the strained diction and overwrought emotion of that impossible play seem to have been due only to youthful fervour.

But if the Player's speech does indeed recall the earlier Shakespeare,

[1] *Did Shakespeare Write Titus Andronicus?* p. 187.

[2] Furness, I, 183.

[3] No one will contend that Heminge and Condell would have included in the Folio a boyish experiment which had so sadly failed on its unique performance and of which the best passage had been incorporated in *Hamlet*.

is it not natural enough that he should have written it so by design? Here, as in the play within the play, he may have wished to set off any dramatic exhibition from the more realistic tone and language of Hamlet's own tragedy. This calls our attention to an interesting contrast: there is no such divergence of tone to be explained in the play within the play as there is here. For all its more measured tread and obvious play-quality, 'The Murder of Gonzago' is written precisely as Shakespeare would write this type of play at the time when he was writing *Hamlet*. Even though the lady does 'protest too much,' she does not employ the overwrought and inflated style of the Pyrrhus-Priam speech; and if such false artificiality were needed in either instance, it would not be in the speech but in the play. From the characteristics which the speech itself exhibits, therefore, there seems to me a strong indication that Ritson was right.

But, 'From all that we know of Shakespeare's treatment of his own works,' says Elze, 'it seems in the highest degree improbable, not only that he should have introduced here his own composition, but that he should have praised it also.' That he does include what he can from his earlier, discarded works, we have sufficient evidence. It was always characteristic of Shakespeare, in spite of the profusion and prodigality of his genius, to preserve and vamp up his old material. He had not, apparently, Balzac's way of throwing off story after story of apprentice work and forgetting its very existence. Instances occur in *Love's Labour's Lost*, perhaps in *Romeo and Juliet*, surely in *All's Well that Ends Well*. If Shakespeare had such a piece at hand, there was nothing more natural than that he should incorporate this bit in just the way that we find it given. But he would see the necessity now of relieving this flight of youthful passion by humorous interruptions and of writing a word of preface before venturing forth with so intense and youthful a performance.

'Preface'—the word irresistibly evokes the satiric image of Mr Bernard Shaw, and straightway gives us pause. Would Shakespeare—*could* Shakespeare—make use of so Shavian a device as a prefatory defence of his own work? Could he, in the manner of *Fanny's First Play*, cite the critical comments which his youthful tragedy had met with? 'It was—as I received it, and others, whose judgment in such matters cried in the top of mine—an excellent play....I remember, one said there were no sallets in the lines to make the matter savoury...but called it an honest method....' I have already quoted the rest of this friendly criticism. Yet the praise of the play, no less than the style of the speech

itself, leads me to suspect that the piece was Shakespeare's own. There is a note of self-defence, given with a certain indulgent interest such as Shakespeare may well have had when looking back from the time of *Hamlet* upon his earliest venture in tragedy. Indeed, this peculiar kind of praise, half critical and somewhat self-assertive, is distinctly hard to account for if the play was *not* his own. To Elze's objection that it was unlike Shakespeare to praise his own composition, I answer that the speech he selects for special commendation *is* his own composition—spite of Pope and Fleay and Wallace! We have in *Love's Labour's Lost*, after a duel of puns and lampoons between Rosaline and Katharine, the decision of the Princess, 'Well bandied both; a set of wit well played' (v, ii, 29), and there are other such instances of self-approval. The Elizabethans were not above showing a strong personal interest in their own and their rivals' compositions. This was, however, no public sulk such as Jonson could indulge in, for Shakespeare's authorship of the piece could only have been remembered by his fellow craftsmen and his friends. The play 'was never acted, or if it was, not above once'; and that was apparently long before. If one asks 'Why then speak of it at all?' I can only say that there would be less point in describing as Hamlet does a purely fictitious piece of work.

One other objection has been offered. Hunter asks: Is it possible that Shakespeare 'knew so little of his art' as to write a tragedy which involved 'a lengthened epic narration that happened so long before as the destruction of Troy'? At the very start of his career this is wholly possible. Marlowe did the same thing in his *Dido*. If, however, the speech was composed for the play of *Hamlet*, there would seem to be no need of bringing in the extraneous fact that the Pyrrhus-Priam-Hecuba speech was taken from 'Aeneas' tale to Dido.'

In dealing with matters so conjectural, it is, I trust, unnecessary to disclaim any more positive conviction than anyone's might be who has followed my argument without finding himself in definite opposition at any point. The conclusion is not proof but an interesting possibility: if the Player's speech was a serious production of Shakespeare's written at the time when he could seriously write in this vein, namely, at the very beginning of his dramatic career, then we have in this passage in *Hamlet* what is perhaps the earliest bit of Shakespeare's authorship extant; and side by side with it the earliest of all commentaries on his work.

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THE PLAYS OF GEORGE CHAPMAN.

II.

The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron[1].

Prologus, v. 18 his country's love
He yet thirsts, not the fair shades of himself;
Of which empoison'd spring when Policy drinks,
He bursts in growing great, and rising, sinks.

Brereton interprets v. 19 as 'the images of himself invested with royal dignity.' But is the figure not derived from the myth of Narcissus?

dumque sitim sedare cupit, sitis altera crevit,
dumque bibit, visae correptus imagine formae
spem sine corpore amat...

(Ovid, *Met.* III, 415.)

Byron's Conspiracy.

I, i, 140 The overplus of kings, in all their might,
Is but to piece out the defects of right.

Chapman's Aristotelianism: see note on *Bussy*, III, i, 62.

I, i, 180 ...dénies
To give those of Navarre, though bred with you,
The benefits and dignities of France.

Is there not here (and in Henry's first speech) an oblique reference to the influx of Scots into England in James's train?

I, ii, 81 But that [*sc.* disloyalty] hath ever show'd so foul a monster
To all my ancestors and my former life,
That now to entertain it I must wholly
Give up my habit in his contrary,
And strive to grow out of privation.

Byron merely means that if he became disloyal he would be giving up the old formed habit of loyalty, which is called in Aristotelian language the contrary and privation of loyalty. To grow out of privation is a contradiction in terms (cf. v. 93). The rebutting argument that follows

[1] This paper uses Prof. Parrott's valuable edition and is indebted to his apparatus. A fuller account of the text of the Byron plays, by the same writer, is printed in the *M.L.R.* of October, 1908.

Notes on *Bussy* and *The Revenge of Bussy* were published in this *Review* in January, 1918. Notes on other plays, to which reference is occasionally made, are as yet unpublished.

Dr Henry Bradley has kindly read my manuscript, and I have had the great advantage of his comments and criticisms.

is a characteristic example of Chapman's casuistry. Although it is obviously based on Aristotle's distinction between *habitus* and *privatio* (ἕξις and στέρησις), it is far from clear, and is such a curious patchwork as to deserve full analysis.

Habit in v. 84 has the usual sense of formed moral habit, the usage found in the *Ethics*; in the reply of Picoté (v. 86) there is a play on *habit*, a garment; lastly, in the rest of the argument the word means the possession of a positive quality in opposition to its mere privation. But the argument itself is such an application of physics to politics as only Chapman can make.

> The habit of a servile loyalty
> Is reckon'd now amongst privations,
> With blindness, dumbness, deafness, silence, death;
> All which are neither natures by themselves
> Nor substances, but mere decays of form,
> And absolute decessions of nature;
> And so 'tis nothing, what shall you then lose?

That is, loyalty is a negative thing, not a positive quality. This argument mimics a purely physical discussion in Plutarch's *De Primo Frigido* 946 b, where it is asked whether there is a primary power (δύναμις) and substance (οὐσία) of cold, as fire is of heat, or whether it is a privation of heat, as light of darkness. One answer suggested is: *ὅτι πᾶσα στέρησις ἀργόν ἐστι καὶ ἄπρακτον, ὡς τυφλότης καὶ κωφότης καὶ σιωπὴ καὶ θάνατος; ἐκστάσεις γὰρ εἰσιν εἰδῶν καὶ ἀναιρέσεις οὐσιῶν, οὐ φύσεις τινες οὐδ' οὐσίαι καθ' ἑαυτάς.*

Then vv. 99—103:

> No true power doth admit privation
> Adverse to him; or suffers any fellow
> Join'd in his subject; you superiors,
> It is the nature of things absolute
> One to destroy another;

Compare 946 e: *καὶ γὰρ ἕξεως μὲν οὐκ ἔστι μῖξις πρὸς στέρησιν οὐδ' ἀναδέχεται δύναμις οὐδεμία τὴν ἀντικειμένην αὐτῇ στέρησιν ἐπιοῦσαν οὐδὲ ποιεῖ κοινωνὸν ἀλλ' ἀντεξανίσταται·...ἡ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ στέρησιν καὶ ἕξιν ἀντίθεσις πολεμικὴ καὶ ἀσύμβατός ἐστιν, οὐσίαν θατέρου τὴν θατέρου φθορὰν ἔχοντος.* This means that Byron has a dignity and power so complete that any loyalty to the king is a 'decession' from its positive character. For loyalty implies that the dignity of the man who offers it is not absolute: the two qualities are as incompatible as fire and water (see *De Pr. Frig.* 950—51).

The word *power* does not mean a 'man possessed of real power' (Parrott), but the positive quality in a man; it is merely a translation of

δύναμις. It is *subject* (which has no *political* significance) that refers to the possessor of the power. Cf. *B. Tr.* v, ii, 138[1]:

> ...these monstrous issues...
> That cannot bear, in execrable concord
> And one prodigious subject, contraries.

The next lines are also from the same source:

> be your Highness
> Like those steep hills that will admit no clouds,
> No dews, nor least fumes bound about their brows,
> Because their tops pierce into purest air,
> Expert of humour[2];

This is from 951 b, where the subject is still the incompatibility of opposites. As there are mountains which have no cloud or dew or mist at their summits, there is such a thing as air 'expert of humour,' and therefore it is the condensations below that make the air a mixture of the damp and cold. The moral is that Byron should remain at his lofty station in an atmosphere unmixed with the cold privation called loyalty. The metaphor is then carried a step further by the reminder that the air first receives the light of the sun; that is, quickly changes when the noble power, the opposite of the cold and damp, appears. This is translated from 952 f. Lastly, the argument ends as it began, with a contrast between *habits* and *privations*:

> Hot, shining, swift, light, and aspiring things,
> Are of immortal and celestial nature;
> Cold, dark, dull, heavy, of infernal fortunes
> And never aim at any happiness:
> Your Excellency knows that simple loyalty,
> Faith, love, sincerity, are but words, no things,
> Merely devis'd for form;

The first four lines are translated from the end of Plutarch's tract, p. 955 b. To sum up: the unity of the simile, every element of which is derived from *De Primo Frigido*, consists in suggesting that Byron's full development is not compatible with the mere privation called loyalty to another person. We may perhaps see the association that mediated this curious use of Plutarch's physics in the phrase 'cold spirits' (v. 162). The soul of the 'complete man' is a 'very fiery particle,' and repels the cold and moist. Compare: '*drowning* their eternal parts in sense' (III, iii, 17), and v, ii, 83—4.

> II, i, 9 .....and, as 'twere, set the head
> Of one so great in counsels on his foot,
> And pitch him from him with such guard[less] strength.
> Qq. *guardlike* Parrott. *guardless*

[1] Also *B. Tr.* v, iii, 189—92.
[2] Like Olympus: cf. Lucretius, III, 19, and Apuleius, *De Mundo*, 33.

I do not think that Prof. Parrott's *guardless* in the sense of *heedless* can be justified as an extension of the meaning in *Iliad* v, 146, where 'His flocks left guardless' means 'without a guardian.' May there not be a reference to the game of football? Compare the language in the following passage[1]:

> Let all thy bladder-blowers still inspire,
> And make embroider'd foot-balls for the mire,
> With thy suggestions; *on the cloven feet*
> Of thy Chimera, *toss'd* from street to street...

A closer parallel for the sense is *Comedy of Errors*, II, i, 83—4:

> Am I so round with you as you with me,
> That like a football you do spurn me thus?

It is tempting to note that the contemporary Italian game had an *antiguardia* and *retroguardia*[2], but, in default of further evidence, this is probably a coincidence. Should a change be needed, I think that the first syllable is at fault, and suggest some such word as *giantlike*.

II, i, 24 I have devis'd the fashion and the weight;
To valours hard to draw we use retreats;
And to pull shafts home, with a good bow-arm
We thrust hard from us...

Dr Bradley writes: 'With the text as it stands the only possible interpretation would be "I have devised the make and the weight of the *chain* which you require me to *forge*."' This is confirmed by III, ii, 1:

> La Fin is in the right, and will obtain;
> He draweth with his weight, and like a plummet
> That sways a door, with falling off pulls after.

II, i, 156 Truth is a golden ball, cast in our way...

Allusion to Atalanta.

II, ii, 35. Parrott notes that this passage is from Plutarch, *Conjugalia Praecepta*. The connexion in Chapman's mind is doubtless that the attempt on Byron's loyalty has just been compared to the seduction of citizens' wives by courtiers (vv. 1—24).

III, i. This scene is the counterpart of I, i, 71 ff. 'It is,' writes Dr Parrott, 'a curious instance of Chapman's lack of consistently developed characterization that Byron in these lines and his following speech (vv. 25—46) repeats almost literally the sentiments of Picoté in I, ii, 86—136. The hero, who in the former scene had replied by a eulogy of loyalty, is here found playing the part of the tempter and preaching the doctrines of Machiavellian statecraft. Yet nothing has happened in the meantime to alienate Byron from the King. The truth is that Chapman

[1] *A Justification of Perseus and Andromeda*, vv. 17—20.
[2] *Shakespeare's England*, II, 462.

is more intent upon the expression of sentiments suitable to the occasion than on the harmonious development of character.'

But I venture to think that these lines are a designed echo of Picoté's speech. This play is a study in the effect of flattery on a mind 'past measure glorious' (I, i, 71), a mind that needed nothing but temptation to turn disloyal. It is not necessary for Chapman's conception of the character that anything should happen to alienate Byron from the king. After his reception at Savoy's court he is ripe for treason, if skilfully handled (I, ii, 22 ff.). La Fin, the 'French Ulysses,' plots 'with falling off' to pull him after (II, i, 24, III, ii, 1). In II, i, Byron is so far won over as to sound La Fin, who draws off, but insinuates that the supernatural powers which he claims to have will ensure success. Then in this scene by a 'feigned passion,' 'making conscience | Of the revolt that he hath urg'd me to,' La Fin finally manœuvres Byron into plying him with all the arguments against loyalty that Picoté had instilled into his mind. Nothing could better exhibit the manner in which flattery and finesse insensibly worked upon him. In this play Byron is no man of action: he is merely subjected to conflicting influences, working on his ambition or his loyalty (see also II, ii, 46 ff., III, ii, 245 ff., IV, i, 122—223, v, ii, 50).

III, ii, 122—40. This passage is in some confusion. The Savoyards had plotted to inflame Byron's ambition by admiring 'The royal promise of his rare aspect, | As if he heard not' (v. 11). This they do in vv. 117—21. But then Roncas interrupts the flattery to tell how on his deathbed the Archbishop of Lyons, a skilled physiognomist, said 'That he had never yet observed a face | Of worse presage than this' (128—9). This is plainly out of keeping with the conspiracy to beguile so superstitious a spirit from loyalty. It is not enough to reply that this ill-omened prognostication is counterbalanced by the extravagant praise that follows; for the plotters would hardly risk reminding the credulous Byron of the verdict of an expert in the science of physiognomy. I think that the lines must have been spoken aside. In vv. 110—16 Savoy draws Byron and La Fin apart, but not out of earshot—that is part of the scheme (see v. 12). The courtiers then vie with one another in praise. But for dramatic purposes Chapman wishes to introduce a presage of Byron's end and perhaps to add a touch in this study of insincere flattery. So Roncas repeats his story in a lower tone, and then continues with raised voice:

and I will swear
That, something seen in physiognomy,
I do not find in all the rules it gives
One slend'rest blemish tending to mishap.

The theme of the play is self-glory and flattery: here is the flatterer at work.

At the end of this speech there is the direction:

He snatches away the picture

139 *Byr.* What! Does he take my picture?
Sav. Ay, my lord.
140 *Byr.* Your Highness will excuse me; I will give you
My likeness put in statue, not in picture...

Byron is flattered to the top of his bent: like Alexander[1], he must have a mountain to express him. But if someone else snatched the picture, it would be an imprudence comparable to the unfortunate allusion which the quartos, as they stand, impute to Roncas. Is it not evident that Byron himself led up to the vainglorious offer of a mountain carved in his own likeness by arrogantly thrusting the canvas aside? The stage-direction cannot be put later, as Dr Parrott suggests; for v. 139 clearly refers to the act. Take *He* in the direction to refer to Byron, treat v. 139 (now attributed to Byron) as the continuation of Roncas' speech, and make Byron's reply begin with 'Ay, my lord.' The expression '*my* picture' might naturally be misunderstood by a copyist, and lead him to prefix the wrong names. I have adopted a rearrangement suggested by Dr Bradley. If the text is left untouched, this passage contains an ill-omened presage of Byron's fate and then a wanton insult to his pride.

In v. 121, however, the text need not be altered:

It hath good lines,
And tracts drawn through it; the [profile] rare.
Qq. *purfle* Parrott. *profile*

Purfle here means *profile*; see O.E.D.

III, ii, 229 I build not outward, nor depend on props.

This has no connexion with the martlets building 'on the outward wall' (Parrott). It is Chapman's familiar reflection that external show does not make for stability. Cf. IV, i, 195: 'so great men, | Corrupted in their grounds, and building out | Too swelling fronts for their foundations, | When most they should be propp'd are most forsaken.' See note on *Bussy*, I, i, 1.

III, ii, 249 ff. So far from hate of praises to his face
250 That he prays men to praise him, and they ride
Before, with trumpets in their mouths, proclaiming
Life to the holy fury of his lines—
All drawn as if with one eye he had leer'd
On his lov'd hand and led it by a rule,
255 That his plumes only imp the Muses' wings,
He sleeps with them, his head is napp'd with bays,
His lips break out with nectar, his tun'd feet
Are of the great last, the perpetual motion,—

[1] See Parrott's note; in his view *He* in the stage-direction probably means Byron.

These lines describe the fulsome praise that a bad poet allows his friends to prefix to his book, and Henry suggests that Byron has been served in the same way by his flatterers. Dr Parrott paraphrases the last few lines thus: 'his pens alone *imp* (piece out) *the Muses' wings*, he spends his nights with the Muses, his head is clothed with the poet's bays, his musical feet are of the heavenly model, swift as the *perpetuum mobile*, etc.' But the hyperbole is grosser. I can find no instance in the O.E.D. of *plume* meaning *pen*, and even if it could be so used on the analogy of the French, another sense is needed here[1].

The poet's wings imp the Muses' because he is represented as a god and their leader, Apollo Μουσαγέτης[2]. This transfers the image to the poet's heaven, and the poet himself is

> like a god throned on a wingèd planet
> Whose burning plumes to tenfold swiftness fan it.

We must look to the heavenly spheres in order to interpret the last two lines. If the king's irony is to be appreciated, this passage must be regarded as an echo of Byron's speech in I, ii, 46 ff., where he assumes the god:

> As if my feet were numerous, and trod sounds
> Out of the centre with Apollo's virtue,
> That out of every thing his each part touch'd
> Struck musical accents; wheresoe'er I go,
> They hide the earth from me with coverings rich,
> *To make me think that I am here in heaven*[3].

What then is the 'great last'? It is explained by the phrase

[1] In Nethersole's verses prefixed to Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie in Heaven*, there is a play on the two senses, but clearly the conceit is the same as that illustrated in the next note: 'In praise of this thy worke, so heavenly pend, | That sure the sacred Dove a quill did lend | From her high-soaring wing: certes I know | No other plumes, that makes man seeme so low | In his owne eyes, who to all others sight | Is mounted to the highest pitch of height.'

[2] This is one better than the flattery glanced at by Horace: mirabile visu | caelatumque novem Musis opus (*Epp.* II, ii, 92). For the sense cf. Shakespeare, *Sonnets*, 78: Thine eyes...Have added fethers to the learneds wings; also Sidney, *A. and S.* 90, 11: Without my plumes from others' wings I take (quoted in the Variorum edition). Chapman has a verbal parallel in *Goosecap*, I, iv, 24: And far above the pitch of my low plumes. For another turn of the same conceit see *A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy*:

> And never shall my friendless verse envy
> Muses that Fame's loose feathers beautify (IX).

[3] That the comparison is with a god is clear from vv. 268—9 of our scene:

> That they are gods in worth and may rise kings
> With treading on their noises;

This is explained by *Bussy*, v, iii, 41:

> O, thou King of flames!
> That with thy music-footed horse dost strike
> The clear light out of crystal on dark earth,...

Compare another flattery of Byron in *B. Tr.* I, ii, 89:

> O, you direct, as if the God of light
> Sat in each nook of you and pointed out
> The path of empire, charming all the dangers,
> On both sides arm'd, *with his harmonious finger.*

immediately following, 'the perpetual motion.' The swifter the sphere, the higher and clearer the note, and the 'great last' (or *extumum*)[1] is the swiftest of all. 'Nec enim,' says Cicero, 'silentio tanti motus incitari possunt, et natura fert ut *extrema* ex altera parte graviter, ex altera autem acute sonent. quam ob causam summus ille caeli stellifer cursus cuius conversio est concitatior, acute et excitato movetur sono[2].' It is true that on this scheme Apollo's position is on the sun, but the flattering hyperbole requires that the poet should be represented as the ultimate heaven. Indeed the contradiction, such as it is, is in Chapman's probable source[3]. We shall find in the course of the play that a ruler—and that is what Byron aspires to be—is compared to the *primum mobile* (see on IV, i, 220).

Dr Bradley informs me that he would delete the comma in v. 258, and construe: 'the perpetual motion of the great last.' I would also add a dash after v. 254, thus marking vv. 253—4 as an interpolated comment of the king's on the real character of the poem so fulsomely praised. The first quarto has a colon after *lines*, and a semi-colon after *rule*.

The touch about the poet sleeping with the Muses in v. 256 seems to need emendation. I cannot believe that *napp'd* has anything to do with the nap of cloth, as the editor suggests. The allusion is probably to the dream of Ennius, which is indeed mentioned in the *Somnium Scipionis*[4]. I had conjectured *lapp'd*. But Dr Bradley's *happ'd* gives the same sense (see HAP v[2] in the O.E.D.) and has a reference to sleep which suits the context; as he suggests, the provincial word may have puzzled the London compositor. He adds the happy parallel from the 1907 edition of *Imaginary Portraits* (p. 43): 'I heard his nasty footsteps on the stairs.' In neither case is it a broken h.

As the subject of vv. 253—4 is the adornment that bad poets lavish on their books, it may well be that they are a reminiscence of Catullus' attack on 'the foolish poet' Suffenus. The words 'led by a rule' seem to be a punning reference to 'membrana | derecta plumbo', which is

[1] Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*, 41: novem orbes, quorum unus est caelestis, *extumus* qui reliquos omnes complectitur. *De Div.* 2, 43, 91: caelum ipsum, quod *extremum* et *ultimum* mundi est.

[2] *Somn. Scip.* 12. Cf. Macrobius' *Commentary*, II, 3, 3: nam et Apollinem ideo Μουσαγέτην vocant quasi ducem et principem orbium ceterorum, ut ipse Cicero refert, 'dux et princeps et moderator luminum reliquorum, mens mundi et temperatio.' I shall show in connexion with another play of Chapman that he knew Macrobius and borrowed from him.

[3] Immediately before the words of Cicero quoted in the last note the heaven of the fixed stars is called 'summus deus, arcens et continens ceteros.' The Romans who followed Poseidonios (if it was Poseidonios!) had to reconcile these two conceptions and apparently did so without difficulty (see Cumont, *La Théologie Solaire du Paganisme Romain*).

[4] The whole imagery of this passage makes it just conceivable that C. had some recollection of the *Prologus* of Persius. For the figure see Lyly, *Prologus* to *The Woman in the Moone*: 'Our Poet slumbering in the Muses laps.'

translated in *R.B.* II, i, 186 by 'rul'd with lead[1].' Compare also 'apelov'd issue of his brain' (v. 189) and 'self-lov'd' (v. 185) of the same passage with the curious 'lov'd hand' here. That Chapman did indulge in this esoteric type of punning is seen from *Sir Giles Goosecap*, II, i, 221, where 'no fit meat for our pages' must be Plautus' 'non ego sum pollucta pago.' An instance of greater psychological interest is found in *R.B.* IV, ii, 13:

> Look how a wolf doth like a dog appear,
> So like a friend is an *adulterer*.

Now *friend* and *adulterer* do not give the usual classical antithesis which is found elsewhere in Chapman. But if we imagine some Latin original like this—ut cani lupus, sic amico *adulator* similis—the reason for the cross-current of association becomes clear. Even the motive that led Chapman to make the substitution may be discerned. Renel is consoling Baligny because the king, occupied with his vices, has not rewarded him according to his merits. But Baligny's merits are really those of a flatterer, a wolf (see II, i, 30), and the double thought is represented by this twist given to the natural form of the similitude. We have what I take to be the original comparison in this very speech of king Henry (v. 246): 'And flatterers look like friends, as wolves like dogs.' I have before mentioned Chapman's interest in the theme of friendship (notes on *Bussy*, II, i, 141 and III, ii, 394) and it may almost be said that this play is an exercise on the difference between friendship and flattery.

For 'holy fury' see note on *Caesar and Pompey*, V, i, 21. It is the *divinus furor* of the poet.

III, iii, 95 *Byr.* Would I had given thee twenty thousand crowns
That thou had'st flatter'd me; there's no joy on earth,
Never so rational; so pure, and holy,
But is a jester, parasite, a whore,
In the most worthy parts, with which they please
100 A drunkenness of soul and a disease.

'These lines seem to me rather an example of Chapman's love for sententious and gnomic verse than dramatically appropriate. Byron says, as I understand the passage, that there is no earthly joy so pure but that it becomes a parasite, etc., when it begins to flatter a soul intoxicated with pride' (Parrott).

I do not think that Byron makes such a damaging confession. If we adopt the interpretation suggested to me by Dr Bradley the meaning is consistent with Byron's character: 'What, shrink from making me happy with delusive hope! Why, all human happiness is alike delusive. Earthly

[1] The imitation of Catullus, XXII in *R.B.* is noted by Parrott.

joys are rotten, the best no less than the meanest; their sole worth is that they are sweet for the time; joy founded on a lie is as sweet—and therefore as good—as any other.' I think that this is confirmed by *C. and P.* v, i, 5, where I shall try to bring out the philosophical contrast between earthly and heavenly joy that was in Chapman's mind.

In v. 99 Dr Bradley would restore the comma after 'please' (so the quarto of 1608) and delete the comma after 'parts.'

IV, i, 34 Considering all the forces I have sent,
35 To set his martial seas up in firm walls
On both his sides for him to pass at pleasure,
Did plainly open him a guarded way
And led in nature to this friendly shore.
But here is nothing worth his personal sight,
40 Here are no walled cities; for that Crystal
Sheds, with his light, his hardness and his height
About our thankful person and our realm,
Whose only aid we ever yet desired.

Grimeston, Chapman's source, had written[1]: 'She (*sc.* Elizabeth) could not say that a courage which feared nothing but the falling of the Pillars of Heaven, should feare the Sea.' The allusion may be to the tale of Alexander and the Getae, who said that they feared nothing but the heavens falling (Strabo, VI, 3, 8). The collocation of Pillars of Heaven with a king crossing the sea suggests Pharaoh, the pillars of fire and cloud, and the crossing of the Red Sea (*Exodus*, XIV, 22), all of which explains the metaphor of the divided waters in v. 35. These opening lines, then, mean that Elizabeth has made Henry's path in France easy; then the metaphor 'martial seas' glides into a reference to the literal crossing of the Channel. We shall find that Grimeston's figure determines the language in the next lines. Let us bear in mind that Pillars of Heaven, while mediating the transition to *martial seas*, does not appear in the text.

The phrase 'firm walls' (v. 55) reminds the speaker that England has no *walled cities*, because it is an island[2]. I agree with Dr Parrott that *Crystal* is the crystalline sphere; but this does not mean that Heaven protects England. The word is a metaphor from physics, not an expression for Providence. The Pillars of Heaven keep Heaven from falling on earth; the pillars of fire and cloud protect the Israelites from the Egyptians. By this train of thought, I suggest, Chapman arrives at a parallel figure. As the encircling crystalline sphere keeps the outer fires from devouring the cosmos[3], so the sea is the crystal that walls

[1] See Parrott's note.
[2] 'These native Sea-walls of ours,' Greville, *Life of Sidney*, c. XVI.
[3] See *Bussy*, V, iv, 151 and note.

England round[1]. But why did he select the crystal (the ninth) sphere? Milton may give the answer:

> The Firmament.....
> .....
> .....partition firm and sure,
> The Waters underneath from those above
> Dividing: for as Earth, so here the World
> Built on circumfluous Waters calme, in wide
> Crystalline Ocean, and the loud misrule
> Of *Chaos* farr remov'd... (*P.L.* VII.)

The identification of the crystalline sphere with water is a theological attempt to reconcile the Ptolemaic or Alphonsine theory with *Genesis*, I, 6—7. Cf. Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus* (Bridges, II, p. 63): Nam colorem habet sicut aqua maris hic, et illud coelum videmus per medium coelorum omnium octo quae sunt citra. Non enim est dubium theologis et philosophantibus secundum theologiam quin coelum nonum sit aqueum. If we remember 'firm walls' and compare Milton's 'crystal wall,' we can see how Chapman came to use the words 'his light, his hardness and his height.' Below I shall quote an even more conclusive parallel. The whole group of metaphors is thus derived from a figure in Chapman's source[2], and it is not impossible that even the apparent reminiscence from the meeting of Alexander and the Getae is linked with the others by the same association; for he was vainly trying to pursue the tribes to their refuge on an island in the Danube.

The same range of imagery reappears in v. 220, where a statesman's care for England is praised:

> I thank your counsel,
> That never yet was idle, but, spherelike,
> Still moves about and is the continent[3]
> To this blest isle.

Dr Parrott conjectures that the Councillor (v. 158) was Robert Cecil; the following extract from a sonnet addressed to him at the end of the *Iliad* lends some support to this view, and fixes the meaning of vv. 40—41 above:

[1] Compare another figure in v. 120: Elizabeth is the 'maiden-sea of majesty | In whose chaste arms so many kingdoms lie.'

[2] See note on *Bussy*, III, ii, 30.

[3] Perhaps *continent* is better taken here of the *Primum Mobile*: cf. Roger Bacon's note on *Secretum Secretorum*, c. 67: Sphaera circumdans scilicet omnia, scilicet coelum nonum; et est coelum aqueum et empireum, ut intelligamus hos duos coelos hic ab Aristotele comprehendi sub sphaera continente. For the application of the metaphor, cf. Francis Bacon, *Of Seditions and Troubles*: 'For the Motions of the greatest persons, in a Government, ought to be, as the Motions of the Planets, under *Primum Mobile*; (according to the old Opinion:) which is, That every of them, is carried swiftly, by the Highest Motion, and softly in their owne Motion!' The 'Highest Motion' is that of the Prince. Also Greville's *Sidney*, c. XIII, where Sidney's death is described: 'Here this first mover stayed the motions in every man, by staying himself,' and *Bussy*, II, ii, 198.

Wherein as th' ocean walks not with such waves
The round of this realm, as your wisedom's seas,
Nor, with his great eye, sees; his *marble* saves[1]
Our state, like your Ulyssian policies.
So none like Homer hath the world enspher'd,
Earth, seas, and heaven, fixt in his verse, and moving;...

v, i, 47 Cold hath no act in depth, nor are suits wrought,
Of any high price, that are coldly sought.

Chapman, as is his wont, applies physics to politics. As is clear from the preceding simile (see Parrott's note), this is taken from Plutarch's *De Primo Frigido*, 951 b: *τὰ γὰρ ἄνω παγέντα τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν οὐ διίησιν, ἀλλ' ἐγκαθειργνυμένη καὶ ἀποστρεφομένη θερμότητα παρέχει τοῖς διὰ βάθους ὑγροῖς.* Chapman has already taken an illustration from the same page (I, ii, 103).

As Chapman has made considerable use of this tract in the play, it seems certain that the reference to the 'repulse | As miserably cold as Stygian water' (V, ii, 45), which describes the result of Byron's suit, is translated from the same source, p. 954 d.

v, i, 130 Fall then before us, O thou flaming Crystal,
That art the uncorrupted register
Of all men's merits, and remonstrate here
The fights, the dangers...

The Crystal is here regarded as a magic cr[illegible]recording and able to reproduce the scenes enacted on earth (cf. *B. Tr.* I, i, 97). This sense of *remonstrate* arises from sense (1) in the O.E.D.

Byron's Tragedy.

I, ii, 44—6 But, worthy Prince, you must give temperate air
45 To your unmatch'd and more than human wind,
Else will our plots be frost-bit in the flower.

Difficulty over this passage arises only because it is not seen, all of it, to be a metaphor based on a certain theory of man's composition. Deighton's substitution of *mind* for *wind* destroys the sense of v. 46. The figure is prepared by 'How great a *spirit he breathes*,' continued by *air* (see Parrott), and expanded into another figure which rests upon a theory about the analogy between human bodies and the earth (cf. *eruptions*, v. 52).

Betwixt ourselves we may give liberal vent
To all our fiery and displeas'd impressions;
Which nature could not entertain with life
50 Without some *exhalation*.

Cf. 'windy earthquakes,' *B.C.* IV, i, 169; also *B.C.* III, i, 13 and note on *Bussy*, V, iv.

[1] *Marble* is a reminiscence of *marmoreum aequor*. Cf. also *Autumni Lachrymae*, 39—43, for the same figure: 'marble rampier.'

III, i, 10—24. The whole story of the eagle and the laurel, of the tree that sprang from the branch and died with Nero's death is adapted from Suetonius, *Life of Galba*, 1. Byron's application, which makes the tree stand for religion, is appropriate because the last of the Valois kings was the last true Catholic ruler, just as the laurel died with the last of Augustus' line.

III, i, 124 And my head rules none of those neighbour nobles
That every pursuivant brings beneath the axe.

'I am not one of those petty nobles whom any king's messenger may lead unresisting to the scaffold' (Parrott). But this is the discovery of an unpleasant fact, not the assertion of Byron's superior dignity. He says: 'I see that the king has discovered something about me and *that* my head ranks no higher than the heads of ordinary nobles in his eyes.'

IV, i, 68 ff. *Byr.* They keep all
To cast in admiration on the King;
For from his face are all their faces moulded.
D'Auv. But when a change comes we shall see them all
Chang'd into water, that will instantly
Give look for look, as if it watch'd to greet us;
Or else for one they'll give us twenty faces,
Like to t[illegible] specks on sides of glasses.

The metaphor is meteorological. The king is the sun[1], the courtiers clouds. When the clouds cease to obscure the sun and keep its radiance from Byron, one of two things may happen. If they fall in rain—'chang'd into water[2]'—they will reflect the faces of those who look into the pools they form. If the threatening storm is dissipated, then a rainbow may appear. To follow the train of thought in Chapman's mind, compare the discussion in Seneca, *N.Q.* I, 5. He is speaking of the theory of rainbows, and the mode in which each drop of moisture in a cloud catches and reflects the sunlight. This is elucidated by a comparison with multiple mirrors: sunt quaedam specula ex multis minutisque composita, etc. This passage gives the needed link between the cloud comparison and the figure of the mirror. Not improbably the word *specula* suggested *little specks*. We may take *specks* of 'the "faces" reflected in a multiplying mirror,' which 'are "specks" (minute spots) in the "sides" or facets[3].' Compare *faces* in v. 70. The figure is carried on in v. 83, 'foul weather.'

[1] Cf. v. 92: 'He cast no beam on you'; and *B.C.* I, i, 111.
[2] V, iii, 42: 'The clouds...to moisture chang'd, | Fall to the earth.' Here too the metaphor is of king and unstable courtiers. See also III, i, 206.
[3] On this point I am indebted to Dr Henry Bradley and Dr Moore Smith. The quotation is from a letter of Dr Bradley's.

IV, ii, 291 So have I discern'd
An exhalation that would be a star
Fall, when the sun forsook it, in a sink,
Sho[w]s ever overthrow that are too large,
295 And hugest cannons burst with overcharge.
295 Qq. *Shooes* Parrott. *Shows*

Although this is a likely enough confusion, as Dr Parrott shows, I do not think that an emendation is justified on the ground of the incongruity of the image with Chapman's heightened style. It is characteristic of him to convey disparagement by a mean image or by a sudden change of values, particularly when the subject is the rise and fall of overweening men[1]. When the king in I, iii, 51 says:

Treason hath *blister'd heels*; dishonest things
Have bitter rivers, though delicious springs,

he anticipates the words that here mark Byron's fall. The late Professor Codd pointed out to me the parallel to both phrases in Horace, *Epp.* I, 10, 42:

Cui non convenit sua res, ut calceus olim,
Si pede maior erit, subvertet, si minor, uret.

The moral is the same—*fuge magna*, and *laetus sorte tua vives sapienter.*

V, iii, 64 When kings' wills pass, the stars wink and the sun
Suffers eclipse; rude thunder yields to their
His horrid wings, sits smooth as glass englaz'd;
And lightning sticks 'twixt heaven and earth amaz'd.
66 Qq. *engaz'd* Parrott. *englaz'd*

Dr Parrott takes *glass englaz'd* as *painted glass.* But can it mean that? A painting is englazed simply with reference to the material on which it is executed; but *glass* itself can hardly be described as englazed. If the material is *painted*, should we not have to write *emblaz'd*, and even so is painted glass the type of smoothness? The natural similitude is simply 'smooth as glass.' Compare Spenser, *F.Q.* I, i, 35:

And well could file his tongue, as smooth as glass.

Take *engaz'd* with *thunder*—parallel to *amaz'd* with *lightning*, as Mr Codd suggested to me. The simile means that even the messengers of Jove cease to perform their function when the overwhelming force of a king is in operation. *Agaz'd* was probably avoided because of *amaz'd* in the following line, as Dr Bradley suggests. The passage might be compared with *Hamlet*, II, ii, 499.

V, iii, 199 O Virtue, thou art now far worse than Fortune;
Her gifts stuck by the Duke when thine are vanish'd,
Thou brav'st thy friend in need: Necessity,
That us'd to keep thy wealth, Contempt, thy love,
Have both abandon'd thee in his extremes,
Thy powers are shadows, and thy comfort, dreams.

[1] See note on *Bussy*, III, ii, 31, and such phrases as 'stoops in a puddle,' III, i, 211.

Byron was bad before he fell; so Virtue left him before Fortune. But now he has fallen into necessity and contempt. As many virtuous people are poor and unregarded, Necessity and Contempt can be spoken of as the companions of Virtue. As they are with Byron, and Virtue has left him, she has lost her train of followers, and is in a plight as bad as Byron's. They have thus abandoned her in his extremes. As Dr Moore Smith suggests to me, *brav'st* is surely a printer's error for *leav'st.*

v, iii, 236—40 So fares the furious Duke, and with his looks
Doth teach Death horrors; makes the hangman learn
New habits for his bloody impudence,
Which now habitual horror from him drives,
Who for his life shuns death, by which he lives.

Dr Parrott takes 'habitual horror' as 'mental, subjective, alarm.' I do not see how this is possible, apart from the awkwardness of having *horrors* and *habits* in a different sense just before. Byron in despair has an aspect that outdoes death in horror, so that he intimidates the hangman, who usually intimidates, and as a trafficker in death, ordinarily does not shrink at its presence. Paraphrase: B. teaches the hangman new habits of shunning death instead of his usual bloody insolence, and so he shuns death by which he makes his living, for fear of his own life. In short: Byron outdeaths Death in terror.

v, iv, 45 I, b[e]ing a [large] globe, and a little earth,
Am seated like earth, betwixt both the heavens,
That if I rise, to heaven I rise; if fall,
I likewise fall to heaven; what stronger faith
Hath any of your souls?

45. Qq. *I bring a long Globe, and a little earth,*
Am seated like earth betwixt both the heauens:
Deighton. *being a blown globe of a little breath,*
Brereton. *lone* Parrott. *being a large globe*

This is one of Chapman's obscure death speeches. While I do not feel confident that I have found the complete clue to his allusions, it does seem possible to indicate the sphere from which they are drawn, and to set aside some misconceptions. Deighton's emendation is doubtless suggested by v. 37:

A glass of air, broken with less than breath.

But just because this *is* appropriate to the frail body, it is entirely out of place in Byron's boast about his soul. It might be said by an enemy, but not by Byron himself in this context (cf. *Chabot,* III, i, 31). *Lone* destroys the antithesis to *little,* which is in Chapman's style, and does not render the whole passage more intelligible. Dr Parrott takes the phrase as an 'antithesis quite in Chapman's manner, at once "a large map and a microcosm."' But as a microcosm is a little cosmos, it cannot

be also a little earth: nor is it easy to see why a mere intermediacy of size should enter into the argument.

If we look at the preceding lines, it is clear that a contrast between the body and the soul in the manner of the Platonic-Stoic tradition is declaimed by Byron in answer to the bishop, who bids him 'resign | Your sensual powers entirely to your soul' (v. 25).

His soul *is* free: like a falcon she stretches 'her silver wings, as threatening Death with death; | At whom I joyfully will cast her off.' But the body is only a 'walking sepulchre';—and he heaps up—as he has done before in the *Tears of Peace*—the commonplaces of the schools about the body and the wretchedness of life. To take one example:

A slave bound face to face to Death till death (v. 38)

is from a lost Platonic dialogue of Aristotle, and Chapman may have read it in the *Protrepticus* of Iamblichus. The metaphor is drawn from a custom of Etruscan bandits. The first part of the speech shows that he needs no advice to resign his 'sensual powers': the last I take to be the ground why he personally has no reason to fear death.

To take first the least dubious lines: in the Stoic cosmology what is at the *centre* cannot fall, because it is already at the lowest point. For earth and water are the weightiest elements, and air and fire the lightest. This theory is closely connected with the doctrine of the destiny of the soul, which rises in proportion as it becomes free from the stain of earth. Thus in an argument which Chapman not improbably knew, Cicero begins a discussion of the immortality of the soul by referring to the *κέντρον*, the earth, which lies like a point at the middle of the universe, and then explains that the earthy and watery elements weigh down the soul while the airy and fiery seek their own level[1]. Again Sextus Empiricus, in an argument of Stoic origin, writes: *αἱ ψυχαὶ λεπτομερεῖς οὖσαι καὶ οὐχ ἧττον πυρώδεις ἢ πνευματώδεις εἰς τοὺς ἄνω μᾶλλον κουφοφοροῦσι.* He adds the recognized Stoic argument against a hell, that you cannot think of souls falling (*κάτω φερομένας*). When we consider the atmosphere of other death speeches in Chapman, does it not seem likely that this is the setting which suggests the comparison of Byron's soul to the earth at the *centre*[2]?

To come to the crux in v. 45: I believe that the line is substantially free from corruption, though *bring* may be an easy misreading for *being*;

[1] *Tusc. Disp.* I, 40—2. Chapman plays on the epigram that opens this passage in *C. and P.* III, i, 16.

[2] See note on Bussy's death; also Clermont's dying speech (*R.B.* v, v), and Cato's disputings on immortality in *C. and P.*, which are wholly in the same tradition, as I hope to show later.

but in Dr Bradley's view even that change is not necessary. *Long* is in antithesis to *little*, and Dr Bradley has suggested to me that it may be a classical affectation after Ovid's *longum caelum*, or (still more appositely) the use in *macro*cosm.

Next, I shall state two views, each of which has certain disadvantages and neither of which can be dismissed as mistaken on the evidence that we possess at present.

1. Although the word *earth* in v. 45 presumably suggested Byron's comparison of his position to that of the earth in the following line, it is arguable that the word does not possess *quite* the same meaning in the two passages. Whether we read *bring* or *being* in v. 45, one may contend that *long globe* and *little earth* are two sides of a single conception, and should be read closely together. If so, it is not easy to give *earth* the same sense in the two lines. Chapman's mind seems to be moving in the region of the microcosm, which is a copy of the macrocosm. We may recall that the Stoic view of the soul makes it globular in shape[1], and that the *fortis* depends for his hope of rising upon the proportion of the fiery element to the earthy concretion that inheres in it from the life of the body[2]. On this view of the passage Chapman uses the concrete figure of the microcosm, remembering that the macrocosm has the earth like a point (*instar puncti*) at the centre of its vast globe, and then passes to the figure in vv. 46—7[3].

2. Dr Bradley's interpretation has the advantage of taking *earth* in the same sense in both lines. I quote his paraphrase of the passage: 'I bring with me a cosmos of my own, with its heavenly sphere (*longum caelum*) of which I am the centre, the "little earth." If the earth were dislodged from its position in whatever direction, its movement could only bring it nearer heaven: it could only rise, not fall. So for my soul no fall is possible: it must rise to its own heaven.'

It will be seen that on either view the disputed line contains an assertion of Byron's spiritual superiority.

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[1] Et globos mihi Stoicorum atque aëria quaedam deliramenta confingis: Jerome, *Ep.* 108, 23. In the Senecan *Apocolocuntosis* when Claudius arrives in heaven they ask what kind of a god he is: Stoicus? quomodo potest 'rotundus' esse, ut ait Varro. The notion, generally expressed by the word *circular*, is a commonplace in Chapman; e.g., in *Chabot*, II, iii, 138: so truly circular, so sound, and solid. The reference to Sextus is Von Arnim, *Veterum Stoicorum Fragmenta*, II, 82.

[2] Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 735: and see note on *C. and P.* IV, v, 135. We may perhaps compare lines from the Apodosis of *Andromeda Liberata*: ...with your clear seas, wash | From spots of earth, Heaven's beauty in the mind, | In which, through death, hath all true noblesse shined.

[3] It is well to bear in mind the fact that masques and other spectacles must have made certain symbols current coin for Jacobean audiences, however obscure they may have become for us. Thus in *Hymenæus* (*anno* 1606) there appears 'a microcosm or *globe* figuring man.'

MILTON ON THE POSITION OF WOMAN.

II. Poetical Works.

Important as are Milton's prose works in representing to us his opinions, they must yield in interest to his poetry. One of the functions of his prose is to assist in the interpretation of his poetry, for Milton's life and thought were so unified that the real man is to be found in any of his utterances, and a passage from one work can often be used to clarify another in a different context. It is especially fortunate that we have prose works plainly giving his opinions, for much of his poetry is of a dramatic nature, and the dramatic portions cannot be assumed to give his beliefs except as they agree with passages in his prose. While in his poetry Milton does not speak directly on divorce, both in his own person and through the mouths of his characters he does give much on the subject of the relations of man and wife, which, of necessity, he dealt with in his writings on divorce. Above all, he shows by example how men and women actually conduct themselves to each other.

I.

The theme of *Samson Agonistes* in this respect is plain. Dalila is a type of the treacherous wife. Shakespeare's Goneril, the wife of Albany, has for her plot against her husband the excuse of her passion for Edmund, but Samson's wife betrays him for gold. Or we may compare her with Tennyson's Vivien, who overthrew the wise Merlin, notwithstanding his perception of her character and designs. Though she is represented as Samson's lawful wife, her character is that of the harlot[1], and she is expert in the 'fair fallacious looks, venereal trains' by which 'bad women' have often deceived even 'wisest men[2].' When she first appears she is so bedecked with finery that the chorus are able humorously to compare her to a full-rigged ship adorned with banners. Yet, though carrying her adornment so far, she is genuinely beautiful, and indeed without beauty her arts probably would have availed little.

[1] See *P. L.* 9. 1060. Milton's representation of Dalila as the wife of Samson is unusual. She is usually accepted as a harlot even by writers who make Samson an allegorical type of Christ.

[2] Cf. *P. R.* 2. 150–224.

Her character is such that, according to the ideas of Milton, she cannot be a true wife, as appears in various ways in her deception of her husband. Her religion was so at variance with that of her husband that she bitterly opposed his beliefs. This alone was sufficient to make her an unfit wife, and, had not Samson's case been an exception, allowing him to marry a heathen for the sake of attacking the Philistines, would in itself have annulled the marriage. She was also opposed to the God-given lifework of her husband, and hence unable to give him wifely aid. She did not bring him peace, but worried him with importunity. She treated him with contempt instead of respect, hated him instead of loving him, and finally, for a bribe, used her influence as his wife to his loss of sight and utter overthrow. She herself, when Samson is adamant against her blandishments, admits as she leaves him that she has not kept 'the faith of wedlock bands.' Well may Samson exclaim in protest when the chorus refer to her as his wife, 'My wife? my traitress!' as though indignantly to correct the chorus for calling her his wife. And when she pretends a desire to care for him in his blindness, he truly answers:

> It fits not; thou and I long since are twain[1].

To re-establish herself in Samson's affections, Dalila makes various excuses. The first is that of feminine weakness. She was curious and could not keep a secret; her love for Samson, whom she saw 'mutable of fancy,' led her to desire to have in her power his 'key of strength and safety.' Samson disallows both the plea of feminine weakness and that of love, exclaiming:

> Weakness is thy excuse,
> And I believe it, weakness to resist
> *Philistian* gold: if weakness may excuse,
> What Murtherer, what Traytor, Parricide,
> Incestuous, Sacrilegious, but may plead it?
> All wickedness is weakness: that plea therefore
> With God or Man will gain thee no remission.
> But Love constrain'd thee; call it furious rage
> To satisfie thy lust: Love seeks to have Love;
> My love how couldst thou hope, who tookst the way
> To raise in me inexpiable hate[2]...?

She then pleads that her duty to her country and to her religion had, after long contest, overcome her joy. Samson again retorts, saying that had she truly loved she would not have been overcome by arguments against her husband. How could she think him an enemy, when he had proved his love by denying her nothing? And, having once received an enemy of her country as a husband, it was her duty to think his country

[1] Line 929. [2] Lines 829–39.

hers. For her native land to seek to turn her against her husband was 'against the law of nature, law of nations.' And gods who bid unjust deeds cannot be gods. Finding Samson proof against all her wiles, Dalila shows her true feelings, and after exulting in what she has done, departs, 'a manifest serpent.'

Samson has given proof that his regeneration has truly begun, for he now has eyes to see and strength to combat the temptations to which he had formerly yielded. Before his overthrow he had realized the falsity of Dalila, but had been unable to stand against her. He says of himself:

> Foul effeminacy held me yok't
> Her Bond-slave[1].

But now, by his rejection of Dalila, he has proved himself once more a free man. As his overthrow had begun by giving himself over to her, his restoration must begin with an utter shaking off of her power. The initial and fatal weakness of the character of the hero must be repaired before he can recover the other powers he had lost through it, and which he could not genuinely possess so long as they were in danger of female wiles. Hence the rejection of Dalila is necessarily the first step in the manifestation of Samson's returning powers. Without it, to have asserted his physical strength would have been but a hollow boast. Hence this, the beginning of the more active part of the play, is necessary to the defiance of Harapha, which asserts the full return of the hero's physical courage, and to the victory with which Samson closed his life.

Yet Samson, though clear in his condemnation of the treachery of his wife, is under no illusions about himself. The most important idea in the earlier part of the play is that 'with a grain of manhood' he might have 'shook off all the snares' of Dalila. He thus describes himself:

> Then swoll'n with pride into the snare I fell
> Of fair fallacious looks, venereal trains,
> Soften'd with pleasure and voluptuous life;
> At length to lay my head and hallow'd pledge
> Of all my strength in the lascivious lap
> Of a deceitful Concubine[2].

Then he could not keep his secret,

> But weakly to a woman must reveal it
> O'recome with importunity and tears[3].

Again and again he reproaches himself with the folly and weakness that

[1] Lines 410–11. [2] Lines 532–7. [3] Lines 50–1.

led him, 'effeminately vanquished,' on to his crime of 'shameful garrulity.' He had fallen under the power of beauty, and in his uxoriousness had become the slave of a wife who had no just claim to the name of wife.

The utter falsity of Dalila and the effeminate weakness of Samson lead the chorus to various speculations. First they consider the inexplicable preferences of women in their love, and ask why Samson, greatly distinguished above the majority of men, was unable to hold the love of his wives. Then comes a further observation, suggested by Samson's case, to the effect that a virgin seeming all heavenly at marriage may prove to her husband

> a thorn
> Intestin, far within defensive arms
> A cleaving mischief, in his way to vertue
> Adverse and turbulent, or by her charms
> Draws him awry enslav'd
> With dotage, and his sense deprav'd
> To folly and shameful deeds which ruin ends.
> What Pilot so expert but needs must wreck
> Embarqu'd with such a Stears-mate at the Helm[1]?

But though the doting husband who gives over the helm to an unworthy pilot is sure to be wrecked, the husband who is not deceived has two remedies. One of these, not mentioned by the chorus, is Milton's remedy of divorce, which the poet thought applicable to exactly such situations as the chorus describe. This was the remedy virtually used by Samson when he rejected Dalila—alas, too late. The other, suggested by the chorus, and at best but a palliative of the consequences of marriage with a Dalila, is to keep her from the helm:

> Therefore Gods universal Law
> Gave to the man despotic power
> Over his female in due awe,
> Nor from that right to part an hour,
> Smile she or lowre:
> So shall he least confusion draw
> On his whole life, not sway'd
> By female usurpation, nor dismay'd[2].

Had Samson followed this course he would not have lived happily, but he would have escaped the confusion and ruin that came through giving the control of his strength over to Dalila.

Yet even with the example of Samson and Dalila before them, the chorus do not condemn all women, but point out by way of contrast that there are those who are both able and willing to unite with their husbands in whatever is for their mutual good and that of the family:

[1] Lines 1037–45. [2] Lines 1053–60.

> Favour'd of Heav'n who finds
> One vertuous rarely found,
> That in domestic good combines:
> Happy that house! his way to peace is smooth[1].

II.

As a poetical representation of womanhood, *Paradise Lost* is more complete than the other poems, for Eve is neither wholly good, like Mary in *Paradise Regained*, nor wholly bad, like Dalila. She errs, yet not of deliberate malice, and she brings suffering on her husband, yet not with intention to ruin him. Her devotion to him endures throughout, and is nowhere stronger than at the conclusion. Hence we have in *Paradise Lost* a study of a true and permanent marriage, and yet one the course of which is not always smooth.

The difficulties of interpreting the passages in *Paradise Lost* that reveal the relation of Adam and Eve to each other are considerable. The two characters are without doubt intended to be, to some extent, typical of male and female character, and, before the Fall, to represent mankind at its best. Yet they are sufficiently individual to prevent one from saying that Adam is always typically male, and Eve typically female. At least they are individuals before they are types.

Above all the interpreter must remember that Milton writes as a dramatist[2]. It is true that he, more than many writers, impressed his own personality on what he wrote, but it is absurd to think that he habitually put his own beliefs in the mouths of his characters. If he had so flown in the face of the most important principle of any kind of writing in which characters act and speak, he would not now be mentioned as the first among English epic poets. Milton was familiar with the great epics and dramas of ancient and modern times. The theory of poetry and drama had especially engaged his attention, particularly that part concerned with what he knew as 'decorum,' which, among other requirements, demands that the speeches assigned to the agents in a dramatic work fit their characters and situations. On his power to analyze a situation, and assign the proper sentiments to various speakers, Milton's claim to dramatic ability is chiefly based. One needs but to read his works to discover this. The extraordinary effect produced by Satan, though often depending partly on misinterpretation, at least reveals that Milton was able to compose speeches suitable to his agents. In the conversations of Adam and Eve there is revealed quite as much

[1] Lines 1046–9.

[2] See James Holly Hanford, *The Dramatic Element in Paradise Lost, Studies in Philology*, 14. 178.

power to put the right word in the mouth of the right speaker as in the utterances of Satan, or in those of his followers at their great council.

Hence it is as uncritical, and as sure to give a wrong interpretation, to assume without reflexion that a speech by one of Milton's characters expresses the poet's own opinion, as it is to assume that Shakespeare's characters voice the sentiments of their creator. One can show that Milton is expressing his own beliefs in any dramatic passage only by some such process as that of comparing his deliberate statements of belief in his prose with the sentiments of imaginary speakers in his poetry. Doubtless one may assume that the deliverances of the Almighty and his angels set forth what Milton held for truth. Yet even these must be interpreted with respect to the setting in which the poet has placed them.

Since Milton's respect for decorum has often been forgotten by those who have commented on the parts of *Paradise Lost* dealing with Eve, I shall attempt to show how these parts should be interpreted with regard to fitness for place and speaker, as well as in relation to the other poems and to the writings on divorce.

Fortunately, Adam and Eve are described by the poet himself, when these two actors first appear on the stage:

> Two of far nobler shape erect and tall,
> Godlike erect, with native Honour clad
> In naked Majestie seemd Lords of all,
> And worthie seemd, for in thir looks Divine
> The image of thir glorious Maker shon,
> Truth, Wisdome, Sanctitude severe and pure,
> Severe, but in true filial freedom plac't;
> Whence true autoritie in men; though both
> Not equal, as their sex not equal seemd;
> For contemplation hee and valour formd,
> For softness shee and sweet attractive Grace,
> Hee for God only, shee for God in him:
> His fair large Front and Eye sublime declar'd
> Absolute rule; and Hyacinthin Locks
> Round from his parted forelock manly hung
> Clustring, but not beneath his shoulders broad:
> Shee as a vail down to the slender waste
> Her unadorned golden tresses wore
> Dissheveld, but in wanton ringlets wav'd
> As the Vine curles her tendrils, which impli'd
> Subjection, but requir'd with gentle sway,
> And by her yeilded, by him best receivd,
> Yeilded with coy submission, modest pride,
> And sweet reluctant amorous delay[1].

The most important of these lines are those that differentiate the two: Adam is formed for 'contemplation' and 'valour,' Eve for 'softness' and

[1] *P. L.* 4. 288-311.

'sweet attractive grace.' The word 'softness' here, as its cognate forms[1] generally do in Milton, means something good, not something bad, and signifies gentleness, tenderness, mildness, refinement, and delicacy. The poet elsewhere uses it in describing Eve as she appeared to Satan:

> Her Heav'nly forme
> Angelic, but more soft, and Feminine,
> Her graceful Innocence, her every Aire
> Of gesture or lest action overawd
> His Malice, and with rapine sweet bereav'd
> His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought[2].

And Adam first appeared to Eve as

> less faire,
> Less winning soft, less amiablie milde[3],

than her own image in the water. In *Samson Agonistes* the maiden is described as

> Seeming at first all heavenly under virgin veil,
> Soft, modest, meek, demure[4].

This differentiation between Adam and Eve is carried throughout the poem. Adam is more intellectual or rational than Eve. He explains to her about the stars, and about dreams; he reasons on his existence and on his creator; he questions the angel concerning celestial motions; and especially after the Fall, when Eve suggests suicide, he shows a 'more attentive mind,' reasoning out the uselessness of attempts to escape, and showing the fallacy of self-destruction. He is the one selected for the revelations of Michael, and draws conclusions from them. Even Satan recognizes the difference between the two, and prefers to meet, in the Temptation, the credulity of Eve, rather than the 'higher intellectual' of Adam.

It is to be expected then, that Adam, with his greater rational power, and his greater physical strength and courage, should be head of the family. As in the pamphlets on divorce, so in *Paradise Lost*, the husband is represented as holding the superior position. This is alluded to not only by the poet in his own person, but by the angels Raphael and Michael. It is not, indeed, mentioned in the institution of marriage by the Almighty, though Adam says he is well aware that Eve is inferior 'in the prime end of nature.' Eve herself uses stronger lan-

[1] One of the infrequent uses of the word to signify something discreditable occurs when Samson declares that he was 'softened with pleasure and voluptuous life' (*Samson Agonistes*, 534). Cf. *P. R.* 2. 163, and contrast *P. L.* 11. 110, where the penitent Adam and Eve are spoken of as 'softened.' Various forms of the word are applied to the bodies of the angels, to music, to conciliatory words, and to other pleasing things.

[2] *P. L.* 9. 457–62. Cf. Milton's sonnet to his deceased wife, *Methought I saw my late espoused saint*, especially lines 11 and 12.

[3] *Ibid.* 4. 478–9.

[4] *Samson Agonistes*, 1035–6.

guage about her inferiority to Adam than we find elsewhere in the poem, speaking thus:

> O thou for whom
> And from whom I was formd flesh of thy flesh,
> And without whom am to no end, my Guide
> And Head, what thou hast said is just and right.
> For wee to him indeed all praises owe,
> And daily thanks, I chiefly who enjoy
> So farr the happier Lot, enjoying thee
> Preëminent by so much odds, while thou
> Like consort to thy self canst no where find[1].

She speaks in a similar strain when Adam, accepting her reasoning, agrees to share her fate by tasting the forbidden fruit,

> Against his better knowledge, not deceav'd,
> But fondly overcome with Femal charm[2].

He has forgotten the warning of Raphael, and fallen into subjection to the power of Eve's beauty, as the Judge later points out[3]. Though these speeches of Eve's are founded on the facts as Milton represents them, they are nevertheless the strong language of the greatest affection, and quite in accord with human nature. In her love for Adam, Eve is eager to acknowledge the superiority of her devoted husband. The zeal of her attachment leads her to even more extreme language, and she declares to Adam:

> My Author and Disposer, what thou bidst
> Unargu'd I obey; so God ordains,
> God is thy Law, thou mine: to know no more
> Is womans happiest knowledge and her praise[4].

It should be unnecessary to say that this language of Eve's affection is not Milton's statement of the attitude he believed the wives of his day should take, yet some who have been blinded by the tradition of Milton's Turkish opinions, and are forgetful of the dramatic character of the poem, have gone to the length of supposing that it is. If Milton had held such an opinion he could hardly be credited with good sense, as they imply who set this up as his opinion, and then with superior virtue censure him for it. At most, Adam is to be Eve's law not unconditionally, but only as God is his law, for Milton declares often and in no uncertain terms that a virtuous wife is not under bondage to an unworthy husband[5]. The condition Eve represents might obtain in Paradise, so long as Adam fully kept the law of God; he possessed power of initiative superior to that of Eve, and while there was in them 'both one soul,' she evidently would fall in with the plans first

[1] *P. L.* 4. 440–8. [2] *Ibid.* 9. 998–9. [3] *Ibid.* 10. 153.
[4] *Ibid.* 4. 635–8. [5] See *e.g.*, Part 1, p. 12, *supra*.

put into words by Adam. But Milton frequently remarks that the relations of Paradise could hardly exist on the earth in its present imperfect state[1]. It surely would, however, have been for Eve's advantage if she had taken Adam for her law and remained by his side on the unhappy morning of the Fall.

With Eve's expressions of devotion may be compared the language of Adam's affection, also with its basis of truth. He addresses her as follows:

> Sole partner and sole part of all these joyes,
> Dearer thy self then all[2].
>
> Best Image of my self and dearer half[3].
>
> O fairest of Creation, last and best
> Of all Gods Works, Creature in whom excell'd
> Whatever can to sight or thought be formd,
> Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet[4]!

In his conversation with Raphael he speaks with rapture of Eve as she appeared in his dream of her creation:

> Under his forming hands a Creature grew,
> Manlike, but different sex, so lovly faire,
> That what seemd fair in all the World, seemd now
> Mean, or in her summd up, in her containd
> And in her looks, which from that time infus'd
> Sweetness into my heart, unfelt before,
> And into all things from her Aire inspir'd
> The spirit of love and amorous delight[5].

And he sums up his feeling about her as follows:

> Here
> Farr otherwise, transported I behold,
> Transported touch; here passion first I felt,
> Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
> Superiour and unmov'd, here onely weake
> Against the charm of Beauties powerful glance
> Or Nature faild in mee, and left some part
> Not proof enough such Object to sustain,
> Or from my side subducting, took perhaps
> More then enough; at least on her bestow'd
> Too much of Ornament, in outward shew
> Elaborate, of inward less exact.
> For well I understand in the prime end
> Of Nature her th' inferiour, in the mind
> And inward Faculties, which most excell,
> In outward also her resembling less
> His Image who made both, and less expressing
> The character of that Dominion giv'n
> O're other Creatures; yet when I approach
> Her loveliness, so absolute she seems
> And in her self compleat, so well to know
> Her own, that what she wills to do or say,

[1] *E.g.*, *Divorce*, 2. 11, 15, 17, pp. 91, 101, 106.
[2] *P. L.* 4. 411–12.
[3] *Ibid.* 5. 95.
[4] *Ibid.* 9. 896–9.
[5] *Ibid.* 8. 470–7.

Seems wisest, vertuousest, discreetest, best;
All higher knowledge in her presence falls
Degraded, Wisdom in discourse with her
Looses discount'nanc't, and like folly shewes;
Authoritie and Reason on her waite,
As one intended first, not after made
Occasionally; and to consummate all,
Greatness of mind and nobleness thir seat
Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
About her, as a guard Angelic plac't[1].

The extravagance of Adam draws rebuke from the angel, and the admiring husband modifies his praise, replying 'half-abasht' that he is still more delighted with the words and actions of Eve, which declared 'unfeigned union of mind,' or that there was in them both one soul.

As might be supposed from these words, Adam, though the superior, treats Eve with the utmost gentleness. When, on his first appearance, Eve flees from him, it is with 'gentle hand' that he seizes hers, and we read that when he awakened Eve, he

with voice
Milde, as when *Zephyrus* on *Flora* breathes,
Her hand soft touching, whisperd[2].

Eve's union with Adam rests on 'consent,' as in his works on divorce Milton declared that marriage should do. In fact, the 'absolute rule' apparent in Adam's 'fair large front and eye sublime' is, so far as Eve is concerned, wholly a matter of influence, depends on her free will, and endures only while her mind agrees with that of Adam. When on the fatal morning of the temptation she desires to labour apart from him, he endeavours to dissuade her, and, when she feels injured by his reluctance, speaks 'healing words,' and concludes, when Eve persists:

Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more[3].

And even when Eve blames Adam, after the Fall, because he was 'too facile,' and did not, as the head, command her 'absolutely not to go,' he answers, though 'incenst':

And am I now upbraided, as the cause
Of thy transgressing? not enough severe,
It seems, in thy restraint: what could I more?
I warn'd thee, I admonish'd thee, foretold
The danger, and the lurking Enemie
That lay in wait; beyond this had bin force,
And force upon free Will hath here no place[4].

He does, however, admit that he has been overconfident of Eve's powers, adding that his indulgence to her has become his crime in her

[1] *P. L.* 8. 528–59.
[2] *Ibid.* 5. 15–17. Cf. also the last few lines of the quotation on p. 245.
[3] *Ibid.* 9. 372. [4] *Ibid.* 9. 1168–74.

eyes. Overtrusting Eve, he had allowed her to control the fate of both. Eve, on the other hand, by persisting in her course against the persuasions of Adam, had broken the harmony of the ideal marriage. It would equally have been broken, however, if Adam had by force kept Eve at his side against her will. His only proper procedure is to allow Eve to go. The fault for which he should upbraid himself is that he ate the apple at her solicitation. He could have refused[1] to let her will determine his conduct, but this, as the story makes necessary, the poet represents him as too weak to do.

But though Eve is inferior to Adam in rational power, she is no more wholly lacking in it than Adam is in the gifts in which she is eminent. At the conclusion of a highly poetical speech, she raises the question of the purpose of the stars[2]. After her troublesome dream[3], Adam cheers her by a scientific explanation, indicating that she was able to understand the science of the poet's day. She is able to join with Adam, apparently with equality, in their morning hymns of praise. When Raphael relates the narrative of the war in heaven, she with Adam listens attentively. Then follows the narrative of the seven days of creation. This concluded, Eve perceives Adam 'entring on studious thoughts abstruse,' and rising, goes forth among her flowers. Yet the poet comments as follows:

> Yet went she not, as not with such discourse
> Delighted, or not capable her eare
> Of what was high[4].

Adam, immediately after his creation, complains of loneliness, saying to the Creator:

> Of fellowship I speak
> Such as I seek, fit to participate
> All rational delight[5].

Eve is created 'exactly' to Adam's 'heart's desire,' and Raphael, when Adam represents himself as too much moved by Eve's physical beauty, gives the exhortation:

> What higher in her societie thou findst
> Attractive, human, rational, love still[6].

One of the signs of Adam's divinely inspired wisdom in the eyes of Milton and his predecessors, was Adam's ability to name the animals[7],

[1] This possibility was allowed by the commentators, for example, Pererius, *Commentariorum et Disputationum in Genesim Tomi Quatuor*, lib. 6, cap. 3, vers. 6, questio 2 (Venice, 1607).

[2] *P. L.* 4. 657. [3] *Ibid.* 5. 30–128. [4] *Ibid.* 8. 48–50.

[5] *Ibid.* 8. 389–91. [6] *Ibid.* 8. 586–7.

[7] *Ibid.* 8. 352–4, 438; *De Doctrina Christiana*, 1. 7, p. 139 (here Milton gives Adam 'permagna sapientia'); *Tetrachordon*, Genesis 2. 23, p. 161. In interpreting what Milton says of Adam and Eve, one should always remember that the poet and his age assumed them to have been created mature in wisdom.

as is related in Genesis 2. 20. As an appropriate balance to this, Milton assigns to Eve an equally worthy function not suggested in Scripture, for she gives names to the flowers[1].

That Eve should perform this duty somewhat like that of Adam and complementary to it, is quite in accord with all Milton writes on the relations of Adam and Eve, who show 'most resembling unlikeness, and most unlike resemblance[2].' Neither Adam nor Eve is a complete being, but each needs what the other can supply. Eve speaks truly enough in this sense, when she declares that without Adam she is to no end, for both sexes are necessary to 'animate the world,' and Adam is right when he affirms:

> Not then mistrust, but tender love enjoynes,
> That I should mind thee oft, and mind thou me[3].

And also he properly declares:

> I from the influence of thy looks receave
> Access in every Vertue, in thy sight
> More wise, more watchful, stronger, if need were
> Of outward strength; while shame, thou looking on,
> Shame to be overcome or over-reacht
> Would utmost vigor raise, and rais'd unite[4].

Their relation, expressed when Adam calls Eve 'best image of myself and dearer half[5],' is especially emphasized in the conversation between Adam and the Almighty when Eve was created. Adam desires a companion who can, among other things, by conversation 'help or solace his defects.' The Creator answers:

> What next I bring shall please thee, be assur'd,
> Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self,
> Thy wish, exactly to thy hearts desire[6].

Looking upon the newly created Eve, Adam exclaims that the Creator has fulfilled his words, and that man and wife shall be 'one soul.' However, this does not abolish the superiority of Adam. After the Fall the Judge himself points out to the first man his proper place, condemning him for giving up his place of superiority and subjecting himself to Eve[7]. Though the gifts of Eve, which are best 'under government,' are obviously not those of original thought and powerful action, such as are assigned to Adam, but those of refinement and influence, she does, none the less, actually labour at Adam's side in the work of the garden, in the lighter parts of the task. This toil in company with Adam is made

[1] *P. L.* 11. 277. So far as I have ascertained, this is original with Milton.
[2] *Tetrachordon*, Genesis 2. 18, p. 155.
[3] *P. L.* 9. 357–8. [4] *Ibid.* 9. 309–14. [5] *Ibid.* 5. 95.
[6] *Ibid.* 8. 449–51. [7] *Ibid.* 10. 145–56.

more prominent than what would more usually be thought of as womanly concerns. Yet Eve is especially occupied with the provision of food, and ministers at the table for Adam and the angel. In Paradise the task of providing food is a light one, and, though properly Eve's, it is not, in Milton's eyes, the most important of her 'household' functions. For to Milton the words 'household' and 'domestic' relate not to material things alone, but also to the highest good of the family as a unit. When Eve proposes to Adam that they labour separately, for the sake of accomplishing more in their gardening, he praises her thus:

> Well hast thou motion'd, wel thy thoughts imployd
> How we might best fulfill the work which here
> God hath assign'd us, nor of me shalt pass
> Unprais'd: for nothing lovelier can be found
> In woman, then to studie household good,
> And good workes in her Husband to promote[1].

'To study household good' is not merely to give attention to the material needs of the family, but is also to advise the husband in his work for the common good. Adam praises Eve as the chorus in *Samson Agonistes* praise the virtuous wife, who combines with her husband in 'domestic good' and makes happy the house to which she belongs as one of the chief members[2]. But evidently the good of the house or family is the concern of the husband as much as of the wife. Accordingly, after relating how, on the morning of the temptation, Adam advises Eve to remain by his side, where each might support the other, the poet comments:

> So spake domestick *Adam* in his care
> And Matrimonial Love[3].

In contrast to the wife of solid virtue who is able to assist in the establishment of the house for herself, her husband, and her children[4], Milton shows the opposite type in the Daughters of Men, to whom the Sons of God yielded up all their virtue. He describes them as follows:

> Empty of all good wherein consists
> Womans domestic honour and chief praise;
> Bred onely and completed to the taste
> Of lustful appetence, to sing, to dance,
> To dress, and troule the Tongue, and roule the Eye[5].

From these 'ill-mated marriages,' 'where good with bad were matched,' spring 'prodigious births,' children who are given to oppression, violence, and war. Nor is the peace of the family destroyed only when grave men allow themselves to be caught 'in the amorous net' of unworthy

[1] *P. L.* 9. 229–34. [2] See p. 244, *supra*. [3] *P. L.* 9. 318–19.
[4] Cf. Mary's advice to her son, *P. R.* 1. 229–33. [5] *P. L.* 11. 612–16.

women and to them ignobly yield up all their virtue. To Adam, despondent after the Fall, it seems that the chances of life are against 'household peace':

> Either
> He never shall find out fit Mate, but such
> As some misfortune brings him, or mistake,
> Or whom he wishes most shall seldom gain
> Through her perverseness, but shall see her gaind
> By a farr worse, or if she love, withheld
> By Parents, or his happiest choice too late
> Shall meet, alreadie linkt and Wedlock-bound
> To a fell Adversarie, his hate or shame:
> Which infinite calamitie shall cause
> To Humane life, and household peace confound[1].

But if 'ill-mated' marriages are of such power for evil, true marriages are of even greater power for good, as the very institution of marriage by the Creator indicates. A true married love receives the poet's highest praise:

> Haile wedded Love, mysterious Law, true sourse
> Of human ofspring, sole proprietie,
> In Paradise of all things common else.
> By thee adulterous lust was driv'n from men
> Among the bestial herds to raunge, by thee
> Founded in Reason, Loyal, Just, and Pure,
> Relations dear, and all the Charities
> Of Father, Son, and Brother first were known.
> Farr be it, that I should write thee sin or blame,
> Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
> Perpetual Fountain of Domestic sweets,
> Whose Bed is undefil'd and chast pronounc't,
> Present, or past, as Saints and Patriarchs us'd.
> Here Love his golden shafts imploies, here lights
> His constant Lamp, and waves his purple wings,
> Reigns here and revels[2].

Such a marriage is the source of all domestic blessings, good works in the husband, and children who will establish the house. Moreover, this wedded love is that which Raphael praises in something of the strain of Dante:

> Love refines
> The thoughts, and heart enlarges, hath his seat
> In Reason, and is judicious, is the scale
> By which to heav'nly Love thou maist ascend[3].

The perfect state of Adam and Eve in the garden, dwelling in full concord and mutual amity, could, as Milton well knew, exist 'not now in perfection, as at first; yet still in proportion as things now are[4].' In

[1] *P. L.* 10. 898–908. Apparently one is to understand line 906 as meaning that a man, when already linked to a wife who proves herself an adversary, then meets a woman who would be his happiest choice. In *Tetrachordon* (Matt. 19. 9, p. 236), Milton refers to a bad wife as 'an intolerable adversary.'

[2] *P. L.* 4. 750–65. [3] *Ibid.* 8. 589–92. [4] *Divorce* 2. 9, p. 84.

Paradise Lost he represents not merely the calm of mutual love, but also the storm threatening wholly to wreck the affection of Adam and Eve. In the course of it Adam bitterly attacks Eve, and her sex.

Chiefly, I believe, as a result of the tradition referred to above, fostered by those who admired Milton's poetry but detested his life of devotion to true liberty, these speeches have often been interpreted as the opinion of the poet himself, until at the present time this view is generally accepted, even by Americans brought up to glorify the regicides—defended by Milton—who found refuge in our forests. Whatever a reader's conclusions, it is plain that he cannot properly interpret *Paradise Lost* unless he delivers himself from the tradition, and gives the speeches of Adam and Eve their proper dramatic value.

After Adam and Eve have eaten of the fallacious forbidden fruit and its force to produce false happiness has exhaled, Adam and Eve realize that their innocence is gone. They long sit silent, until at last Adam utters 'words constrained,' bewailing their state and proposing that they procure coverings of leaves. But to cover the body is not to put the mind at ease:

> They sate them down to weep, not onely Teares
> Raind at thir Eyes, but high Winds worse within
> Began to rise, high Passions, Anger, Hate,
> Mistrust, Suspicion, Discord, and shook sore
> Thir inward State of Mind, calme Region once
> And full of Peace, now tost and turbulent:
> For Understanding rul'd not, and the Will
> Heard not her lore, both in subjection now
> To sensual Appetite, who from beneathe
> Usurping over sovran Reason claimd
> Superior sway[1].

It is no wonder that when Adam now addresses Eve it is with 'estranged' look and 'altered style.' He blames her for her failure to hearken to his words and remain with him in the morning, for if she had complied they would have remained happy. Eve, on her part, 'soon moved with touch of blame,' declares that Adam himself might have fared no better than she did, and condemns him for lack of firmness in permitting her to leave his side. Adam, 'then first incensed,' replies with greater heat, asking whether this accusation is the recompense of the love for which he sacrificed his future to share her fate. He concludes his bitter speech with the words:

> Thus it shall befall
> Him who to worth in Women overtrusting
> Lets her Will rule; restraint she will not brook,
> And left to her self, if evil thence ensue,
> Shee first his weak indulgence will accuse[2].

[1] *P. L.* 9. 1121–31. [2] *Ibid.* 9. 1182–6.

But we have seen that Adam could not properly use 'restraint.' Only when he ate the fruit was his conduct ruled by Eve's will, and then he did not overtrust her 'worth,' for he was 'not deceived, but fondly overcome with female charm.' Yet he speaks as though the evil were wholly Eve's, and not largely his own. His reflexions are natural for one in his state, and true to that well-known tendency of human nature that leads men, when unwilling to bear the responsibility for their own misdeeds, to lay the blame on others, and especially on women. Milton gives his own comment on this dramatically suitable aphorism of the incensed Adam, and on the preceding parts of the dialogue, as follows:

> Thus they in mutual accusation spent
> The fruitless hours, but neither self-condemning,
> And of thir vain contest appeer'd no end[1].

This is not exactly approval on the part of the poet of Adam's attempt to clear himself by blaming Eve.

Man's transgression becomes known in heaven, and the Judge appears, and summons Adam to come forth.

> He came, and with him *Eve*, more loth, though first
> To offend, discount'nanc't both, and discompos'd;
> Love was not in thir looks, either to God
> Or to each other, but apparent guilt,
> And shame, and perturbation, and despaire,
> Anger, and obstinacie, and hate, and guile[2].

With such passions in his heart, Adam, when the Judge enquires whether he has eaten of the forbidden fruit, answers at some length. He explains that he is in a dilemma whether to undergo the entire punishment himself, or to accuse his 'other self, the partner of his life.' He ought, he feels, to conceal her fault, but 'necessity' compels him to reveal it. This necessity he explains to be that of warding from his single head the whole penalty. He then declares that the woman given him as the perfect gift of the Creator, and from whom he could suspect no ill, had given him of the fruit of the tree. Adam does not appear to advantage in this speech. His declared unwillingness to speak evil of Eve seems not wholly sincere, as is often true of ostensible unwillingness to speak evil. And, as for his plea of necessity, when that necessity is merely regard for his own comfort, it is of no value. It is indeed the devil's own plea, with which he excused his attack on the

[1] *P. L.* 9. 1187–9.
[2] *Ibid.* 10. 109–114.

innocent Adam and Eve[1]. And Adam's concluding words throw the blame for his sin not merely on Eve, but on the Creator himself.

In answer to this attempt to justify himself, Adam receives a severe rebuke:

> Was shee thy God, that her thou didst obey
> Before his voice, or was shee made thy guide,
> Superior, or but equal, that to her
> Thou did'st resigne thy Manhood, and the Place
> Wherein God set thee above her made of thee,
> And for thee, whose perfection farr excell'd
> Hers in all real dignitie[2].

The Judge adds that Adam, had he known himself aright, would not have fallen into subjection to Eve. Then, turning to Eve, he questions her. Her reply consists of a single line, with three lines of introduction by the poet:

> To whom sad *Eve* with shame nigh overwhelm'd,
> Confessing soon, yet not before her Judge
> Bold or loquacious, thus abasht repli'd.
> The Serpent me beguil'd and I did eate[3].

Milton's intention is to contrast with the untimely loquacity of Adam's self-justification the brief humility of Eve. This contrast is wholly in Eve's favour, and shows the superiority of her 'softness' over the sad wreck of Adam's 'valour.' It must be confessed that in spite of the evident parallelism of the two replies, some commentators, obsessed with the idea that Milton has an animus against Eve, and—in forgetfulness of Samson's 'shameful garrulity'—unable, in a fashion almost comic, to imagine that Milton could represent a male as loquacious, have gravely supposed Milton's comment to signify that Eve is not loquacious here, as she had been during her conversation with Adam in the morning. There is sufficient truth in this contrast of the two actions remote from each other to accentuate the contrast of the similar and juxtaposed replies.

The judgment was soon followed by modifications for the worse in the condition of the Garden and of the entire Earth. Adam, 'in a

[1] Planning their ruin Satan says:

> And should I at your harmless innocence
> Melt, as I doe, yet public reason just,
> Honour and Empire with revenge enlarg'd,
> By conquering this new World, compels me now
> To do what else though damnd I should abhorre.

Milton comments:

> So spake the Fiend, and with necessitie,
> The Tyrants plea, excus'd his devilish deeds. (*P. L.* 4. 388–94.)

The events of the past five years have terribly proved the truth of Milton's analysis of tyrannical immorality.

[2] *P. L.* 10. 145–51.

[3] *Ibid.* 10. 159–62.

troubled sea of passion tost,' bewailed at length his unhappy state, with a single reference to Eve as 'that bad woman.' 'Sad Eve' beheld him in his affliction, and approaching assayed 'soft words to his fierce passion,' but Adam repelled her with 'stern regard,' and launched into the most bitter of his invectives against her—in part taken, it seems, from Hippolytus, the misogynist of Euripides[1], and in utter contrast with Adam's earlier praises of Eve:

> Out of my sight, thou Serpent, that name best
> Befits thee with him leagu'd, thy self as false
> And hateful;...
> But for thee
> I had persisted happie, had not thy pride
> And wandring vanitie, when lest was safe,
> Rejected my forewarning, and disdain'd
> Not to be trusted, longing to be seen
> Though by the Devil himself,...
> O why did God,
> Creator wise, that peopl'd highest Heav'n
> With Spirits Masculine, create at last
> This noveltie on Earth, this fair defect
> Of Nature, and not fill the World at once
> With Men as Angels without Feminine,
> Or find some other way to generate
> Mankind? this mischief had not then befall'n,
> And more that shall befall, innumerable
> Disturbances on Earth through Femal snares,
> And straight conjunction with this Sex[2].

Adam is still speaking in selfish passion, laying all the blame on Eve, and attacking the Creator himself, by questioning his reasons for the creation of woman, when, as Adam well knew, she had been formed at his own request, in the Creator's wisdom, as the best remedy for the loneliness of his first state. However, even after this outbreak Adam becomes reconciled with his wife, though some traces of his tendency to blame her rather than himself subsist. When the angel Michael shows him the evil results of the marriages of the Sons of God with the wicked Daughters of Men, who were without the best qualities of women, Adam comments:

> But still I see the tenor of Mans woe
> Holds on the same, from Woman to begin[3].

Michael is quite out of sympathy with this trite and comforting doctrine, and replies briefly but crushingly:

> From Mans effeminate slackness it begins,
> Said th' Angel, who should better hold his place
> By wisdome, and superiour gifts receavd[4].

[1] *Hippolytus*, 616–68. See also, for example, Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, 27. 119–21.
[2] *P. L.* 10. 867–98. [3] *Ibid.* 11. 628–9. [4] *Ibid.* 11. 630–2.

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It is obvious which, if either, of these two speeches should be taken to represent the opinion of Milton. The second may be interpreted as meaning that man's woe comes not from woman, but from his weakness with respect to woman[1].

At any rate, Adam's own personal fall is clearly the result of his weakness before the attractions of Eve. If attacked directly by Satan, he probably would have made a successful resistance; Satan himself feared that he would, saying:

> Behold alone
> The Woman, opportune to all attempts,
> Her Husband, for I view far round, not nigh,
> Whose higher intellectual more I shun,
> And strength, of courage hautie, and of limb
> Heroic built[2].

Eve, on the other hand, was vulnerable to Satan's direct attack, and Adam's happiness could be destroyed through her. Adam was well aware of his weakness; telling the angel of his love for Eve, he represents himself as 'weak Against the charm of beauty's powerful glance[3],' and continues in such a strain that Raphael cautions him not to let his passion for Eve's 'outside' overcome his wisdom. And as Raphael departs he repeats his pertinent warning:

> Be strong, live happie, and love, but first of all
> Him whom to love is to obey, and keep
> His great command; take heed least Passion sway
> Thy Judgement to do aught, which else free Will
> Would not admit; thine and of all thy Sons
> The weal or woe in thee is plac't; beware[4].

But the story exemplifies the small value of forewarning to those who cannot translate it into their own experience, for Adam fell by the very weakness of which he was conscious, and against which the angel had cautioned him. He ate the fruit not because he was deceived, but because he could not resist the persuasions of Eve. He may be regarded as even more culpable than Eve, for she was deceived. Eve was probably wrong in declaring that if Adam had been attempted by Satan he would have fallen, but she would have been right had she declared that her own weaknesses of credulity and vanity were not less serious than the 'effeminate slackness' of Adam. His vices were different from hers in kind, but quite as reprehensible. He was as much exposed to the indirect attack of Satan as she was to the direct attack, and was

[1] It reminds us of some of the speeches of Samson, who says that 'foul effeminacy' held him as the slave of Dalila (line 410), and that he was 'effeminately vanquished' (line 562). In *Eikonoclastes* the word 'effeminate' is used in the same way. See p. 11, *supra*.

[2] *P. L.* 9. 480–5.

[3] *Ibid.* 8. 533. For the whole passage see pp. 248, 249, *supra*.

[4] *Ibid.* 8. 633–8.

quite as responsible for the Fall as she[1]. On this subject Milton writes in *De Doctrina Christiana*:

> If any one had considered a little more attentively he would have pronounced this sin most heinous, and not without cause would have said that it was a transgression of the whole law. For in it what sin did man not perpetrate? deserving condemnation for trust in Satan and equally for lack of trust in God, unfaithful, ingrateful, disobedient, gluttonous, Adam uxorious, Eve too inconsiderate of her husband, and each one too inconsiderate of his children, the whole human race, each one a murderer of his children, a thief, and a plunderer of what was not his own, a sacrilegious person, a liar, a crafty and unworthy seeker for divinity, proud and arrogant[2].

It is plain that the share of Eve in the common sin of the two is quite in harmony with the constitution of her character. It is well to see also what of good could result from her peculiar endowments. It has been said that when, after the Judgment, she approached her husband with 'soft words,' he turned upon her in 'fierce passion' with a scathing attack on her and her sex. But in spite of Adam's selfish fury, Eve did not abandon him to the solitude he thought he desired. Created for 'softness' and 'sweet attractive grace,' she was 'not so repulst,' but 'at his feet fell humble,' and 'besaught his peace.' In her supplication Eve declares her love, and insists that her offence was unintentional. She recognizes her dependence on Adam, and insists on the necessity of union between them. Above all, she ceases to blame Adam, and invokes the whole penalty on her own head:

> I...to the place of judgement will return,
> There with my cries importune Heaven, that all
> The sentence from thy head remov'd may light
> On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe,
> Mee mee onely just object of his ire[3].

In the quarrels of Adam and Eve such self-condemnation as this has been far from their thoughts, and hence, as Milton remarks at the end of the Ninth Book, 'of their vain contest appeared no end.' But when Eve generously takes all the blame on herself, she ends the contest. Adam would never have moved to do it, but her unselfishness and humility disarm him, 'his anger all he lost,' and with peaceful words he raised the kneeling Eve. Her self-condemnation excited in him a like feeling, and he now blamed himself for exposing his companion, with her 'frailty and infirmer sex,' to danger—the very fault of which Eve had formerly accused him, to his great displeasure. With a changed spirit he said:

> But rise, let us no more contend, nor blame
> Each other, blam'd enough elsewhere, but strive
> In offices of Love, how we may light'n
> Each others burden in our share of woe[4].

[1] Theologians have supposed that if Adam had not eaten of the fruit after Eve, their common children would have been free from the curse. See Pererius, *loc. cit.*

[2] Book 1, Chap. 11, pp. 180–1. [3] *P. L.* 10. 931–6. [4] *Ibid.* 10. 958–61.

When harmony was restored, Eve, with the humility proper in view of her recent fault, again offered her advice for their common good, suggesting suicide, but Adam, with 'more attentive mind,' praised the courage of his consort, yet showed the difficulties of the course she advised, brought up the promise that her seed should bruise the serpent's head, and counselled that they should humbly and penitently acknowledge their sins before God. Sincerely carrying out this plan, they secured forgiveness and peace. Adam again reminded Eve of the promise through her seed, and addressed her as the one through whom 'man is to live.' Eve disclaimed any claim to such distinction, which declared the infinite pardon of the Judge. Hereafter the relations of Adam and Eve showed only mutual love and confidence. We last read of them:

> They hand in hand with wandring steps and slow,
> Through *Eden* took their solitarie way[1].

Eve's part in bringing about the reconciliation, which without her self-condemnation would have been impossible, makes it especially appropriate that she should be likened to 'blest Mary, second Eve.' This comparison, though familiar, is not Scriptural, and hence Milton was under no necessity of using it, and using it often. Its employment shows his desire to give Eve a high and honourable position. He emphasizes the restoration of mankind through the seed of Eve; in fact Christ is referred to as Adam's seed but once, and that by Satan[2]. When the fall of man is predicted, the Father announces that the Son will be made flesh 'of virgin seed.' At the time of the Judgment, the formula follows the Bible closely, that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head, and this, though but dimly understood, Adam brought as a comfort to Eve, as has just been remarked. When Michael descends to expel the guilty pair from the Garden, the Almighty commands him, that, in revealing to Adam the future, he should 'intermix' God's 'covenant in the woman's seed renewed[3].' When finally Michael explains to Adam the birth of Christ, the hearer exclaims:

> Now clear I understand
> What oft my steddiest thoughts have searcht in vain,
> Why our great expectation should be call'd
> The seed of Woman: Virgin Mother, Haile,
> High in the love of Heav'n[4].

At the conclusion of his narrative the angel again speaks of the Saviour as the 'woman's seed.' Having concluded his exhortation, he sends Adam to waken Eve, giving him the command:

[1] *P. L.* 12. 648–9.
[2] *Ibid.* 10. 499.
[3] *Ibid.* 11. 115–6.
[4] *Ibid.* 12. 376–80.

Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard,
Chiefly what may concern her Faith to know,
The great deliverance by her Seed to come
(For by the Womans Seed) on all Mankind[1].

And when Eve is joined by Adam, she says, in the last speech in the poem:

This further consolation yet secure
I carry hence; though all by mee is lost,
Such favour I unworthie am voutsaft,
By mee the Promis'd Seed shall all restore[2].

It is striking that this is put in the mouth of Eve, for the deliverance through Christ is one of the most important ideas of the poem, one to which Milton looked forward at the beginning when he wrote:

Till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful Seat[3].

The poet desired, it would seem, to give as much importance as possible to Eve's share in the deliverance which was to undo her sin, and restore the results of it, and hence carried his insistence on the thought of the woman's seed far beyond what is demanded by the Scriptures, which mention it only once.

It is plain that in *Paradise Lost* Milton's conception of Eve in her relations to Adam is in harmony with his earlier writings. The opinions of the poet are not to be found in the angry words of the fallen Adam, but on the contrary Eve is given an honourable place. Though subordinate to her husband, she is under no despotic sway. If she is inferior in rational power, in other gifts, equally valuable, she is superior. If to her is attached the guilt of the first transgression, with her is especially connected the honour of man's recovery. Much of Milton's ideal of marriage appears in their relations; except for the breach after the Fall—soon happily healed—they are throughout united 'in love and mutual honor,' each one supplying the defects of the other, so that together they form a whole humanly perfect.

It is obvious that, in the various works that have been dealt with, Milton does not give in full his opinions on the place of women in the world. In the writings on divorce he sticks closely to his subject, giving only so much, even on marriage, as he believed necessary to make plain his arguments, and remarking that he is concerned with the 'properties and excellencies' and duties of women only so far as they are related to marriage and divorce[4]. But this restriction of his subject is an acknow-

[1] *P. L.* 12. 598–601. [2] *Ibid.* 12. 620–3. [3] *Ibid.* 1. 4–5.
[4] For the passage, see p. 14, *supra*.

ledgement that women may have other than matrimonial duties, if only the almsgiving for which he praises his mother[1] and Mrs Catherine Thomson. Yet on the education of women he says very little, though he does remark in passing that 'of any age or sex most unfitly may a virgin be left to an uncertain and arbitrary education,' and implies that in addition to being 'well instructed,' apparently in more particularly intellectual things, she should be under 'a more strait tuition,' seemingly in such matters as those of health and morals[2].

In the poetical works there is little that is directly applicable to the education of women. Eve, however, as has been said, is evidently equal to the 'man's work' of Paradise, and assists her husband in the labours of the garden[3]. Moreover, she, like Adam, seems directly to have been instructed by her Maker, at least in 'nuptial sanctity and marriage rites,' and is capable of understanding all the mysteries the angel Raphael has to reveal. And in his lesser poems Milton praises the Countess of Derby[4], and the lady of the Ninth Sonnet, as 'wise,' though this need not imply that they were learned.

But in view of Milton's theory of the relations of husband and wife, his failure to speak on the education of women is of little importance, and even his belief in the superior rights of the husband loses its terror, as we have seen, in his insistence that the wife who cannot willingly unite with her husband—for her fault or his—is not truly a wife. The mental companionship of husband and wife is for the poet the cornerstone of marriage. Such a belief has many implications, and is of such power that it overshadows and kills opinions, not harmonious with it, that may be held at the same time.

Milton's ideal wife is not a servant or a drudge, though she may devote much attention to the affairs of the household, but she is able to give her children a suitable rearing. She is able not only to incite children to piety, but to support and strengthen her husband in religion. Evidently this cannot be done, and above all in the independent, personal sort of religion approved by Milton, by one who has not a considerable amount of religious knowledge, at least as much as would come from an understanding of the Bible suitable for practical guidance.

Further, the wife who is to promote good works in her husband, and to furnish 'help and society in religious, civil, and domestic conversa-

[1] *Defensio Secunda*, p. 286.

[2] *Reason of Church Government*, 1. 1, Pickering ed. vol. 3, p. 101.

[3] In Genesis Jehovah puts the man in the garden, 'to dress it and to keep it,' before Eve is created; hence Milton was not obliged by Scripture to represent Eve as assisting Adam.

[4] *Arcades*, 19.

tion[1],' cannot be ignorant or without appreciation of the business and public work in which he engages, at least in their general, and, especially, their moral aspects. Milton evidently desired that a husband should feel in his wife the confidence which, according to Lord Morley[2], Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman felt in his wife, whose advice he trusted in the most important decisions of his public life. He could not have done so had she not possessed such 'greatness of mind' as Adam attributed to Eve, and, in addition, considerable knowledge of public affairs.

The ability to furnish delightful companionship surely implies training. We find an example of this in the hetairai of Athens in the age of Pericles. These women who were to win by their own powers the consideration of the best men of Athens—as Aspasia did that of Pericles—were educated, while the intellectual cultivation of the lawful wives of the Athenians was neglected, and they were not considered suitable companions for their husbands. It is self-evident that a wife according to Milton's ideas must have at least some perception of her husband's intellectual interests. In this connexion it may be observed that the objector to divorce against whom Milton wrote *Colasterion* charged the reformer with requiring that women should be proficient in the learned tongues—Latin, Greek, and Hebrew[3]. This opponent of Milton's was not a person of importance, yet his inference about the education which Milton would have desired in a wife is apparently correct. When women are to be the companions of men, their education inevitably follows, for companionship cannot exist between the educated and the uneducated. When once it has been recognized that a woman, as 'being herself the redeemed of Christ,' is not bound to slavery, and that she should be prepared to act as a fit help to an educated and religious man—a man with the training prescribed in Milton's tractate *Of Education*—it has been decided that the day of ignorance for women is over.

And when once education has been granted, many things follow—perhaps such as a multiplication of cases of the sort noted by Milton as exceptional[4], when the wife, being the wiser, would by nature be the proper head of the family. As to other possible results, we need but look around us to see how the general education of women has affected both private and public life.

In fact, Milton's principle of the mental companionship of husband

[1] *Tetrachordon*, Gen. 2. 24, p. 169. Cf. p. 13, *supra*.
[2] *Recollections*, 2. 142 (New York, 1917). He compares Tocqueville's account of his wife.
[3] Masson, *Life of Milton*, 3. 317.
[4] Possibly influenced by Plato, *Republic*, 5. 455.

and wife has in it the spirit of life, and is capable of growth from the seed into the tree. The poet is one of those on whom ultimately depend for their ideas all who would give to women opportunities and advantages. Even such as carry to excess their desire to 'emancipate' women are indebted to Milton, as one of the wise who declared for a rational liberation of the worthy from servitude. The zealots of our day may not recognize this, and may feel that Milton, with his insistence that the man is the head of the woman, is ranged among their ancient enemies, but the loss is only theirs, if they cannot separate the accidental from the essential. For Milton is in the line of St Paul as one of the world's teachers of a larger life for women, and indeed of liberty for all mankind.

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GORMONT ET ISEMBART.

Critical Notes on M. Bayot's Edition[1].

This edition of an important epic fragment is very useful for academic purposes as it contains an exact copy of the manuscript as well as a critical text. It is desirable, therefore, that such an edition, destined to serve as a model for beginners, and sure of a wide circulation, should be specially free from faults, and should conform rigorously to the broad principles which guide an editor in the delicate task of textual criticism.

The blemishes in M. Bayot's edition are not numerous and are chiefly confined to the vocabulary, but there are some in the text itself, not very serious perhaps, but enough to mar a useful and exemplary piece of work. We will mention these first.

M. Bayot has yielded more than once to the most irresistible of temptations which beset an editor, that of unnecessary correction. If we admit the principle that when correcting a faulty manuscript only such verbal changes should be made as are indispensable, we see no compelling reason for the following alterations:

	MS.	Ed.
l. 148	*celui* (as nom.).	*Icil.*

The editor perforce admits *emperere* (l. 493), *suer* (l. 329), *icil* (l. 649) as oblique cases, while *celui* as nom. is as old as the *Roland*. For like reasons *eus* (ll. 497, 598) may quite well be retained as it is unlikely that a thirteenth century scribe would replace the more usual *il* by *eus*.

	MS.	Ed.
l. 317	*se siet.*	*s'asiet.*

The fact that the MS. gives *s'asiet* in l. 337 does not justify this change. One form is as correct as the other and it is, if anything, more likely that *se siet* has been ousted by *s'asiet* than the reverse.

	MS.	Ed.
l. 622	*Li uns li fiert en son escu.*	*...le fiert....*

Here again the editor has tampered unnecessarily. He refers to lines 283, 296 where the MS. gives *le fiert*. But there is no analogy, as

[1] *Gormont et Isembart*, édité par Alphonse Bayot (*Les Classiques Français du Moyen Age*), Paris, 1914.

in neither case is there a prepositional group following the verb. *Li fiert* in l. 622 is, to say the least, as good as *le fiert*, so why change?

	MS.	Ed.
l. 642	*Qui enz en la seinte cruiz fu mis.*	*Qui en la s.....*

The poet uses *enz en* frequently as an equivalent for *en* (*enz el champon, enz en l'estur, enz el cors*). *Enz en* owes its origin to a desire to distinguish between *en* = 'dans' and *en* = 'sur,' both inherited by Old French from Latin. The next step was for *enz en* to lose gradually its special function and become a general equivalent for *en* in *both* uses[1]. It would appear advisable here to keep both the expressions *enz en* and *seinte cruiz* (without article, cf. l. 645) and correct the line accordingly. Line 189, quoted by the editor, is (in the MS.) not decisive either way.

Finally, were we to accept Miss Pope's localisation of the Fragment (*Modern Language Review*, July, 1918), we would regret the elimination of such good western forms as *vengerom* (ll. 443, 493), *auge, augiez* (ll. 210, 249 etc.).

Under the head of conjectural emendations, as distinct from mere grammatical or metrical retouches, the edition is not beyond reproach.

	MS.	Ed.
l. 358	*Jeo sui de lin a chevaliers* *De riches et de preisiez.*	*Jeo sui de lign a chevaliers* *Mult de riches et de preisiez.*

This is an astonishing correction. The editor justifies it by referring to l. 219:

E jeo sui mult de bone geste.

But is it not clear that here, as normally in texts of the period, *mult* modifies the verb or the clause as a whole, and that l. 219 can be no justification for such a solecism as *chevaliers mult de riches*?

	MS.	Ed.
l. 598	*E eus si funt ge ke lot dit.*	*E il si funt*[2] *ceo que lor dit.*

The line as reconstituted is a poor one. *Des que l'ot dit* would be better and would entail a lesser change; it is rendered likely by the fact that the text uses *gesque* for *desque* (= jusque) and that the scribe often drops an *s* before consonants (*dement, meime*, etc.).

On the other hand, certain corrections might usefully have been made, e.g. *trente e set* for *trente set* in l. 381, *hanste* for *lance*, l. 459, *bien devreit*[3] for *dévret bien* (MS. *deveret bien*) in l. 633. With regard to

[1] It would be interesting to ascertain whether texts from the west of France have a special liking for *enz en*.

[2] The editor, with some inconsistencies, keeps *u* for closed *o* throughout, which is a pity.

[3] This is suggested by the editor in his notes.

this line we are grateful to M. Bayot for having rectified the ancient error *dueret*. *Deveret* of the MS. is the conditional of *devoir*, demanded by the context, just as *averez* of line 4 is the future of *avoir*[1]. M. Bayot still clings to the idea of a pluperfect which only the false reading *dueret* would ever have evoked. For us we are glad to see this venerable 'archaism' laid as it has stood in the way of giving a satisfactory date to the text.

We now turn to the vocabulary which stands in most manifest need of correction. For convenience sake we shall follow as far as possible the alphabetical order.

Acoler 310, 'frapper au cou.' Here is the passage, which contains some other words wrongly or imperfectly translated in the vocabulary:

> Ot l'*arestuel* de sun espié
> volt *acoler* le bon destrier;
> li chevals porte halt le chief
> que il nel pot mie *baillier*.

Isembart is trying to catch the horse, and a little reflection should convince M. Bayot that the best way to catch a horse is not to hit him in the neck! *Acoler* means 'prendre ou saisir par le cou,' *baillier* means 'saisir, attraper' as in l. 305, and never, we feel sure, 'atteindre.' As for *arestuel* there is little doubt that it is the handle or staff of the 'épieu' or of the lance, though in the case of the *épieu* one is tempted at first to identify it with the checking peg or 'arrêt,' characteristic of this weapon, a sort of cross bar (sometimes removable) which prevented the blade from entering too far and made it easier to withdraw.

Amiré, -és 530, 'souverain.' Why not simply *émir*?

Avancié, -és 313, 'efforcer.' The verb has its normal meaning of 'to better,' 'to improve'; here the meaning is 'remis,' 'rétabli,' that is from his two wounds and able, as the next line says, to walk.

Baillier. See *Acoler*, above.

Corailles 412, 'intestins, entrailles.' Rather 'viscères' as the word (which is of course derived from *cor*) is used as often, at least, for the heart, lungs, etc. as for the intestines.

Desafrer 124, 566, 'déchirer la doublure du haubert.' We should be glad to know what authority there is for this translation. 'Embroidery of gold or silver braid' is the usual meaning given to *saffre* and is borne out by Ducange, s.v. *Saffium*. 'Coloured varnish' has also been suggested (see Levy, *Supplement-Wörterbuch*, s.v. *Safrar*) but never, as far as we are aware, 'lining.'

[1] *-Et* for *-eit* is frequent in Norman MSS.

Dreiturier, -iers 346, 'brave.' Strange and inappropriate rendering of a simple word!

Enginné, -ignié 366, 'coupable d'une erreur (de tactique).' The word here means 'mal inspiré' or perhaps 'mal conseillé.'

Enheudi, -eldi 182, 'garni d'une poignée.' The line reads:

Il traist [le brant] d'or enheldi,

and, we submit, should be translated: 'Il tira l'épée à quillons d'or.' The word *helt* (*heut*, etc.) is often used in the plural; cf. the following example from Godefroy where the translation 'poignée' is ruled out:

Entre les helz ad plus de mil manguns.

Rol. 620.

The *heuz* formed a 'cross':

Ce peut on en mains lius prover
Par les heus dont li crois est faite.

Li Dis de l'Espee, 94.

As is well known the quillons and the pommel of costly swords were often of gold; cf.

Et lou pon et lou heu d'or fin.

Cheval. a l'Espee, 534.

Dusze livres de fin or mier
A entre[1] le heut et le punt.

Bénoît, *Duc de Norm.* II, 4746.

Espié, -iés 170...'épieu; syn. de lance (cf. 458–9).' We very much doubt that the author used the word *espié* as a synonym for lance. The Épieu was a short heavy weapon, a sort of pike, but with a broad blade capable of being used to cut as well as thrust (cf. ll. 390 ff.). It was used for closer work than the lance.

Quant sa lance faly sacquies fu ly espois,

says one of Godefroy's examples. And the author of the Fragment knows the weapon and describes it and its use.

Le fer del bon *trenchant* espié,
Ke de lé ot un dimi pié,

he says, talking of King Louis' armour (ll. 404–5). If we read *hanste* for *lance* in line 459 we get a more pointed line and avoid supposing an almost incredible confusion in the mind of a twelfth century epic poet. The passage would then read:

Par mi le cors l'espié li mist;
tant cum la hanste li tendi
del bon cheval mort l'abati.

[1] *Entre* here means 'taking them together,' not 'between,' though the latter meaning would be more convincing for our purpose.

Ester 116 inf. *estez* 174, impér. 5, ...'se tenir, s'arrêter.'

Estez of l. 174 has nothing to do with the verb *stare*.

Ernalt, lord of Pontieu, the district invaded by Gormond, comes forward to the fray and his first words, naturally enough, are:

Estez mei ci;
Meie ert la terre e li païs...
Cest chalenge vos i ai mis.

'Here am I—mine was the land....This is my challenge.'

Estez is the corrupt verbalised form of *eis, es* < ecce.

Estes vos for *es vos* is best known. There are no examples of *estes mei* for *es mei* (found in the *Alexis*) in Godefroy, but the meaning is clear.

Lerroie, -ai, -eie, 209, 222, cond. 1; *lerreit* 306, id. 3 de *laissier*, 'laisser.' But is not the infinitive *laïier*?

Mais que 575, 'bien que.' 'Sauf que' is the meaning and the following verb is in the indicative.

Moreis 91, 'noir'; 101, 164, 'cheval noir.' 'Mauresque' (i.e. 'arabe') would appear to be the meaning, used in ll. 101, 164 like *gascon* in ll. 285, 551, without the word *cheval*.

Novelle, nuv. 50, 231, 'neuve.' 'Nouvelle' is more correct. In both cases the phrase is *la targe nouvelle*, and means the 'fresh shield,' i.e. renewed after each encounter.

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THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF THE 'SIREINE' OF HONORÉ D'URFÉ.

THE first edition of D'Urfé's pastoral poem, *Le Sireine*, had until recently escaped discovery. The earliest known edition was that published by Jean Micard in 1606[1], and were it not for the 'Avis au Lecteur' with which the bookseller introduces the volume it is quite possible and withal probable that no one would have ever suspected the existence of an earlier edition. The passage in question runs:

> Ie te fais voir, amy lecteur, le Sireine de Monsieur d'Urfé en meilleur estat qu'il n'estoit pas ces années passées, que ie l'imprimay sur vne tres-mauuaise coppie, changée et deffaillante presque en toutes les parties principales de l'œuure, parce que celuy qui me la donna ne prit pas garde que depuis l'autheur l'auoit plusieurs fois retouchée, & que celuy qui la luy auoit donnée l'auoit escrite à la haste, comme la prenant à la desrobée & à l'insceu de l'autheur.

The only other reference to this earlier impression, as far as I know, occurs in an article contributed to the *Mercure Galant* of June, 1683, by a certain Forezian, a fellow-countryman of D'Urfé, who repeats, this time emphatically, the veiled statement of the 'Avis au Lecteur' that the poem was first published without the author's connivance or knowledge. This statement has now been proved to be true.

Some time ago the writer of the present article was engaged in the preparation of a critical edition (published since by the *Société des Textes Français Modernes*) of the poems of one of D'Urfé's warmest admirers, the pastoral poet, Jean de Lingendes, and, for the purpose of comparison, sought to procure a copy of D'Urfé's pastoral. Mr Guppy, the eminent librarian of the Rylands Library of Manchester, offered his assistance, with the happy result that the Rylands Library now possesses a copy of the long lost and much sought for *editio princeps*, the one spoken of by Jean Micard and the correspondent of the *Mercure Galant*.

This book, apparently unique, is a small volume in-16, measuring 115 × 55 mm., bound in vellum, with the following title-page:

[1] *Le Sireine* de Messire Honoré d'Urfé, Gentil-Homme de la Chambre du Roy, Capitaine de Cinquante hommes d'armes de ses Ordonnances, Comte de Chasteau-neuf, Baron de Chasteaumorand, etc. A Paris, Chez Iean Micard. 1606. Avec Privilege du Roy.—In-12.

LE | SIREINE | DE MESSIRE | HONORÉ D'VRFÉ | Gentilhomme de la Cham|bre du Roy, Capitaine de | cinquante hommes d'ar|mes de ses Ordonnances, | Conte de Chasteauneuf, | & Baron de Chasteaumorand, &c. | ○ | A PARIS, | Chez IEAN MICARD, au Palais, | en la gallerie allant à la | Chancellerie || 1604. | *Auec Priuilege du Roy.* |

A detailed typographical description, which, it is hoped, will not be altogether without interest, is here appended:

The folios are marked A to K, and the numbering begins with folio B. The plan of the book is as follows:

A. [blank].
A. i. [Title] [verso blank].
A. ij. [Typographical ornament.]
A Madame Diane de Chasteau-morand, &c. I. Aubery.
A. iij. *v.* Au Berger Sireine. De Lingendes.
A. v. *v.* Le Berger Philene à Monseigneur d'Urfé.
Stances. Par de Lingendes.
A. vij. *v.* [Ornament.]
Dédicace. Honoré D'Urfé.
B. [Ornament.]
Le Départ de Sireine. Premier Livre.
Stances.
D. vj. (f. 22). [Ornament.]
L'Absence de Sireine. Deuxiesme Livre.
Stances.
G. ij. *v.* [Ornament.]
G. iij. (f. 43). [Ornament.]
Le Retour de Sireine. Troisiesme Livre.
Stances.
K. iij. Fin du Retour de Sireine.
K. iv. Extraict du Privilège du Roy.
In all 68 folios.

The little volume has several features of absorbing interest, but none perhaps more calculated to satisfy the curiosity of students of D'Urfé than the remarkable dedicatory epistle addressed to Diane de Châteaumorand by the Bourbonnais Jean Aubery, known to us already as a friend and patron of the poet De Lingendes.

Aubery was evidently a man of considerable importance. 'Conseiller

[1] Cf. Register 420 of the *Archives Communales de l'Allier, Ville de Moulins.*

et medecin du Roy, et intendant des bains du Bourbonnois'; as he is described in the Archives of the town of Moulins[1], where he resided, his administrative functions would naturally bring him into touch with all departmental movements and activities in Bourbonnais, and his high distinction would ensure him the respect and homage of his fellow-countrymen. We know, moreover, that he had a taste for literature, as witness his own publications and the literary patronage which he extended to the poets of Bourbonnais, and particularly to Jean de Lingendes[1]. So far, however, no direct evidence has been traced of any personal connections between him and the poet of the *Astrée*.

D'Urfé's latest critic and biographer, M. Reure, has established beyond doubt that Honoré's relations with the province of Bourbonnais were of a most intimate kind. Literary, pecuniary, and family interests all helped to bind the lord of Châteaumorand to this neighbouring region, and it is noteworthy that the poets of the province, including among others De Lingendes and Estienne Bournier, have made ready claim to his literary patronage.

It is therefore *a priori* highly improbable that two men of note and of similar tastes, living at no great distance from each other, like D'Urfé and Aubery, could have failed to cultivate each other's acquaintance. Indirect evidence of their friendship there was already, and has been produced by M. Reure in his *Honoré d'Urfé*. In the inventory of Honoré's books and papers at the Château of Virieu there are mentioned: 'quatre livres escriptz à la main des Recherches de l'Antiquicte d'Autun en quatre thomes,' an item which by its context would seem to imply that the work was by D'Urfé. This, however, is not the case, but on the other hand, it is known that Jean Aubery was the author of a *Histoire de l'Antique Cité d'Autun*, a work now lost, but which is undoubtedly the one mentioned in the inventory in question.

That the doctor and the baron not only knew each other but were on terms of close intimacy has now been definitely proved by the discovery of the first edition of the *Sireine*, with its dedicatory epistle in which Aubery speaks of a stay which he made at Châteaumorand, probably in the spring or summer of 1604[2], and which resulted in the publication of the poem, albeit that the work appeared 'à l'insceu de l'autheur.'

[1] Cf. Griffiths, *Œuvres Poétiques de Jean de Lingendes*, Paris, 1916.

[2] It is interesting to note that, just about that time, the town of Moulins was negotiating with Diane, Honoré's wife, for the foundation of a Jesuit College in her domaine of Pouzeux, in the township of Moulins. [See Reure, *op. cit.* pp. 123–5.] The *privilège* for the publication of the *Sireine* is dated August 15.

The text of the dedication is as follows:

A Madame Diane de Chasteau-morand
Contesse de Chasteauneuf, &c.

Madame,

C'est estre larron de bonne conscience que de vous rendre aux yeux de tous, ce que ie desrobay chez vous en cachette : pendant le seiour que ie fis aupres de vous, ie prins vne copie de *Sireine*, dans le Cabinet de Monseigneur DVRFÉ, d'où ie le raui pour luy faire voir le iour qu'il doit receuoir de vous, puis qu'il est né de luy. Ie le vous rends en le donnant à tout le Monde, & le mets entre vos mains pour auoir de l'honneur de mon larcin, que ie ne pouuois esperer qu'en vous le rendant : Sireine luy mesme sera le suppliant du pardon que ie desire, & qu'il me doit faire meriter, puis ie le rends à sa DIANE, que seule il desiroit, aussi vous l'ayant rendu, il sera le gage enuers vous de son affection, et de la mienne, & en ceste asseurance vous le presentant, par luy ie me presente à vous,

Madame,

pour

Vostre tres humble & tres-fidele seruiteur,

I. AVBERY.

This high-flown exercise of literary ingenuity is the most important document yet discovered for the solution of the problem of the allegorical meaning of the *Sireine*. Here is first-hand evidence in support of the theory advanced by certain critics, and as often disputed, that the poem represents, under a pastoral disguise, the love-lorn youth of the author, and that the Diane sung by the poet is no other than the beautiful Diane de Châteaumorand whose grace and charm had enraptured him, and who was destined to become his wife. Such was the common tradition in the seventeenth century, and M. Reure has not hesitated to give it the seal of his approval. With Aubery's convincing evidence the persistent tradition enters the domain of actual facts, for what other interpretation could be given to a statement which declares with no uncertain voice, as clearly as the stilted and high-flown style of the prefaces of the time will allow, the satisfaction experienced by the writer in giving back Sireine to his Diana, *que seule il desiroit*? Sireine for Aubery, who was intimately acquainted with the little family of Châteaumorand, was Honoré d'Urfé himself, and Diane was assuredly Diana of Châteaumorand.

From what we know of D'Urfé it is very probable that he did not desire his early private life to be unveiled and thus become public property, and as the authorised edition of 1606 appeared without Aubery's preface, it may well be that Honoré in suppressing it was actuated by motives of prudence and discretion. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that Aubery's preface, written expressly for a surreptitious publication, would have been entirely out of place in an

edition produced with the author's permission, and differing substantially from the former edition.

The author's dedication of the poem to 'Madame' is dated 'de Virieu le grand, ce 15 juillet, 1599,' but with the sole exception of the date, it offers no variants to the text given in the other printed editions.

The 'Extraict du Priuilège du Roy' is perhaps worth quoting in full. It runs:

> Par grace & Priuilege du Roy il est permis à Iean Micard Marchand Libraire à Paris, d'imprimer ou faire imprimer *Les Œuvres de Messire Honoré d'Vrfé, tant en prose qu'en vers*, sans qu'aucun les puisse imprimer sans le congé & consentement dudict Micard pendant le temps et terme de dix ans entiers & accomplis, sur peine de confiscation des impressions qui en seront trouuees, & d'amende arbitraire, & de tous despens, dommages & interests, comme plus amplement est contenu es lettres sur ce données à Paris le 17. iour d'Aout, l'an 1604.
>
> *Par le Roy en son Conseil,*
>
> ADDEE.

The prefatory poems by De Lingendes, hitherto unknown, are of the utmost interest to students of the literature of the early seventh century, and settle once for all, in favour of D'Urfé, the vexed question of priority in the conception and the literary form of the lyric pastoral in France[1].

The text of this original edition of the *Sireine* is widely divergent from that of succeeding editions and bears out Micard's statement in the impression of 1606 that the work is 'changée et deffaillante,' and that since the manuscript (of July 15, 1599) was written 'l'autheur l'auoit plusieurs fois retouchée.' As an indication of the extent of the divergence we have chosen a number of passages which we have compared with an edition of 1618, 'jouxte la coppie imprimée à Paris, chez Iean Micard...M.DC.XVIII,' kindly lent by M. Reure.

1604.	1618.
[I.]	I.
Ie chante en ces vers amoureux Un depart triste & mal-heureux, Une absence pleine d'angoisse, Et un retour d'un beau Pasteur— Amour qui seul en fus l'auteur Fay qu'en ces vers on te cognoisse.	Ie chante un despart amoureux, Un exil long & mal-heureux, Et le retour plein de martyre : Amour qui seul en fus l'autheur, Laisse pour quelque temps mon cœur, Et viens sur ma langue les dire.
[II.]	II.
O belle, de qui les beautez N'ont rien que des extremitez, Dont les effects sont admirables, Voyez Sireine, & sa pitié Fasse qu'en vous mon amitié Ne se plaigne de coups semblables.	Vous de qui l'œil m'a surmonté, Et qui m'a fait par sa beauté Tant de blessures incurables : Voyez Sireine, etc.

[1] This question is treated in the Introduction to my edition of the works of Jean de Lingendes.

1604.	1618.
[III.]	III.
Pres d'un riuage verdoyant En courbes replis ondoyant, Sous l'ombre d'un penchant boccage Esmaillé d'un printemps de fleurs, Où qui eut eu moins de douleurs Eut peu se plaire au frais ombrage.	Où l'Esté noirci de chaleurs, Iamais n'outreperçoit l'ombrage.
[IV.]	IV.
Sireine amoureux pastoureau Auecques son camus troupeau, Vint pour fuyr le chaud extreme, Sa face monstroit son ennuy Et il sembloit viure en autruy Tant il estoit mort en soy-mesme.	Sireine amoureux pastoureau Conduisant son camus troupeau, Vint pour fuyr le chaud extréme, Tellement oppressé d'ennuy Qu'il sembloit viure en autruy, Tant il estoit mort en soy-mesme.

It will thus be seen that a large percentage of the changes are corrections of faulty style and faulty prosody, but it is by no means rare to find a wholesale substitution of stanzas with a complete change of subject-matter. Thus in Canto I, stanzas V—XXX of the 1618 edition are not represented at all in the first edition, which fills the gap with ten stanzas as compared with twenty-six in the later edition. The expansion of the original text is a marked feature of the 1618 edition, and it is worthy of note that this issue is the first to bear the words: 'Reveu, corrigé et augmenté de nouveau par l'Autheur outre les precedentes impressions.' The ten stanzas indicated in A [= 1604] are a playful description of the ideal passion which animated the two simple hearts of Sireine and Diane, and of the mutuality of their affections, on which D'Urfé fondly lingers:

Ce berger mouroit adorant,
Ce berger adoroit mourant
Des beautez la beauté plus belle,
Vne Diane estoit son cœur
D'vne Diane il eut tant d'heur,
Que l'aimant il fut aimé d'elle.

Si d'elle il estoit le soucy
Elle de luy l'estoit aussi,
Si elle n'aimoit que Sireine,
Sireine moins ne l'adoroit:
Ainsi esgalement serroit
Ces deux cœurs vne mesme chaine.

The interpolated stanzas (V—XXX) in B [= 1618] are of a totally different character, forming as they do a distinct pastoral episode, the nature of which may be judged from the following quotations:

V.

Ce ruisseau sourdoit d'vn rocher,
Que deuot, n'eust osé toucher
De main, ny de langue alterée,
Ny le berger, ny son trouppeau,
Parce qu'ils croyoient que ceste eau
Fut à Diane consacrée.

XII.

En ce lieu Sireine Berger,
Pour mieux à son ennuy songer,
Mena sa troupe toisonnee,
Et desia le soleil panchant
S'approchoit plus de son couchant
Que d'où commence sa iournee.

The same phenomenon is noticeable in stanzas XLIII—XLVIII of B (not represented in A), in which D'Urfé interpolates another pastoral episode. One stanza will serve as an illustration:

XLIII.

Ses moutons prés de leur Berger
Sembloient de pitié se ranger,
Ressentant le mal de leur maistre,
Et tenant les yeux dessus luy
Comme s'ils plaignoient son ennuy,
Auoient oublié de repaistre.

It would indeed seem as if the author, by means of these pastoral interpolations, had deliberately set himself the task of concealing the true meaning of the *Sireine*, which is all too evident in the first edition, and it would be interesting, in this connection, to compare A with the two extant MSS. of the poem. The manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which bears D'Urfé's signature, proves that the author was engaged on the copy in 1596. It was completed on July 1, 1599, precisely a fortnight before the copy filched by Aubrey was completed. M. Reure describes it as 'plein de corrections, de stances supprimées, refaites ou ajoutées.' Aubery's copy can scarcely have been better, if we accept Micard's statement: 'Parce que ceste œuure ainsi deschirée & desbiffée, faisoit mal au cœur à plusieurs qui l'auoient veuë en meilleur estat & que tous les iours i'en auois du reproche, i'ay esté curieux d'en recouurer vne bonne coppie, à fin de te la faire voir telle qu'elle doit estre.'

The Turin manuscript, also an autograph copy, is apparently later. The dedication is dated June 16, 1600.

Such interpolations as we have indicated above are common throughout the poem. One more example, taken from the second canto, will suffice to illustrate the poet's method of amplifying his original design:

A.

Chasque moment de ce seiour
Qui va eslongnant ton retour
M'est vn long siecle que ie pleure:
Et si autres fois tu as veu
En mes yeux quelque amour de feu,
Or sans plus le pleur y demeure.

B.

ABSENCE. ST. LIX.

Chasque moment de ce sejour
Qui va retardant ton retour,
M'est vn long siecle que ie pleure:
Tu vis mes yeux (ô temps heureux)
Tous bruslans de feux amoureux,
Or sans plus le pleur y demeure.

A.

Si le desir de me reuoir
N'a plus en ton cœur de pouuoir,
Ce qu'helas! amour ne permette,
Que mon deuoir si violent
Te face reuenir volant,
Et tu verras comme il me traicte.

B.

ABSENCE. ST. LIX.

Que c'est, amy, de bien aymer,
Si l'on me parle de la mer,
I'ay l'ame de craincte frappée,
Que quelque tourbillon volant
Ne t'ait accueilly violant,
Et ta gallere enueloppee.

Si l'on me discourt des poissons,
Monstres-marins, mille glaçons
Me gellent aussi tost craintiue,
Si l'on me nomme quelque escueil,
(O Berger) que deuient mon œil!
Ie suis aussi morte que viue.

Que si l'on raconte les loups
Qu'aux Alpes on voit à tout coups,
Ie tremble, amy, toute peureuse,
Et plus encore pour ces grands Ours,
Aussi la vraye amour tousiours
Est pleine de crainte soigneuse.

Dieux! qu'est ce que ie ne crains
point?
Loing de toy toute fleur me point,
Et m'est vne tranchante espine,
Ce que ie crains, ie ne sçay pas,
Mais ie sçay bien qu'à tous les pas
L'effroy me gelle la poictrine.

Qui sçait? peust estre à mes despens
A nouuelle amour tu te prens,
Et porte d'vne humeur volage,
Te mocquant de moy, tu luy dis
Qu'aussi sotte que mes brebis,
Ie suis vrayment nee au village.

Ah! soit faux ce penser fascheux,
Que si toutesfois tu le veux
Auant que de m'estre infidelle,
Fay courre ce bruit, i'en mourray,
(Sireine) iamais ie n'oray
Sans mourir, semblable nouuelle.

Mais non, ie ne veux plus songer
Que tu puisse estre leger,
Ny qu'autre de toy me recule,
Aussi toute raison veut bien
Puis que ton feu seul est le mien,
Que le mien seul aussi te brusle.

Que si le desir de me voir
N'a tant en ton cœur de pouuoir,
Qu'vn prompt retour il te permette,
Que mon ennuy si violent
Te fasse reuenir volant,
Et tu verras comme il me traicte.

The longest interpolation which I have noticed comes at the beginning of the third canto where sixty-nine stanzas, which have no equivalent in the original edition, have been introduced into the later editions. In

these stanzas we have a highly-coloured and fanciful description of Sireine's return journey from his land of exile, beginning with:

Vn doux vent refrisoit la mer
Qui l'empeschoit de se calmer
Et dedans la voile legere
Faisant vn agreable effort,
Promptement esloigna du port
Le triste amant, & sa galere.

This scene is one of the most beautiful in the whole poem, heightened as it is by the dramatic touch by which D'Urfé makes an old mariner relate the sad love-story of Sireine and Diana[1], how they had been separated, and how Diana was to be forcibly married that very day to Delio:

Ce berger riche [qui] n'auoit rien
En soy d'aymable que son bien.

Here occurs the tragic event of Sireine's attempted suicide by drowning. Upon hearing the words:

C'est (ce me semble) aujourd'huy
Le iour fatal de son ennuy
Si ma memoire est bien certaine,

Sireine, realising that all his hopes are in vain, decides that he will die for Diana's love.

As we have said above, all this is absent from the first edition, which opens the third canto in the usual affected strain:

Cet œil qui pleuroit au partir,
Ce pleur qui brusloit au sortir,
Ce cœur qui mouroit de l'absence,
Ces sermens si souuent iurez,
Sont-ils contre moy coniurez
Pour faire vne si grande offence.

We have surmised that D'Urfé may have made these changes and additions to the poem with the definite object of preventing or circumventing a too literal and obvious interpretation of the story. This may also be the explanation of the suppression of De Lingendes' commendatory poems in the second and subsequent editions. One of these, in which the poet speaks of the forthcoming publication of his own pastoral of *Iris*, would of course be out of date in the 1606 edition, but they both refer in no uncertain terms to the true and inner purport of D'Urfé's work.

Llanfyllin. E. T. Griffiths.

[1] There is one passage in the old mariner's tale which seems to have escaped the notice of the critics, and which seems to me to place beyond doubt the allegorical interpretation of the *Sireine* as the story of the love of D'Urfé and Diane de Châteaumorand. It is stanza xvi (f. 57) of the 1618 edition:

Ces deux amants ont fort long temps
Ensemble vescu bien contens,
Et d'vne finesse bien sage
Ont les yeux plus clairs aueuglez
Couurant en leurs desirs reglez
L'amour dessous le parentage.

THE STAGING OF THE DONAUESCHINGEN PASSION PLAY.

II[1].

THE text of the Donaueschingen Passion is divided into two rather unequal parts, verses 1—1710 comprising the action of the first day and 1711—4106 that of the second. An examination of the text for the first day's performance gives the following stations and places:

1. der himmel
2. die Juden schůl
3. Maria Magdalena (v. 383 der garten)
4. Pilatus hof
5. Simon Pharises husz
6. die appenteck
7. Lasarus und Martha
8. Salvators stat (also junger)
9. berg (for Temptation)
10. die hell
11. der tempel
12. der brunnen[2]
13. Lasarus grab[3]

Comparing these first with the list of the introductory note, it is seen that 12 of the 13 here given are to be found among the 18 of the list[4]. The only one not contained in the list is the station or place for Lazarus and Martha. The omissions of the text as compared with the list on the other hand number 6: Die stat Naym, Die cristenen husz, Cayphas husz, Herodes husz, Annas husz, Der Ölberg. The *Ölberg* however is not required by the action of the first day. On the other hand while the text does not specify stations for Caiphas and

[1] Continued from p. 76.

[2] I assume but one 'brunnen' for the three of the text of the first day: (475) Christ comes '(zů der) piscinen'; (643) Christ goes 'zů dem brunnen'; (966) Christ bids Marcellus: 'wåsch dich im wasserflůsz Siloe,' and the stage-direction reads: 'Nu gat der blind zům brunnen.' A similar practice was followed at Luzern, cf. *Germania*, xxxi, p. 268: 'Emitten jm platz, brunnen zum joseph zum heidischen freüwli zu der schwetti syloe.' This has reference to the performance of 1560.

[3] In addition to these the more important stations and places of action, there are a number of others of minor significance which do not seem definitely located by the text. The location of some of these at least may be readily found on the Luzern plans. They are: proclamaters knecht, proclamator, die zwen hornblaser, ein krůppel und ein blinder, das Chananeesche frőly, Marcellus uff der strasz (943), Loynus (i.e. Longinus), das castell (where the ass was tied).

[4] In this comparison the 'gemeine burge' (No. 19) may be disregarded.

Annas, the two characters take part in the action[1], so that it is probable that these two stations should appear on the stage-arrangement for the first day. They are furthermore the natural stations for the groups of *Juden* and *Pharisei* when these are not in the Temple. I found no mention of Herod in this part of the text, but still I imagine his station was provided for and occupied[2]. Regarding 'die stat Naym' of the introductory list the details as afforded by the text are rather interesting. Following the incident of the Samaritan woman the stage-direction reads (763): 'Dar uff heist der Salvator die junger uff stan und gand die andern ouch an ir stat[3] und spricht der Salvator.

Stand uff ir junger, lond uns gon
gen Naym, da wend wir zů schaffen hon.

Nu stand die junger uff und tůnd die spis neben sich, und den gan sy mit ein ander gen Naym, und uff halbem wege do koment fier man mit einer tottenbor, dar uff lit ein knab, als ob er tod were, und gat der bar nach Rachel.' The youth is brought back to life and the scene ends (799): 'Nu gat der sůn und die můter hin weg.' In other words all that was required for 'die stat Naym' was a place somewhere on the stage for mother and son[4].

More puzzling, however, is the station designated in the introductory list as 'die cristenen[5] husz,' as also the complete omission there of a station for Lazarus and Martha. The Luzern Höferodel of 1545[6] also notes 'der Cristen hus' but adds 'magdalena marta lazarus marien hus' as well. However, in the Höferodel for 1560[7] it would seem that but one station was here provided, for we read (Nos. 15 and 16): 'vor min Zacharias bletz huss zur Rosa: Zacheus, ferner: Lazarus, die heilige Familie, Zacharias, Rachel, Joseph von Arimathea, Nicodemus und ihre Kreise.' To these were apparently added on the second day: 'die Frauen beim Grabe, Veronica, Hausvater,' u. s. w. In this connection

[1] Cf. v. 553 Keyphas der bischoff; v. 563 Annas.

[2] According to the Luzern plans Longinus is placed in this station. He appears in this portion of the Donaueschingen text (1031 ff.) but without any reference assigning him to 'Herodes husz.'

[3] A primitive but very effective method of denoting a change of scene.

[4] Cf. *Germania*, xxxi, p. 257 in the Luzern Höferodel for 1545: 'wittwen vnd Suns sitz.'

[5] Not to be confused with modern 'Christinnen.' Regarding this form cf. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* under 'Christ' and 'Christen.' Professor E. C. Roedder of the University of Wisconsin wrote me in reply to an inquiry: 'The form "cristenen" in "die cristenen husz" I am inclined to regard as a masculine. The nom. sing. "Christen" occurs down to the sixteenth century. MHG. "kristen, kristæne," from Greek and Latin "christianos, -us," is originally an adjective, which became a weak masculine in MHG. So I see no objection to taking it as a masculine in the passage mentioned. In fact, I do not see how it could be a feminine.'

[6] *Germania*, xxxi, pp. 256 f.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 257 ff.

the stage-directions of the Donaueschingen text toward the end of the scene between Christ and the Samaritan woman are very striking (737): 'In dem nimpt das frǒwly den krůg und gat heim und spricht zů iren gesellen,' bidding them come and behold this man. Then we read (743): 'Nu stat Lasarus, Nicodemus, Joseph von Arimathi und die iren uff und gand mit dem frǒly zů dem Salvator und den jungern.' It would seem then almost certain that this group constituted the occupants of 'die cristenen husz.'

The number of stations required then by the Donaueschingen text for the performance of the first day may all be found in the introductory list; indeed the two are almost identical.

A very different result is obtained by a comparison of the stations of the text with those of the sketch. But three of the stations coincide: 'der himmel,' 'Pilatus husz,' 'die hell,' though to these should probably be added the stations of Caiphas, Annas and Herod, which as was shown above probably belong to the action of the first day. These are, however, all stations required by the action of both days—there is nothing on the sketch to show the position of Mary Magdalene's garden, 'Simon Pharises husz,' 'berg' (for Temptation), or 'Lasarus grab,' i.e. stations or places necessary only in the action of the first day.

To turn now to the action of the second day. An examination of the text (1711—4106) shows the following stations and places of action:

1. der himmel
2. Salvator und junger
3. der tempel
4. der brunnen
5. huszvatter sal (for Last Supper)
6. Cayphas husz
7. Ölberg
8. Pilatus husz
9. der garten (Gethsemane)
10. Annas husz
11. die hell
12. Herodes husz
13. stat, da man in sol crůtzgen (Golgotha)
14. das grab (Salvators)
15. der appentecker[1]

Comparing these with the introductory list, all but four are to be found: huszvatter sal, der garten, Golgotha, grab Salvators. Of these

[1] As before there are also a number of places and small groups of minor significance: Proclamator, Judas bǒum oder gerůst, sul (for scourging), der han, Barrabas im stock, grave or graves (for the dead who arise at Christ's death), Joseph von Arimathia, Nicodemus, Maria und Johannes, die dry Maria, Petrus (after the resurrection). These last, with perhaps the exception of Petrus, would probably form the group in 'die cristenen husz.'

four we may confidently identify the 'huszvatter sal' with 'Symons husz' and possibly also the 'grab Salvators' with 'Lausarus grab[1].' Furthermore, while Golgotha is not mentioned on the list, the properties given after the 'gemeine burge' (cf. p. 74, note 1) note specifically 'drüy crůcz,' as also 'den stock' and 'die sul[2],' and we are told that the scourging shall take place on the 'gemeine burge.' This leaves then 'der garten' (Gethsemane) alone unaccounted for. On the other hand there are five locations on the list which apparently find no parallels in the text: Der gart Marie Magdalene, Der berg, da der tůffel got versůcht, Die Juden schůl, Die stat Naym, Die cristenen husz. For a conjecture regarding this last, cf. p. 281, note 1. 'Die stat Naym,' which was after all only space for mother and son, is not required in the action of the second day. That 'die Juden schůl' is not mentioned in the second part seems surprising. It may be simply an omission of the text[3]. This leaves then but the 'gart' of Mary Magdalene and the 'berg' of Temptation[4].

Comparing now the stations and places of the sketch with those of the text for the second day we find every one of the former accounted for except 'das tor,' which may be disregarded[5]. The text, however, calls for four more: 'Salvator' and disciples, 'der tempel, der brunnen, der appentecker[6].' With regard to the position of Salvator and the disciples it should at least be noted that from the time they leave their station to go to the place of the Last Supper, which is the first scene of

[1] Cf. above, p. 75.

[2] It is not indicated whether this 'sul' is for the scourging or for the cock. In fact the text (2373) mentions no 'sul' for the cock, it simply states: 'Und in dissem facht der han an zekreyen.' If a similar 'sul' were not to be found on the Luzern plan, one would almost feel inclined to regard this pillar of the sketch surmounted by the cock as a hoax. How the crowing was produced we are not told, nor do we obtain any help from the various Luzern manuscripts (cf. *Geschichtsfreund*, xlviii, p. 315). The good Gallus of the *Alsfeld Passion* (v. 3528 f.) is almost articulate: 'Gallus cantat primo:

Gucze gu gu gu ga!
Peter lug lug lug nu da!'

Certain of the manuscripts of the Tirol Passion are more specific (cf. Wackernell, *Passionsspiele*, p. 61, Anmerkung d): 'Hic disponitur gallus, qui est famulus Cayphe. Et canit ut gallus.'

[3] It is possible that this same group of children ('schůler') of the first day reappear on the second as the 'vil kleiner kinder' (3891), who precede the 'altvåtter' in their exodus.

[4] I have been sorely tempted to identify the garden of Mary Magdalene in the action of the first day with 'der gart' of the sketch and the Garden of Gethsemane of the second day, also the 'berg' of Temptation with the 'Ölberg' of the second day, although in this latter case the two 'Berge' are contained in the list. In a Nota to the *Osterspils Rüstung A°* 1560 from Luzern we find (*Germania*, xxx, p. 210): 'ein Leitern hinden am Ölberg, das Saluator vnd Sathan mogendt vfhin kon.' With this compare the stage-direction of Donaueschingen (389): 'so stat der Salvator allein uff und gat uff den berg uff einer sitten und Lucifer uff der ander sitten.'

[5] For the two pillars and the graves, cf. p. 281, note 1. The latter I inferred from the stage-direction at Christ's death (3447): 'erstand die totten.'

[6] To which should perhaps be added 'die cristenen husz,' cf. p. 281, note 1.

the second day, Christ never returns, while the disciples are dispersed[1]. For the omission of the other three on the sketch I can offer no explanation.

The inference to be drawn from this examination of the stations and places of the Donaueschingen Passion as indicated by the introductory list, the sketch and by the text itself, seems fairly obvious. The list was intended for the entire performance, for both days, while the sketch represents the action of the second day only[2].

Would it be possible with the material available to reconstruct the stage of the Donaueschingen Passion? Yes. A reconstruction would be a fairly easy matter, but, while it would be reasonably accurate as a whole, there could be no guarantee of accuracy in very many points of detail. Even such an 'old timer' as Renward Cysat, the 'Regent' or stage-manager of the Luzern performances of 1583 and 1597, was at times sorely puzzled to locate certain of the scenes, for we find him jotting down the question for further deliberation: 'Wo das Ort zun Pfingsten[3]?' For three very important stations no location is indicated by the sketch nor definitely assigned by the text: Christ and the disciples, the Temple, Lazarus and his circle. One may conjecture, and I believe with some probability, that all three were placed approximately as they appear on the Luzern plans. Indeed these Luzern plans, modified to meet the somewhat different requirements of the text and sketch, furnish a reconstruction of the Donaueschingen stage more accurate than any we might attempt.

Stage-properties.

A goodly number of the stage-properties required in the presentation of the Donaueschingen Passion have already been mentioned, e.g. the three crosses, one or perhaps more tables for the 'convivia,' the ass, etc., etc. To avoid repetition I shall list here only such as have not yet occurred, also reserving a few others for later use.

As food, 'brot und braten visch' appear several times, also 'ein

[1] Johannes we find later with the Virgin (3063): 'Maria, by dero sol Johannes sin.' With this compare the Luzern Höferodel for 1597 (*Germania*, xxxi, p. 263): 'Johannes jst meertheils by Mariam nachdem der Saluator gfangen.'

[2] Cf. p. 66, note 5. My reason for calling attention to the fact that the Villingen Passion practically coincides with the action of the second day is now, I trust, apparent. The 'Appentecker,' who at most would require merely a place on the stage, is to be sure omitted in the Villingen Passion (Dinges, *Untersuchungen*, p. 143, note 1), but with this exception the above omissions of the sketch apply as well to this play as to the Donaueschingen. In other words, the sketch agrees equally well with the one or the other. That it was nothing unusual to provide a separate sketch for each day's performance is shown by the two from Luzern.

[3] Cf. *Germania*, xxxi, p. 268.

fleschli win' and 'welschen win.' The woman of Samaria brings 'zwen krůg' to the well; 'der kranck' carries away his 'bet' with him; Lazarus 'leit sich zebet'; a 'stůly' for the scene in which Christ is mocked and buffeted; cloths were required for wrapping the body of Lazarus, also 'tůch und salben' for Christ; 'daz wiss tůch' for Veronica; 'salben in bůchsen' was obtained from the 'appentecker'; 'ein kelch' to stand on the 'Ölberg'; 'geld' used by a number of the characters, also to be seen lying out on Urias' 'wechselbanck'; chess-men for Mary Magdalene and 'wůrfel' which are cast for Christ's seamless coat; 'ein stein' for Luzifer at the Temptation and other stones which the Jews frequently pick up to hurl at Christ ('werdent die Juden zornig und erwůstent stein'); 'kolben und hellebarten' for the 'ritter' who guard the Holy Sepulchre; 'palmesten und kleider' for the entrance into Jerusalem; banners for Pilate, Caiphas and Annas; 'ein guldin kron und ein wisz venly mit eim roten crůtz' which an angel brings to Christ at the Resurrection; 'das crůtz und zeichen sins lidens' which the angel coming to comfort Christ in the Garden bears in his hand; the 'swartze vogel' which Judas on receiving from Christ the 'schniten brot' dipped 'in den napf' takes 'by den fůssen in daz mull, daz es flocke'; the 'strick' Beltzebock brings for Judas and the entire apparatus for Judas' death (2411 ff.): 'Hie sol Judas bőum oder ein leiter zů gerůst sin und ein seil dar von bitz in die hell gespannen, mit schiben wol versorgt etc....Uff dissen spruch leit Belzebock dem Judas den strick an, und versorgt in wol am haggen, und seczt sich denn hinder in uff ein bengel....Judas sol ein schwartzen vogel und etwas tărmen vor im bůsen han, den sol im Belczebug uff risten, daz es uszher vall, denn farent sy beyd zů der hell.' The number of properties required for the crucifixion was naturally large: 'schnůr, grosse seil, leitern, gabeln, stangen, nepper' for boring the holes, 'negel' (three were used—3327: 'Nu kůmpt aber Israhel mit dem dritten nagel[1]'), 'ein grosser hamer, zangen, eine stange und ein swůmm dar an, ein bret' and writing utensils for making the superscription.

In Luzern the actors themselves furnished in large part the properties and costumes and were even, to some extent at least, responsible for the stations[2]. That this same practice was also followed in the Donaueschingen Passion seems to be indicated by a stage-direction in connection with the Last Supper. We read here after a list of the articles to be used by Christ in washing the disciples' feet (1789): 'dis sol der huszvater alles zů růsten.'

[1] Cf. Pearson, *The Chances of Death*, II, p. 385, note 2.
[2] Cf. Brandstetter, *Regenz*, pp. 37 f.

Actors and Costumes.

It is impossible to state accurately the number of actors demanded for the Donaueschingen Passion. The text contains according to my count definite names for 84 characters. To this should be added 19 others designated simply as 'der appentecker,' 'ein krancker man,' 'die erst magt,' 'Pilatus frŏw,' etc., making a total of 103. In addition to this however there are eight groups[1] in which the numbers can for the most part only be estimated. Allowing 30 for these, which I think is rather low, a grand total of 133 actors is obtained[2].

Regarding the personality of these actors the text gives no hints. It may, however, be safely assumed that all the parts were taken by men and boys, for the innovation of Vigil Raber in the seven days' performance at Bozen in 1514, where to a considerable extent the female rôles were played by women and girls, seems to have been a purely sporadic occurrence[3].

For the costumes the details as furnished by the text are very meagre. If we possessed the manuscript complete we should have full information on this point, for we are told in the introductory note[4]: 'Item und wen das obgeschriben (i.e. die hŭsser und hŏff) alles nach sinem wăssen zŭ gericht ist und yederman nach sinem stat cleidet, als dan zehindrest im register stat....' Unfortunately, however, this 'register' was contained on one or more of the six missing leaves of the manuscript. What follows is all that I noted in my study of the text:

(*a*) Lasarus. At his death (1191): 'binden in die schwŏstern in.' And when he rises from the dead (1321): 'hept Lasarus das hŏpt uff und spricht sitzende, noch gebunden.'

(*b*) Marcellus. When the Jews capture Christ in the Garden (2103): 'Hie by stat der blind[5] Marcellus und hat ein liny tŭch ŭber blossen lib....' (2107): 'Nu fliehent die junger und erwŭscht Malchus dem blinden Marcello sin mantel und entrint er nackent.'

(*c*) Symon Cirenes (3075): 'ein altes brŭderly, als ein bilgern.'

[1] I omit here the groups of the 'Juden' and 'pharisey,' which do not seem to be very definitely differentiated by the text, as the characters have, at least to a very great extent, names and so are included in the 84 above. The same also applies to the 'tŭffel.'

[2] For comparison with other plays, cf. Heinzel, *Beschreibung*, p. 134, and Brandstetter, *Regenz*, pp. 22 f. There is no indication in the Donaueschingen text that the Luzern practice of assigning several rôles to one person (cf. Brandstetter, *Regenz*, p. 30) was followed.

[3] Cf. Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele*, pp. cxliv f.

[4] Cf. Mone, *Schauspiele*, II, p. 184.

[5] Though no longer blind.

(*d*) Johannes Baptista, when released from hell (3915): 'kumpt mit dem lemly in tierhůten.'

(*e*) Altväter....(3891): 'die altvåtter nackent oder in wissen hemdern...und vil kleiner kinder gantz nackent.'

(*f*) The Jews who accompany Judas to capture Christ are (2061): 'im harnisch.'

(*g*) Cristiana, Judea. (3545): 'Cristiana die kůngin, cristenlich und schon becleidet,...und hat ein rot klein venly mit einem guldinen crůcz in der hand.' (3565): 'Judea, ein andry kungin, jůdisch kleidet, die hat ein venly in der hand, ist gel mit eim schwartzen abgott[1].'

(*h*) Salvator. He is said to have (2614): 'eine lange nase,' and (2670): 'ein roter bart.' Regarding his costume the following appears (2713): 'Herodes sol by im han ein wisz claid, das bůttet er den Juden...' (2721) 'Nu ziechent die Juden den Salvator ab und legent im dis wysz cleid an' (which is styled, 2730, a 'narrencleid'). Before Christ is scourged (2823): 'facht Mosse an und zůcht den Salvator ab,' but after the scourging (2881): 'Nu bindent sy den Salvator uff und machet Malchus die kron, und ziechent in die andern uff ein sessel und legent im ein roten mantel an und kůmpt Malchus und setzt im die kronen inmass uff, das im das blůt durch das antlůt nider louft, und den nement sy die stangen und legent die (uff die) kronen und spricht Malchus zů Mosse.

> Mosse, griffe die stangen an,
> henck dich mit dinem lib daran,
> damit im in daz houpt die tornen
> gangen da hinden und da vornen.
> wir wend in zů einem kung machen,
> das sin die Juden můssen lachen.

Nu henckt sich Mosse an die stangen und knůwt Jesse für den Salvator mit einem ror und spůwt gegen in....Hie mit bůtet Jesse dem Salvator das ror[2].' Before the start for Golgotha, however, Christ is again clothed in 'die erste cleider' (3016), but before the crucifixion (3263): 'wůscht Yesse zů dem Salvator, zůcht in uss.' For the possession of Christ's coat, which has 'kein nat,' the soldiers throw dice (3355). Israhel wins but presents the garment to Pilate. Borne to the Holy

[1] Weber, *Geistliches Schauspiel und Kirchliche Kunst*, discusses these, pp. 86 ff. He apparently assumes that the 'gel' in the case of Judea refers to her dress, while the 'abgott,' a little devil, accompanies her. I cannot see the justification for this in the text. As I understand it, the 'gel' refers only to the 'venly,' while the 'abgott' is the device on this.

[2] This is the traditional manner of representing the crowning with thorns in the German passion plays, and forms one of the evidences of the influence of medieval drama upon medieval art. Cf. Pearson, *Chances of Death*, II, pp. 263 f. and 383. A certain amount of violence was necessary in order to burst the bladder filled with blood or red fluid which was fastened to the inside of the crown.

Sepulchre (3665): 'schlicht der Salvator uss dem grab und becleidet sich anders und leit sich den wider dar in.' At the Resurrection (3859): 'stost der Salvator das grab uff und stat uffrecht mit einem fůsz uss her ze stigen, und den kumpt der ander engel und bringt ein guldin kron und ein wisz venly mit eim roten crůtz, und spricht zu dem Salvator.

> Herre, du solt nemen disse kron
> und den kůngstab so schon[1].'

Stage-directions, Time element, Music.

The realism and love of detail, which are disclosed in the stage-directions of the Donaueschingen Passion, are from the numerous examples already cited very apparent. Long and minute descriptions of the scenes are very frequent and of great assistance to the modern reader in visualizing the action. As a further example the directions in connection with the Last Supper (1720 ff.) may be selected. At the bidding of Christ: 'Nu stand die dry Johannes, Petrus und Judas uff und gand mit ein ander gegen den tempel. da bekůmpt inen einer mit eim krůg und gat zům brunnen gan wasser nemen, denn stand sy still'—to watch into which house he goes that they may follow. 'In dissem kumpt der man mit dem krůg und gat für die dry, denn gand sy im hůbschlich nach bis in sal, da er das wasser nider stelt, und sy hin in koment.' Judas now asks the 'huszvatter' to show them a room for 'das nachtmal': 'Der huszvatter zőgt inen mit eim finger den tisch,' adding that he will furnish everything necessary. 'Nu gat der huszvater und git den jungern tischlachen, ein kelch und anders, denn legent sy den tisch dar und sitzt Judas allein dar zů, sin gelt ze zellen, und gat Petrus zů dem Salvator,' bidding him come. 'Nu stat der Salvator uff mit den jungern und gat zů dem tisch, und denn louft Judas und bringt ein brates lembly oder gitzi und stelt das für in. das gesegnet der Salvator. und sitzt Judas zeunderst an tisch, Johannes uff der rechten sitten des Salvators und Petrus uff der lingken. und denn nimpt der Salvator das brot, gesegnet das, bricht und bůtet jeglichem ein stuck und spricht.' After which: 'Hie nimpt er den kelch und gesegnet den und ret für sich und bůttet inen den ouch.' He tells them that his soul is sad because the betrayer is in their midst: 'Uff disse red sehent die junger ein ander an und stat der Salvator von dem tisch uff und blibent die junger sitzen. und nimpt der Salvator ein wiss tůch und gůrt sich dar mit und nimpt ein becken und tůt wasser usz

[1] The appearance of the Risen Lord. Note also the striking contrast with the 'tornin kron' and 'ror' mentioned above. For the costumes of other passion plays, cf. Heinzel, *Beschreibung*, pp. 23 ff. and *Germania*, xxx, pp. 205 ff. and 325 ff.

einem nůwen zuber dar inn und ein wisch grůnes gras[1]. dis sol der huszvater alles zů růsten. und denn gat der Salvator und knůwt nider den jungern ire fůsz zeweschen, doch zum ersten für Petrum und grifft Petro nach dem rechten fůsz, dar aber zuckt Petrus und spricht....' This will suffice; the directions for the remainder of the scene are more brief and in one or two instances have already been given.

The most frequent stage-directions, appearing with countless minor variations, are: 'Dar uff antwurt—und spricht' or 'Uff das facht—an und spricht' or 'nu stat—uff und gat (to some place or person) und spricht.' Apparently to distinguish a character from the other members of the same group an occasional direction reads (841): 'In dissem kompt Leviathan ein Jud har für und spricht.' Special prominence seems indicated (3583): 'Cristiana facht an und spricht zů aller welt.' Quite generally at the end of a scene or incident such directions occur as (1179): 'Nu gat der Salvator mit sinen jungern an ir stat und die Juden des glich,' or (433): 'Nu gand die engel und der Salvator an ir stet[2] und die Juden in tempel,' or (505): 'Nu gat ieder man wider an sin stat.' Frequently the place of an action, not located by the text in or near one of the stations, is indicated (1): 'so gat des proclamaters knecht her für in mittel platzes,' or (21): 'den stat der proclamator uff und gat enmitten in blatz'; (967): 'der blind (now healed)...gat wider gegen dem tempel. und under wegen stand Jacob, Obeth, Pharas und Esrom'; (943): 'so denselben (i.e. den blinden Marcellus) die junger sehent, stand sy all still.' Several times the direction 'uff halbem wege' occurs (765): 'und den gan sy mit ein ander gen Naym, und uff halbem wege do koment fier man mit einer tottenbor,' or (1979): 'Hiemit stat der Salvator mit den jungern uff und gat uff halben teil gegen dem Ölberg.'

It is not possible, however, even with the assistance so abundantly given, to locate invariably a given character, e.g., where does 'Salvator' go, when he (3665): 'schlicht uss dem grab und becleidet sich anders und leit sich den wider dar in'? Or, where does Judas get the 'brates lembly oder gitzi' for the Last Supper, as noted above? Such indefinite localizations are fairly frequent, (505): 'treit der kranck sin betlin etwa hin'; (765): 'Nu stand die junger uff und tůnd die spis neben sich';

[1] The purpose of this 'wisch grůnes gras' is not clear to me. Was it to put with the water in the basin and why? Or was it perhaps for drying the feet? An apparent omission in a stage-direction a few lines later (1799) is peculiarly exasperating in just this connection: 'Dar uff antwurt der Salvator Petro, und spricht und wescht im da mit die fůsz und trucknet im die mit dem (?) und kust die und spricht.'

[2] Notice that 'stet' is plural; the positions of 'Salvator' and 'die engel' were not then in one and the same place.

(3487): 'Nu tůnd sy die schächer ab den crůtzen und tragentz hin weg'; (563): 'In dissem schlicht der Salvator uss dem tempel und verbůrgt sich[1].' Do such directions mean merely, off to one side, in an inconspicuous place, or do they demand a special location? I rather incline to the former, although the Luzern practice called for an 'Ort zum verkleiden,' either near or on the stage[2].

At times the stage-directions of the Donaueschingen Passion are complemented or explained in a surprising way by the Luzern practice, as described in the articles of Brandstetter[3]. In the Donaueschingen Passion (3477) Sadoch and Barrabas come to break the arms and legs of the two thieves: 'Nu gand Sadoch und Barrabas ieglicher zů eim schacher und mit iren kolben tůnd sy, als ob sy inen die bein und arm zerbrechent, das es blůtet' etc. The last clause with its mention of blood was very puzzling until I read in the Luzern Denckrodel (*Germania*, xxx, p. 339): 'Barrabas vnd Boos...söllent ouch gemachet Kolben haben von Läder vnd vornen mit Blůttschwümmen, den Schahern Arm vnd Bein zu brechen.'

Regarding Longinus' spear we read (Donaueschingen, 3495): 'Sadoch setzt Loynus das sper an, das denn dar zů gemacht sol sin, und den sticht Loynus, das daz blůt uss her sprůczt und im uber die stangen ab uff die hend louft.' How this was accomplished is shown by the Luzern description (*Germania*, xxx, 340): 'Longinus hatt ein Spär darnach gerüst zum Stechen jn Saluatoris Brust, jst .hol vnd glych einer Sprützen, sol vornen Blut farb jm Ysen beschloszen haben.'

The stage-direction of the Donaueschingen text (2091) where Peter cuts off Malchus' ear is very curious: 'Petrus...zuckt sin schwert und schlecht Malchus zum kopf, der falt denn nider, als ob im ein or ab sy.' The Luzern note is more definite (*Germania*, xxx, p. 349): 'Malchus sol haben jn der einen Hand ein Latern vnd jn der andern ein Schwümlin mitt Blůtt, mit wöllchem er ans Or grvfft, so Petrus zuckt, jm Fallen.'

The miracles which occurred at the death of Christ doubtless occasioned the medieval stage managers much difficulty. In the Donaueschingen text we read (3447): 'Und hie mit henckt der Salvator das hopt uff die rechten siten, und falt das tůch in tempel, und erstand die totten, und schůst man mit der bůchsen, als ob es tonderte, und gat sun und mon, die dar zů geordnet sind, hinder sich.'

[1] He is however close at hand, for (585): 'kumpt der Salvator wider in tempel.' Cf. also 863, 1633.

[2] Cf. *Germania*, xxxi, p. 272.

[3] The most important source for comparison is: *Die Luzerner Bühnen-Rodel*, *Germania*, xxx, pp. 205 ff. and 325 ff.

The resurrection of the dead, the imitation of thunder and the rending of the veil[1] in the temple were not difficult to arrange, and the method of procedure is indicated with fair clearness. But what was done to the sun and moon to symbolize the darkness that came over the earth was a complete mystery until I read (*Germania*, xxx, p. 346) that in Luzern it was one of the duties of the 'Stern vnd Heiliggeist leitter' who was also 'Finsternuss macher' to attend to this: 'Vnd so der Saluator am Crütz das dritt Wort geredt[2], sol er (i.e. der Finsternuss macher) Son vnd Mon vmbkeren, das verfinstret Theil fürherkeeren.' This is paraphrased by Brandstetter (*Geschichtsfreund*, xlviii, p. 321): 'Jetzt geschieht die Verfinsterung von Sonne und Mond. Man hat vor einiger Zeit am Himmelsbalkon eine Sonne und einen Mond ausgehängt, in schöner Vergoldung glänzend. Jetzt werden sie umgekehrt, hinten sind sie blutig rot oder schwarz[3].'

At the crucifixion and death of the two thieves we read (Donaueschingen, 3455): 'In dissem sol jeglicher schacher ein bildly im mull han, als ob es ein sel were.' The student of medieval art at once recognizes this as the traditional manner of denoting the departure of the soul from the body and so represented on many medieval paintings. The exact nature of the 'bildly,' however, is disclosed by the Luzern direction for Dismas, the penitent thief (*Germania*, xxx, p. 341): 'sol ouch ein suber wysz lumpin klein Kindlin jm Halsz oder Buszen haben alls ob es die Seel sye.'

The description of John the Baptist at the release of the 'Altväter' from Limbo is rather ambiguous in the Donaueschingen Passion (3915):

[1] The directions for Luzern are in this particular more specific (*Germania*, xxx, p. 344): 'So der Saluator ans Crütz kompt, sol der jüngst Tempelherr den Vmbhang am Tempel vffzühen vnd so er verscheiden, jnne schnell von einandren zühen.' The above is the only reference to curtains that I noticed in the Donaueschingen Passion. According to Brandstetter curtains were used at Luzern also in connection with the 'Weihnachtshüttlein' (*Geschichtsfreund*, xlviii, p. 296). A rather extensive use of a curtain, which reminds one strongly of the methods of staging 'living pictures' (cf. Hermann, *Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte*, pp. 364 ff.), I found in one of the unpublished plays of Vigil Raber, *Der reich man und Lazarus*, dated 1539 and still preserved in the city archives of Sterzing. It consists of eight 'figuren' or scenes. We read: 'So all ding gericht ist, so thue man das thuech weg oder ab zu der ersten figur.

Precursor
Dy erst figur ist also gmacht
der reich man sitzt in grossem pracht
unnd lat lazarum den armen man
gar unbegabet vor im stan....'

At the end of the first 'figur': 'Da ziech man dz tuech fur.' Later on the directions read simply: 'Tuech weckh, Tuech fur.'

[2] Here as in several other respects the Luzern texts evidently follow more exactly the chronological sequence of the Biblical narrative than is the case with the Donaueschingen Passion. Cf. Matthew, 27, 45; Mark, 15, 33; Luke, 23, 44 f.

[3] Cf. also *Germania*, xxxi, p. 272.

'Johannes Baptista kumpt mit dem lemly in tierhůten.' All ambiguity, however, is removed by the Luzern direction (*Germania*, xxx, p. 209): 'Johannes Baptist. Soll han ein Lemlin, er soll mit Tiers hüt syn becleyt.'

As regards the types of gesture found in the stage-directions, the Donaueschingen Passion holds, according to Max Hermann[1], a unique position among the medieval German plays and is the only existing example of an attempt 'jenem Geist beginnender Individualisierung, Wirklichkeitsberücksichtigung und Pathetik, der uns in der bildender Kunst des ausgehenden Mittelalters entgegentrat, auch auf dem Theater Eingang zu verschaffen.'

Certain gestures are often prescribed. (117): 'bůtet sy (Maria Magdalena) Yesse die hand'; (269): 'der Salvator...zőgt mit einem finger uff Maria Magdalena'; (1137): 'Dar uff antwůrt der Salvator und tůtet mit der hand uff sich selber'; (411): 'Der tůffel facht aber an und zőgt im mit der hand zering umb'; (3157): 'und den kert sich Veronica zering umb gegen den lůten zőgt inen dis zeichen'; (921): 'Uff sollich klag buckt sich der Salvator und schribt mit einem finger in das ertrich'; (1287): 'Martha kert sich schnell umb gegen ir schwester, winckt ir mit der hand'; (2061 ff.): 'und gat Judas ein gůtz vor inen allen, und so er den Salvator ersicht am Ölberg ligen, kert er sich umb und trőwt den Juden mit der hand....Judas sol den Salvator etwe dick hinden zů schlichende geschowen und allwegen den Juden tůten, das sy still stand'; (117): 'In dissem komen sy zů Marien Magdalenen mit reverentz,' or (1843): 'Judas entpfacht das brot mit reverentz,' and (3991): 'Dem nach neygend sy beyde (*Salvator* and *Maria*) ein ander mit den höptern.' The attitude of worship or prayer is often indicated, (1113): 'Jetz falt Marcellus mit uff gehepten henden gegen dem Salvator uff die knůw'; (1309): 'und facht der Salvator mit uff gehepten henden und ougen in himel an.' Less definite are, (21): 'der proclamator...gat enmitten in blatz mit hoflicher berd'; (79): 'Maria Magdalena...mit frőlicher berd,' or (113): 'und ist Yesse frőlich.'

At times characters and groups speak 'mit luter stim,' while intense excitement is accompanied 'mit grossem geschrey,' 'ein wild geschrey,' 'ein wild gefert,' or 'sy brůlend[2].' Mental states are frequently indicated by the stage-directions. Special attention seems to have been given to the manifestations of anger, fear and sorrow.

[1] *Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte*, pp. 243 f.
[2] These last are especially characteristic of the devils. Cf. 3871, 3883.

Anger.

(173): 'stost Maria Magdalena daz spil frâvenlich von ir und wûst uff'; (417): 'Nu stost der Salvator den tûffel mit der hand von im'; (475): 'fachent die Juden an zû murmlen[1]'; (863): 'Von disen worten werdent die Juden zornig und erwûstent stein, in den Salvator ze werfen'; (1103): 'Nu gat Leviathan har zû und stost Marcellum uss dem tempel zornenklichen'; (1409): 'Cayphas antwurt frâvenlich,' (1455) 'zornlich'; (2353): 'Cayphas wust uff sôlliche des Salvators wort zornklich und facht an sine kleider zerrisen.'

Fear.

(169): 'Magdalena...siczt also erschrockenlich stil, als ob sy ir fôrcht'; (651): 'Uff disse vorderung erschrickt das frôwlin und lat die eimer fallen'; (2073): 'erschreckent die dry junger und wûschen uff'; (2149): 'Dar uff antwûrt Petrus erschrockenlich,' (2371) 'forchtsamlich'; (2411): 'erschrickt Judas vast ûbel...und spricht mit klâglicher stimm.'

Sorrow.

(1295): 'Jecz tût der Salvator, glich als ob er weine, und wûst die ougen'; (2373): 'und so das Petrus sicht, gat er hinweg weinde'; (2901): 'Hie sol Pilatus tûn und ersunfzen, als ob in der Salvator ûbel erbarmet'; (3063): 'stat Maria uff mit cleglicher stim und geberd'; (3177): 'Nu bruchent die Juden den Salvator aber untugentlich, das in demselben Maria zwûrent oder dristunt sol nider sincken mit grossem achtzen und jamer,' (3197): 'Und hie mit falt sy aber dahin amechtigklich,' (3535): 'Und hie mit falt Maria hin, als ob ir sye geschwunden.'

The agony of Christ in the Garden is described very minutely, especially (2007): 'denn gat der Salvator zûm dritten mal von inen an den Ôlberg und falt nider uff das antlit crûtzwiss eins gûten paternosters lang, denn richt er sich zitternde mit uff gehepten handen, und sol im der blûtig schweisz uss gan[2], und (mit) forchtsamlicher stim facht er also zitternde an und spricht.'

Other mental states are mentioned but with much less frequency. Amazement, (711): 'In dissem kumen die junger mit spise und verwundern sy under ein ander, das der Salvator by einer frôwen stat'; (2341):

[1] A frequent direction, especially in the action of the first day.

[2] How this shall be produced is not indicated. The Luzern practice is rather interesting. *Germania*, xxx, p. 210: 'Nota. Das der Ölberg...recht werde gmacht vnden wytt vnd hol, der Maler, so Christus am Ölberg lytt, das Angsicht vnd die Hend mog besprützen, allso ouch die Bein.' Brandstetter (*Geschichtsfreund*, xlviii, p. 311) interprets this: 'Jetzt geht auf ein Zeichen des Regenten der Maler durch eine Oeffnung des Oelberges, die der Sunnen zugekehrt und also dem grösztен Teil des Publikums nicht sichtbar ist, in den Oelberg. Nachdem der Salvator drei Mal gebetet, tritt er ganz nahe an den Oelberg, und knieet nieder, der Maler spritzt ihm durch eine Ritze Blut ins Antlitz.'

'Uff sollichs antwurt der Salvator nůt, das sich Cayphas verwundert.' Indifference, (3075): 'und in disem so kumpt Symon Cirenes, ...und nimpt sich keins dings an.' Joy, (2655): 'Herodes facht an und spricht zů dem Salvator mit frölichem hertzen.' Ridicule, (3429): 'und gand die Pharisey für den Salvator und neigent sich all mit den höptern spötlich.'

The 'als ob' which has already appeared in a number of the examples given was a very favourite method of denoting the action, (765): 'do koment fier man mit einer tottenbor, dar uff lit ein knab, als ob er tod were'; (1191): 'in dem lit Lasarus, als ob er tod sy'; (2233): 'Mit disem zeichen und zannen koment sy in Cayphas huss, und sol Cayphas nit da sin, als ob er schlieffe'; (2947): 'Und in dem tůt Pilatus frőw, als ob sy schlieff'; (1987): 'Mit dissem sitzend die dryg junger nider und tůnd als ob sy betten'; (3411): 'Nu stat Johannes zů Maria, als ob er sy well trősten.'

In one instance even the actions of the mob are specified (2229): 'Die andern Juden, so in nit fůren, sond sunst iemer dar zů loufen mit scheltworten und pinen.'

Asides are indicated, (239): 'So daz Simon ersicht, tůt er in im selbs sålczam und spricht, als ob er mit im selber rette'; (1781): 'Hie nimpt er den kelch und gesegnet den und ret für sich.'

Speaking strictly, the period of time covered by the Donaueschingen Passion extends from the Temptation to the Resurrection, i.e., the entire period of Christ's ministry on earth, or about three years. This is, however, almost completely disregarded by the good author, who arranges his scenes largely, to be sure, in the Biblical sequence but practically without reference to the actual chronology. In a few instances very primitive indications of time are given:

(*a*) In the Garden of Gethsemane (1987 and again 2007): 'knůt er nider und falt damit crůtzwiss uff daz antlit eins paternosters lang'; or, Herod greets the 'ritter' who bring Christ before him (2629):

> Was bůttet dise grosse schar,
> das ir so zornenklich kumen har
> an dissem morgent so frů vor tag?

In this latter case Herod's words in their present connection are meaningless as a designation of time.

(*b*) A day apparently intervenes between the conversion of Mary Magdalene and her return to Lazarus and Martha (350):

> ich sag dir in der warheit, gester
> han ich von allen sůnden gelan.

(*c*) Salomon tells the Jews assembled in the Temple (869):

> Ich weisz in wol zů úberringen,
> wir wend im morgen die frowen bringen,
> die ir ee gebrochen hat.

The action however continues with no further reference to the time.

(*d*) Marcellus tells the Jews who ask for Christ's whereabouts (1001):

> Das selb kan ich úch nit sagen,
> ich gesach in nie in dryen tagen.

This, though he has but just left Christ (965).

(*e*) Three days are necessary for the messenger to bring the news of Lazarus' death to Christ and return to Mary and Martha (1227):

> Er hat die sach zespat vernomen,
> wer er vor dryen tagen komen,
> die wil min brůder was gesunt.

Not until the fourth day does Christ arrive (1301):

> O her, er schmeckt, das ist min clag,
> er lit yetz an den vierden tag.

(*f*) The resurrection takes place on the third day, i.e. one day intervenes between the crucifixion and the resurrection. Josue, one of the watch, tells Pilate (3788):

> der verräter sprach by sinem leben,
> er wolt am dritten tag erstan[1].

It would be very surprising if in a piece of this nature certain inconsistencies and anachronisms did not crop out. The most glaring is perhaps the firing of the 'búchsen' in imitation of thunder, to which allusion has already been made. To this may be added the following:

(*a*) (461, also 487): 'macht der Salvator ein crůtz úber sy,' or 'úber den krancken man.'

[1] Cf. Heinzel, *Beschreibung*, p. 279: 'Andere erwähnte Vorgänge und Zeitverläufe konnte man sich während vorhergehender zeitlicher Pausen denken, welche hie und da die Darstellung zwischen zwei Versen unterbrechen,...mitunter während eines Weges, den eine Person zurücklegt.' The pause indicating the day intervening between the conversion of Mary Magdalene and her return to Lazarus and Martha he finds in the stage-direction (343): 'Nu stat Maria Magdalena uff und gat zů Lasarus und Martha.' This is to be sure a possible explanation, the pauses may be found, but personally I rather doubt the consciousness of such a pause existing in the mind of the author and certainly not in the minds of the spectators. Where not prescribed by the Bible story, these indications of time appear to me purely arbitrary or chance insertions. The use of 'gester' and 'hůt' in Mary's lament (3183) seems entirely conventional:

> o we der grossen klag und swår,
> owe der ellenden stund und mår,
> sun, daz du so ellend bist
> und aber gester gesunt und frisch
> wert by mir an we und not,
> hůt so můstu liden den tod.

(*b*) (2157): the sarcastic words of Malchus to Christ as the latter is brought before Annas:

> Gang zů har du grosser bŏswicht,
> Annas wil dich hŏren bicht
> und dir dann gen ein absolucion.

(*c*) (2371): 'Petrus wicht hinder sich und hept die finger uff und lougnet zům driten mal mit dem eid.' Cf. also 2333.

It is not possible to say much about the musical side of the Donaueschingen Passion, for though, as Mone says, 'die lateinischen Kirchentexte sind mit Musiknoten versehen[1],' these have never been reproduced. Instrumental music, if the two 'hornblaser' be excluded, appears only in the opening scene, the sinful life of Mary Magdalene. She would spend her days (87): 'mit seitenspil, tantzen und singen.' Jesse, her lover, bids one of his companions, Malchus (106): 'nim din luten mit dir,' while Mary tells Jesse (125):

> doch můstu von ersten hofrecht machen
> uff dinem gigle, so wird ich lachen.

And the following stage-direction reads: 'Nu fachent sў an mit dem seitenspil ze hoffieren.'

Vocal music, however, plays a considerably larger part. A gradual diminution of the amount of vocal music is nevertheless to be noted in the course of the development of the church drama. The strictly liturgical Latin pieces were all sung or chanted; with the Easter plays (*Osterspiele*), of which a goodly number have been preserved in Germany, it is quite generally specifically noted in the manuscripts that the Latin verses are to be sung, the German, however, which are for the most part but a free rendering of the Latin, to be spoken. In the more highly developed passion plays the spoken German verse predominates, almost to the exclusion of the Latin, which is now introduced merely in occasional songs[2].

Literary Merit.

The German passion plays are not documents of high literary value. The modern reader is for the most part simply bored and greets with pleasure such expressions as now seem quaint and naïve, though undoubtedly they were not written with such intent. Even the horse-play of the comic scenes and the occasional obscenities afford a welcome relief.

[1] *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, II, p. 154.

[2] Cf. especially Brandstetter, *Musik und Gesang bei den Luzerner Osterspielen* (*Der Geschichtsfreund*, xl, pp. 145 ff.), also Dinges, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 102 ff.: 'Die Musik in DP und die Beziehungen zur Liturgie,' and p. 124, note 1, where a statement on p. 102 is directly contradicted.

The Donaueschingen Passion does not belong to the best of its kind (certainly the *Redentiner Osterspiel* and the Tirol Passion are superior), nor yet to the worst, but stands more betwixt and between. The very fact that, owing to the abundance of detail given in the stage-directions, the modern reader may readily visualize the action, increases the interest to a very considerable degree.

The subject as announced both by 'des proclamaters knecht' and by the 'proclamator' himself is 'das liden Jhesu Christ unsers heren, sin bitter sterben und liden, das er fůr uns geliten hat.' One must admit that the author understood

> Nach einem selbstgesteckten Ziel
> Mit holdem Irren hinzuschweifen,

for the sufferings of Christ do indeed dominate the action. From the modern point of view they are doubtless exaggerated so far beyond the bounds of stage convention as to become at times almost repellent. On the other hand the coarse horse-play, so frequently found in other Passions, e.g. the Quack scene, is strictly avoided. As Creizenach says[1]: 'Das Donaueschinger Spiel ist durch einen reineren Flusz der Rede und durch gleichmäszigere Behandlung vor den meisten andern ausgezeichnet....Gut beobachtet ist es, wie Jesse, Magdalenens Liebhaber, sich von seinen Freunden sagen lassen musz, er sei nicht der einzige und wie der Apotheker die Salben kaufende Magdalena fragt, warum sie denn nicht mehr so fröhlich sei, wie gewöhnlich.'

One may, I think, grant the author a little more. He possesses in quite a marked degree ability for sarcasm and ridicule. When Fåderwisch announces the arrival of Judas at hell-gate there is an evident parody on the words of Christ in the scene of the harrowing of hell (2479 and 3869):

> Ir tůffel tůn uff der helle tor,
> gottes verråter Judas ist dar vor,

and

> Ir fůrsten der helle, tůnd uff die tor,
> der kůng der eren ist dar vor.

Or, take the words of Johel as Christ is brought before Herod (2626):

> lůg, wie hand dich die junger so lieb,
> sy koment all als trostlich zů dir
> wie ein has zů sinem brůdir.

Or again, when Malchus addresses his companions on the way to Golgotha (3174):

> wie land ir in so růwig stan?
> lieber backend im kråpfli dar zů,
> da mit man im nit zewe tů.

[1] *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, p. 225.

It is with reference to Christ that this tendency is most highly developed. By the torturers and the hostile Jews opprobrious epithets are heaped upon him. He is styled 'winckelprediger,' 'ketzermeister,' 'opferstock,' 'verråter,' 'lugner,' 'zouferer,' 'grosser schalck und wicht,' 'weltverkerer,' 'öder man,' 'falscher man,' 'kůng an (i.e. ohne) alle land,' 'böszwicht.' Or again it is ridicule. Samuel speaks to Christ, arrayed in the white robe by Herod and returning to Pilate (2733):

Yecz bist ein hůbscher gőugelman,
wo hast din andern rock hin getan?
wie bist du nåcht so druncken gesin?
du hast in versåtzt umb guten win.

At times the phraseology is of a decidedly popular type, verging upon the proverbial (3329): 'die warheit wil ich in leren gigen,' where Mone in a foot-note gives reference to Freidank. Similar are (2361): 'Man můss dir ouch die leviten lesen'; (3344): 'wir wend in an der sunnen braten'; (3411 f.): 'Im ist daz clappern noch nit gelegen, man dőrft im bas den harnasch fegen'; (2715 ff.) the words of Herod to the Jews:

fürend in für Pilatum wider,
der kan im erschwingen daz gefyder.
doch legent im dissen kittel an
der gehört eim sollichen gougelman,
dar in man im die nåt bestricht.

Twice I noticed brief but very apt characterizations of Christ. The first is contained in the answer of Matusalem, the servant of Simon the Pharisee, to the query of Mary Magdalene as to who the guests at his master's house were (157 ff.):

Frőw, die warheit ich úch verkünd
der man, der aller menschen sünd
hin nimpt und spricht, er sye gott,
wil mit im essen [an] allen spot.
der selb ist nit für úch ein man,
wan er nit schimpflichs triben kan.

The second is found in the words of Caiphas to the Jews assembled in the Temple (1373 ff.):

Ir heren, das ist ein listiger man,
der vil arguierens kan,
sin stim tőnet als ein harpf,
er ist uns allen hie zescharpf.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Notes on 'The Pearl.'

The word 'was' generally has the form *wacz* in *The Pearl*, as printed by Gollancz, or *watz* according to Osgood's reading of the text[1]. But we find also *hatz* (has) in l. 441, riming with *-ace*, and *gotz* (go) in l. 510, riming with *-os*; while l. 521 shows both spellings of the imperative plural, *gos* and *dotz*. Evidently the written *t* (or *c* before *z*) has no linguistic value in the rime-forms, and must be rejected if we wish to restore the original text. In early French both *cz* and *tz*, as well as *z* alone at the end of a word, were used for the affricate *ts*; and these spellings were kept after the affricate was reduced to the simple sound *s*, in or near the twelfth century. Thus the use of *tz* or *cz* in *The Pearl*, where we should expect *s*, may be ascribed to a copyist accustomed to writing French. Final *z* is commonly used instead of inflectional *s* following a stressless vowel, in *The Pearl*. If it means the sound *z* (voiced *s*), we might assume that inflectional *s* remained voiceless after stressed vowels, parallel with modern *f* in *off* beside *v* in *of*. Hence the written *tz* may be understood as showing that the sound was voiceless *s*.

From the rime-evidence, it appears that the author of *The Pearl* used the form *was*. With regard to the metrical structure of the poem, Osgood assumes (p. xlvi) the presence of 'imperfect rimes, dialectal variations to satisfy rime, and variable spellings, probably with a slight change in pronunciation, for the same purpose.' His idea of variable spellings seems rather misleading. Examples are given in a foot-note: '*Mas*, 1115, riming with *tras, glasse*, becomes *messe* at 497, to rime with *dresse, gesse*, etc. (cf. O.F. *messe*); *hyre*, 523, 534, etc., becomes *here*, 616; *wore*, 142, 154, and *ware*, 151, 1027, are alterations in rime of the usual form *were*; so are *wace*, 65, *wasse*, 1108, 1112, and *whatez*, 1041, for the regular *watz*; *cortes*, 754, for *cortayse*, 303.'

In words like *cortais*, initial-stress presumably tended to replace the French stress, as soon as they became popular. Poets kept up the tradition of final-stress; but the levelling of various vowels, as the result

[1] C. G. Osgood, *The Pearl*, Boston, 1906, p. x.

of weakened stress, often caused an ending to be written (and then uttered for the sake of rime) in more than one way. With regard to the other words mentioned, however, the theory of graphic variants can hardly be upheld. The difference between *mas* and *mes(se)*, left unexplained in the word-list of Sweet's *History of English Sounds*—where Scandinavian influence is indicated to account for other such doublets—, cannot be properly called a mere matter of spelling. In Osgood's glossary, under *mas* and *mes(se)*, we find the sources given correctly: *mas* is the derivative of OE. *mæsse*, while *messe* is the French form. Thus the two are really separate words, like *money* and *mint* < *monēta*.

Turning to l. 616, we learn that it ends with the word *lere*; the rime-words are *here* (adv.), *prayere, clere, were, stere*. The noun *here* is an editorial conjecture for *lere*, so it cannot well be said to prove anything. Although *here* is a dialectal variant of *hyre*, it belongs to the South, and can hardly be assumed in a work representing the Northern-Midland border. And so long as other evidence is lacking, it is not reasonable to accuse the author of changing *hyre* to *here* in order to make up a rime. If the sense 'wages' implied by the conjecture were certain, it would seem better to assume *hyre* or *hire* in the original text. It is hard to see how the riming of *hyre* with *here* would be worse than that of *perle* with *gyrle* (l. 205), which Osgood does not deem worthy of remark. But it should be noted that if *hyre* or *here* makes sense within the line (*am not worþy so gret h...*), it does not suit the context overwell. Granting that the Gospel 'penny' (denarius) was a coin of considerable value, and was so understood by the author, nevertheless it seems strange that he should call it 'large wages' in a work like *The Pearl*. I should prefer to assume *ere* for *lere*, the *l* being wrongly added from *late* at the end of l. 615. The noun *ere*, recorded in the ME. dictionaries with the spelling *ære*, was the Scandinavian form of *ore* (favour, kindness), corresponding to OE. *ār* < **aizō*.

Osgood speaks (p. xii) of the great number of Scandinavian words employed in *The Pearl*. One of these presumably is *wore* (= *were*), corresponding to Icelandic *vāru*. Stressless OE. *wæron*, with shortened *æ*, gave normally a re-stressed form *ware*, beside the ordinary *were* with *ē* < *ǣ*. *Wace* (riming with *-ace*) and *wasse* (riming with *-asse* and *-as*) show that the 'regular' *watz* should be corrected to *waz* (stressless) or *was*. Lines 1039–42 are, with Osgood's punctuation:

> Uchon in scrypture a name con plye
> of Israel barnez, folewande her datez,
> þat is to say, as her byrþ whatez;
> þe aldest ay fyrst þeron watz done.

The odd form *whatez*, which Osgood has wrongly taken for a variant of *watz*, has nothing to do with 'was.' It is simply a scribe's blunder for *hatez* (bids), with *w* added from the *watz* under it. The sense seems to call for a semicolon after *datez* and a comma after *hatez*.

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THE USE OF AN UNSTRESSED EXTRA-METRICAL SYLLABLE TO CARRY THE RIME.

The late Dr Schipper in his *History of English Versification* (p. 275) discusses what he calls the Unaccented Rhyme and the Accented-Unaccented Rhyme—both of which he remarks to be common in Wyatt. He illustrates the first by the couplet

> With horrible fear, as one that greatly dread|eth,
> A wrongful death, and justice alway seek|eth:

the second by

> So chanced me that every passion
> Whereof if that I laugh at any sea|son

with which we may compare a couplet of Spenser's (*Shepherd's Calendar*, II, 43, 44):

> Comes the breme Winter with chamfred browes
> Full of wrinckles and frostie furr|owes.

It may be worth while to point out that the latter form of rime is especially common in Peele. The following examples are taken from Mr Bullen's edition. The abnormal line is sometimes the first in the couplet.

Arraignment of Paris:

> Accounts more honour done to her this day
> Than ever whilom in these woods of I|da.
> I, i, 173, 174; cp. 203, 204.

> But, pray you, tell me, Juno, was it so,
> As Pallas told me here the tale of Ech|o.
> II, i, 1, 2.

> If then this prize be but bequeath'd to beau|ty,
> The only she that wins this prize am I.
> II, i, 58, 59; cp. v, i, 165, 166; *Tale of T.* 103, 104.

> Shepherd abash not, though at sudden thus
> Thou be arrived by ignorance among | us.
> II, i, 106, 107.

> If, as my office bids, myself first brings
> To my sweet madam these unwelcome tid|ings.
> III, ii, 85, 86.

As what was then our general agree|ment
To stand unto thy will be now content.
III, ii, 103, 104 ; cp. IV, i, 181, 182 ; 207, 208.

And crave this grace of this immortal sen|ate,
That ye allow the man his advocate.
IV, i, 45, 46 ; cp. 197, 198 ; 223, 224 ; 259, 260.

That may not be : the laws of heaven deny
A man to plead or answer by attor|ney.
IV, i, 47, 48.

Nay gods I trow you are like to have great sil|ence,
Unless this parrot be commanded hence.
IV, i, 57, 58.

But ladies under favour of your age,
Howe'er it be, you play upon the vant|age.
IV, i, 221, 222.

Behold I take thy dainty hand to kiss
And with my solemn oath confirm my prom|ise.
V, i, 39, 40.

Edward I:

Returning weary home from out the Holy Land
A Welshman shall be king and govern merry Eng|land.
II, 263, 264.

By Gis, fair lords, ere many days be past,
England shall give this Robin Hood his break|fast.
X, 109, 110.

Nicholson's remark: 'Strike out "Hood." This restores metre...' is a proof that the peculiarity of Peele's verse now illustrated required to be pointed out.

David and Bethsabe:

Open, I say, and, as you open, sing
Welcome, fair Bethsabe, king David's dar|ling.
I, 103, 104.

Tale of Troy:

So honoured for his royal progeny,
Blest in his queen, his offspring and his coun|try.
9, 10.

Of wit and wisdom such as might suffice
To venter on the highest piece of ser|vice.
21, 22.

A dreadful dream, and, as it did befall,
To Priam's Troy a dream deadly and fat|al.
39, 40.

Then was the time when Flora dight with flowers
Like Iris in her pride and parti-col|ours.
75, 76.

So Peleus' valiant son, the great Achil|les,
That lately with the Grecians took the seas,
Restrain'd awhile in habit of a wom|an,
Unworthy wrong done to so brave a man.
227—230.

The flower of Greece, and armies all by this,
For want of wind, had hover'd long in Aul|is.
233, 234.

And all for love of the unconstant Cress|ed
T'encounter with th' unworthy Diomed.
282, 283.

Where he may prove his strength, and storming thus
He lights upon Achilles' friend Patroc|lus.
306, 307 ; cp. 444, 445.

And having thus perform'd this piece of trea|son,
He triumphs in the spoils of Priam's son.
318, 319.

Similarly, in a quatrain of *The Praise of Chastity*:

Believe me, to contend 'gainst armies roy|al
. . . . . .
To praise the triumph not so special.

Peele's text is often corrupt, but clearly the feature here pointed out is too frequent to be explained in any other way than as due to the author.

I find no examples of the phenomenon in the *Spanish Tragedy* nor in Greene. But I have come across these in *Selimus* (ed. Grosart):

That begs the common soldiers' suffrages
. . . . . .
It would the more increase their insolent|ness.
820, 822 (in a quatrain).

Your flashing buffets and outrageous blows
. . . . . .
Shall soon be wrecked upon the sandy shal|lows.
1768, 1770 (in a quatrain).

The last passage, as has been pointed out to me by Mr Walter Worrall, is a reproduction of Spenser's *F. Q.* III, iv, 9 :

Though thy strong buffets and outrageous blowes
. . . . . .
On the rough rocks, or on the sandy shal|lowes.

In Donne I have noticed in *The Storm*:

With a salt dropsy clogg'd and all our tack|lings
Snapping like too-too-high-stretch'd treble strings.
55 56.

And in *Sat.* I :

And wily statesmen which teach how to tie
The sinews of a city's mystic bod|y.
7, 8.

In Jonson in *Epigram CXIV* :

Hath changed his soul, and made his object you ;
Where, finding so much beauty met with vir|tue.
5 6.

In Fletcher, verses to Sir Robert Townsend, prefixed to *The Faithful Shepherdess*:

> Yet according to my talent
> . . . . . .
> A poor Shepherd I have sent. 8, 10.

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Izaak Walton and John Donne.

About three quarters through the first chapter of Walton's *Compleat Angler*, will be found a passage which in the first edition (1653) runs as follows:

> 'And since I have your promise to hear me with patience, I will take a liberty to look back upon an observation that hath been made by an ingenuous and learned man, who observes that God hath been pleased to allow those whom he himselfe hath appointed, to write his holy will in holy Writ, yet to express his will in such Metaphors as their former affections or practise had inclined them to; and he brings *Solomon* for an example, who before his conversion was remarkably amorous, and after by Gods appointment, writ that Love-Song betwixt God and his Church.'

The passage slightly expanded and modified appears in all later editions.

I cannot find that anyone has identified Walton's 'ingenuous (sc. 'ingenious') and learned man.'

In reading the admirable selection of passages from Donne's Sermons lately edited for the Clarendon Press by Mr L. Pearsall Smith, I came across this passage (pp. 24—26) from Donne's sermon preached before Queen Anne on Dec. 14th, 1617, and published as Sermon XVIII in Donne's *XXVI Sermons* (1660):

> 'As the Prophets and the other Secretaries of the Holy Ghost...do for the most part retain...some air of their former professions...ever inserting into their writings some phrases, some metaphors, some allusions, taken from that profession which they had exercised before...according to this Rule too, *Salomon*, whose disposition was amorous, and excessive in the love of women, when he turn'd to God, he departed not utterly from his old phrase and language, but...he conveyes all his loving approaches and applications to God, and all Gods gracious answers to his amorous soul, into songs, and Epithalamians.'

It can hardly be doubted after this that Walton's 'ingenuous and learned man' was Donne. It is to be noted however that Donne's sermon was not published till 1660. Had Walton access to it in MS.? Was he assisting John Donne the younger to prepare this 1660 volume for the press? Or had the elder Donne repeated this thought in some sermon which Walton had heard from his lips?

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Henry Brooke's 'Gustavus Vasa': A Correction.

Through the kindness of Mr W. J. Lawrence my attention has been drawn to an error in my article on Henry Brooke's *Gustavus Vasa* (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vol. XIV, pp. 173—182). Certain misstatements are made on p. 177 regarding the performance of the play in Dublin.

1. 'Permission was given for a performance in Dublin.' No such permission was necessary, because the censorship which banned the play in England, did not exist in Ireland.

2. 'This actually took place in 1742.' The original authority for this seems to be Hitchcock's *Historical View of the Irish Stage*, according to which *Gustavus Vasa* was acted at Dublin in February, 1741 (whether new or old style is meant is uncertain) for several nights with great success. Hitchcock's mistake probably arose from the fact that on Feb. 8, 1741–2, Brooke produced a new tragedy, *The Betrayer of his Country*. This has nothing to do with *Gustavus Vasa* and when afterwards published was called *The Earl of Westmoreland*. The earliest verifiable date for the production of *Gustavus Vasa* in Dublin is Dec. 3, 1744, when it appeared in a slightly modified form under the title of *The Patriot*. It was given five times during the season but caused no sensation.

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'Cursed Hebenon' (or 'Hebona').

Following the line suggested by Dr Bradley (*M.L.R.* vol. XV, pp. 85 *et seq.*) I would put forward what I believe is the true solution of the passage in *Hamlet* I, v, 62. This solution dispenses completely with the extremely awkward assumption that Shakespeare was content to confuse *hebona* (or *hebenon*) with *henbane*. It involves only the assumptions that these are both forms of the word *ebony* (a point practically proved by Dr Bradley) and that Shakespeare, *in accordance with tradition*, considered *lignum vitae* (or *lignum sanctum*), from which is obtained the drug *guaiac*, to be a species of ebony. *Guaiac*, though normally curative, was thought, in certain cases, to act as a poison and produce a kind of leprosy.

Ebony (*hebenus* or *ebenus*) in Italian is *ebano*, and possibly, though this is not material, Shakespeare's *hebona* should be *hebano*. With *hebenon* we may compare the neuter Latin form *(h)ebenum*: Grimm's *D.W.B.* gives '*Ebenbaum, m. ebenus*' and '*Ebenholz, n. ebenum*, von schwarzer Farbe. Goethe 40, 172.' (It might also be a corruption of the

adjectival neuter *ebeninum*, or a printer's combination of *heben* corrected in MS. to *hebon*.) Minsheu's *Guide* (1617) gives It. *ebeno*.

The *Dictionarium Latinogermanicum* of Joannes Frisius, second edition, Zürich, 1556, provides the important clue. The compiler gives both *ebenus* and *hebenus*, but prefers the form with *h*, referring us to it for the meaning. Under *hebenus* we read 'Hebenus, f. g. & hoc hebenum, pen. corr. Virg. [no edition is cited]. Ein Indianischer baum / welchesse holtz so hert wirt als ein stein. Etliche meynend das blaaterholtz seye ein gattung von disem geschlächt.' (Some regard *blaaterholtz* as a *species* of this *genus*.)

The confusion of *blaaterholz* (i.e. *Blatterholz, guajacum sanctum*) here mentioned explains everything. In *Hamlet* (*loc. cit.*) the 'juice of cursed hebona' is a 'leperous distilment,' which produced 'a most instant tetter...most lazar-like.' But this also may be, according to tradition, the effect of *Blatterholz*. Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon* tells us that this is only one of the names for *guaiac*, which is more usually known as 'Frantzosen-Holz (weil es die Frantzosen heilet'); other names are 'Pocken-Holz, Heilig-Holz, Indianisch-Holz, Lateinisch Guajacum,...Frantzösisch Gayac oder Bois saint, Italienisch Il Legno sancto...' (*op. cit.* Bd. IX. (1735) F., cols. 1753 *et seq.*). In the middle of a long account of this wood and of the curative effect of the decoction made from it occurs (at col. 1757) the significant passage: 'Von all zu vielem Gebrauch dieses *Decocti* soll die Lunge vertrocknen...Man hat auch öfters wahrgenommen, dass *Melancholici*, die sonderlich Hitze in der Leber gehabt, durch allzuvielen Gebrauch eben dieses *Decocti* in ein Elephantiasin und Gelbsucht verfallen.' Various authors are cited as describing the possible ill effects of this decoction, and some of their accounts may have been seen by Shakespeare; the point calls for further research, but the main fact seems clear. Shakespeare has drawn, directly or indirectly, on the medical writers.

Elephantiasis, as is well known, was long used as practically equivalent to the term leprosy, with which jaundice (*gelbsucht*) was also confused. Compare Wackernagel's essay in his edition of Hartmann von Aue's *Armer Heinrich* (ed. Toischer, Basel, 1885, pp. 164 *et seq.*) and B. Hederich's *Graecum Lexicon* (ed. Morell and Taylor, 1803): 'elephantiasis, morbus leprae similis.' Wackernagel refers particularly to the disease common in Norway under the name of *Radesyge* (*lepra borealis*), some account of which may have been known to Shakespeare. But there are grounds for thinking an Italian source more probable, and I hope by further search to reveal the extent of the poet's indebtedness. The

most interesting point is the suddenness of the effect he attributes to the poison.

My conclusions then are that (*a*) the theory of a confusion with *henbane* may be dropped; (*b*) *hebenon* or *hebona* has its proper sense of *ebony*; but (*c*) Shakespeare, sharing a common view, regarded *lignum vitae* as a species of *ebony* and used the general term for the particular. (*d*) Following a well-known tradition he then attributed to the 'juice of hebona' (i.e. *guaiac*) the power of producing, in certain cases, a loathsome and leprous-like disease.

The use of the adjective 'cursed' may be a daring reversal of the ordinary 'blessed'; its evil effect, in this case, turns *lignum sanctum* into *lignum sacrum* (i.e. *execrabile*).

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THE SLOANE MANUSCRIPT 2936 (BRITISH MUSEUM).

In his library at Castel Magny, near Bayonne, Nicolas Joseph Foucault, a distinguished administrator and archaeologist who flourished from 1643 to 1721, possessed a fifteenth-century vellum MS. of 69 folios, quarto, entitled: *Le Livre des Mortalites*, the first chapter or 'rubrica' being headed *De la puissance de nature. Et comment les corps celestiaux gouvernent naturelment ce monde. Et font auenir merueilleux effects.* The author of this work has been stated to be Olivier de la Marche, a well-known chroniqueur, littérateur, etc., of the last dukes of Burgundy, who was born about 1426 and died in 1502[1]. After having passed through several hands, the MS. found a final resting-place in the British Museum, where it now bears the number 2936 of the Sloane Collection. It consists of a table of contents beginning on fol. 2 thus: 'Cy sensuiuent les Rubriches de cest liure' (these words are deleted, but have been copied in a later hand on fol. 1^{b}), and a poem of 3653 lines of eight syllables, divided into nine sections or chapters, each headed by a rubric, corresponding to one given on fol. 2. This occupies fols. 3–50; fols. 50^{b}–68^{b} contain a kind of glossary. In the present binding fols. 67 and 68 are misplaced and ought to follow fol. 60, and the MS. is slightly deficient

[1] Cf. Galland, *Discours sur quelques anciens poètes et sur quelques romans gaulois peu connus* (*Mémoires de Littérature tirez des Registres de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, ii, Paris, 1717), p. 743: P. Papillon, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs de Bourgogne*, Dijon, 1742, ii, p. 20; Catalogues of the MSS. in the British Museum. H. Stein, *Étude biographique, littéraire et bibliographique sur Olivier de la Marche* (*Mémoires couronnés et Mémoires des Savants étrangers publiés par l'Académie de Belgique*, xlix, Brussels, 1888), p. 103, mentions this poem as by Olivier de la Marche and as having been in the Foucault library; but adds that it has been lost sight of.

at the end (after fol. 66[b]), but only ten or twelve lines are missing, the last leaf being lost.

Beyond the words 'oliuier de' there is nothing in the MS. to justify the statement that it is by Olivier de la Marche. On fol. 3 above the title already quoted is the following heading, the part indicated by dots being erased: 'Le liure des mortalites translate de latin en francois par oliuier de.....Bachelers in decretz.' On a reagent being applied to the erasure, the article 'la' appeared faintly after 'de,' and at an almost equal distance from 'la' and from 'Bachelers' the word 'Maistre.' The space was clearly not sufficient to have contained the words 'Marche' and (after 'Maistre') 'd'hostel'—Olivier de la Marche having been 'maistre d'hostel' to the dukes of Burgundy. This, together with the fact that I could find no evidence of Olivier de la Marche having possessed any degree such as 'Maistre [clerc] et Bachelers en decretz' led me to the conclusion that he could not have been the author of this poem. Moreover, it is different in subject, language and versification from any of the known works of Olivier de la Marche; it is inferior as poetry: and its author possessed a scientific and medical knowledge such as Olivier de la Marche could not, in the course of his busy life as courtier, soldier and statesman, have acquired.

In the nineteenth 'rubrica' or chapter entitled: 'Les excusacions et supplicacions et aucuns regretz du translateur' I found, amongst much other information, the following (fol. 47):

Et anxi je fus esmeu
A ce faire, Dieu soit creu
Par tres fervent & grant desir
A faire prouffit & plesir
Plus a autres que a moy meisme
Pourtant j'ay mis la chose en risme,
En petitz vers fleurissans,
A celle fin que les lisans
Puissent avoir quelque plesance
En lisant, pour consonance.
Et la mesure du plesant mettre
Et a la fin de mielx comettre
Ceste doctrine, subtile et vive
A la vertu memorative.
Et si aucun me veult reprandre,
De ce que j'ay ose enprandre
A translater ceste matiere,
Je respons en ceste maniere,
Que j'ay veu petit levrier
Courre plus tout que vn grant corsier,
Et souvent croit tres bonne pome
Dedanz le jardin d'un povre homme;
Et entre ronces volentiers,
Fleurissent les francs esglantiers.

Et pour cela, si j'ay failli
En quelque point, ou deffailli
A translater mains clerement
L'original enseignement,
Ou mue le sen de la letre,
Autrement qu'il ne deust estre,
Ou escript en rude langage,
Par deffault de sen & usage:
Je suppli de cueur flechissant
Que pour l'amour du tout puissant,
Il me soit du tout pardone
A quoy je suis abandone;
Car null ne doit estre reprins
Pour avoir de fait entreprins
Quelque belle conclusion,
De bon cueur & entencion
Quant volentiers, a son pouvoir
Ilquiert fornir son bon vouloir;
Et les termes de medicine
De diverse sorte et racine
Sont trop merveilleux & divers
A faire risme et joli vers.
Anxi n'ai je pas grant savance
Du propre langage de France
Car ma mere estoit pure Brete,
Donc n'avoit point la langue preste
Ne le sen ne l'entendement
A parler si congruement,
Comme vn francois le dit language,
Et je suis ne de son lignage[1].

. . . . . .

Item s'aucun vouloit savoir,
Combien que ce ne peut valoir
Le propre nom du translateur
Et quant a ce compilateur
Preigne l'arbre d'umble stature,
De qui vient le comun huile
Qui est a vivre moult utile,
Et le plante lez une haye
Moienent une cople vraye,
Et trouvera, si bon lui semble,
Les nom et surnom ensemble.
Et me semble convenient
Quotter ycy a escient
Le temps & sa condicion,
Quant ceste compilacion
Fut ainxin forgee & faicte
Et des originaux extraicte,
Pour les choses moult diverses
Courantz adonc & peruerses;
Pourquoy notes que cest escript
Fut fait en lan de Jhesucrist
Mil quatre cens, a droit compter
Et vingt & cinq, sanz plus monter.
Ou quel temps falx et doloureux
Neant plesant ne amoureux
Regnoient en France notoirement
Comme devant pareillement

[1] Here I omit thirty lines.

Avoient regne par plusieurs ans,
Continues & precedans,
Divers malx & miserables,
Et devant dieu detestables;
Sourdans d'une tres fiere guerre
Que la nacion d'Engleterre
Menoit ou dit Royaume en ce temps, etc.

The poem was thus written in 1425, when Olivier de la Marche was not yet born, and its author was Olivier de la Haye. Possibly the substitution of Olivier de la Marche's name was an intentional fraud perpetrated by the person who sold the manuscript to Foucault, his motive being, of course, to enhance the value of the manuscript in the bibliophile's eyes. There exists another but incomplete MS. of the poem in Lyons, which was edited by M. Georges Guigue in 1888[1]; M. Guigue was naturally unaware of the British Museum MS.

The work is a translation from Latin prose of 'une doctrine, certaine et vraye' compiled by 'notables fisiciens et expers en l'art et anciens,' i.e. members of the Paris Faculty and the ancients, by the command of Philippe VI of France, to inquire into the causes of the Black Death of 1348. The records of the Paris Faculty are extant[2], but those of the time in which Olivier de la Haye lived are missing, and are said to have been carried off by the English during the war. The little we know about the writer is thus limited to what he tells us himself in his poem. The chief value of the poem consists in the number of technical terms it records, some of which are explained in the 'table' on fols. 50–66. This is one of the earliest attempts, at least in French, to compile a glossary of this kind.

H. Oskar Sommer.

London.

An Alleged Note by Boccaccio on 'Inferno' xix, 13–21.

In all the printed editions Boccaccio's commentary on the *Divina Commedia* breaks off abruptly at the seventeenth verse of the seventeenth canto of the *Inferno*; and we know that the MS. was left incomplete from the following statement of claim made after Boccaccio's death by his brother Jacopo, who was one of the beneficiaries under his will:

[1] *Poème sur la Grande Peste en* 1348 *par Olivier de la Haye.* Publié par Georges Guigue. Lyons, 1888. Cf. *Romania*, xviii, 1889, p. 200.

[2] Cf. L.-A. J. Michon, *Documents inédits sur la Grande Peste de* 1348, Paris, 1860, and É. Rebouais, *Bulletin mensuel de l'association des élèves de la Faculté des Lettres*, Nos. 7, 8, etc. Paris, 1887.

'Dinanzi a voi domando,' he writes to the Consoli dell' Arte del Cambio[1], 'ventiquattro quaderni, e quattordici quadernucci, tutti in carta di bambagia, non legati insieme, ma l' uno dall' altro diviso, d' uno iscritto, o vero isposizione sopra sedici Capitoli, e parte del diciasettesimo del Dante, il quale scritto il detto Messer Giovanni di Boccaccio non compiè....'

It was with no small surprise, therefore, that while reading lately the account of the Baptistery of San Giovanni at Florence in Richa's *Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine*[2] (vol. v, pp. iv ff.), in which reference is made to Dante's mention of the font in the Baptistery in the nineteenth canto of the *Inferno* (vv. 13–21), I came across a note on this passage attributed to Boccaccio. In his section on the font in San Giovanni (Art. iii, § 3), speaking of the great crowds at the annual baptisms, which, save in exceptional circumstances, took place only on Easter eve, and the eve of Pentecost, Richa says that on these occasions, owing to the numbers, dangerous accidents sometimes occurred, and he gives two instances, one related in the Life of Pope Damasus, the other recorded by Dante:

Per la folla addivenivano casi pericolosi, come leggesi nella Vita di S. Damaso Papa, che appunto per la moltiplicità dei bambini, ne cadde uno nel Fonte, cavato fuori dal Diacono; ed altro simile avvenimento accenna Dante nel Cap. XIX dell' Inferno, dicendo che egli stesso vi ripescò un fanciullo, che vi affogava, cavatolo per i capelli.

Richa, whose recollection of Dante's account is somewhat hazy, for Dante says nothing about 'fishing the child out by the hair,' then proceeds to give the comments on the passage of the *Inferno* of several of the early commentators, beginning with Boccaccio, whose note, he says, is transcribed from a MS.:

Poichè parecchi Comentatori del Divino Poeta discorrendo su questo caso, ischiariscono non poco la Storia di questo nostro Battisterio: io quì riporterò quello, che mi sono avvenuto a trovare in varj Comenti. E primieramente si legga un' annotazione di Giovanni Boccaccio nelle sue Note manoscritte sopra Dante, che è come appresso: 'S. Giovanni è il Tempio antico di Fiorenza, nel quale è una Pila grande di marmo, nella quale stanno più che 12. Persone, et anticamente ivi si baptezavano molti insieme, perchè si bapteza una volta, o due l'anno, e in tutta la Città non è altro Baptistero: Et intorno a questa grande Pila sono quattro fori di marmo larghi quanto vi cape un uomo diritto, ne' quali stavano i Sacerdoti a baptizare per la moltitudine della gente. Advenne al tempo di Dante v' era entrato col capo di sotto un fanciullo, per tal modo stava, che non si poteva estrarre fuori, e Dante vi s' abbattè, et con una scura la ruppe, e campollo che annegava.'

There are two points worthy of note in this account. In the first place, no other account of the ancient font of San Giovanni that I am aware of, at any rate by an early commentator of Dante, gives the

[1] The Consoli had been appointed arbitrators in a dispute as to the terms of the will—see my article on 'Boccaccio's Commentary on the *Divina Commedia*,' in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, II, pp. 104.

[2] Published at Florence in ten volumes, 1754–1762.

information as to the capacity of the central basin, namely that it would hold more than twelve persons. The second point is the mention of the axe with which, the writer says, Dante broke the font in order to rescue the drowning child. Now the only other of the early commentators to record the detail of the axe is Benvenuto da Imola[1], whose note on the passage is as follows:

> Debes scire quod Florentiae in ecclesia patronali Johannis Baptistae circa fontem baptismalem sunt aliqui puteoli marmorei rotundi in circuitu capaces unius hominis tantum, in quibus solent stare sacerdotes cum cruribus ad baptizandum pueros, ut possint liberius et habilius exercere officium suum tempore pressurae, quando oportet simul et semel plures baptizari, quoniam tota Florentia tam populosa non habet nisi unum Baptisterium tantum, sicut Bononia.... Et autor incidenter commemorat unum casum satis peregrinum, qui emerserat pauco tempore ante in dicto loco. Qui casus fuit talis: cum in ecclesia praedicta circa Baptismum colluderent quidam pueri, ut est de more, unus eorum furiosior aliis intravit unum istorum foraminum, et ita et taliter implicavit et involvit membra sua, quod nulla arte, nullo ingenio poterat inde retrahi. Clamantibus ergo pueris, qui illum juvare non poterant, factus est in parva hora magnus concursus populi; et breviter nullo sciente aut potente succurrere puero periclitanti, supervenit Dantes, qui tunc erat de Prioribus regentibus. Qui subito viso puero, clamare coepit: Ah quid facitis, gens ignara! portetur una securis; et continuo portata securi, Dantes manibus propriis percussit lapidem, qui de marmore erat, et faciliter fregit: ex quo puer quasi reviviscens a mortuis liber evasit.

Whence did Benvenuto derive the detail of the axe? We know from himself not only that he attended Boccaccio's lectures on the *Divina Commedia*[2], but that he also received information from Boccaccio personally on various points connected with the poem[3]. It is by no means improbable, therefore, that Boccaccio was the source of his information in this instance also; and that the note quoted by Richa either represents a passage from one of the lectures actually delivered of which no other record exists, or formed part of a collection of notes for future lectures which by some freak of fortune was preserved independently of the completed fragment of the *Comento* as it has come down to us. It is quite possible that such a collection existed, for there is evidence in the *Comento* itself that Boccaccio had prepared notes far in advance of the particular canto he was dealing with at the time; for instance, he five times refers forward to his commentary on the

[1] The axe is also mentioned, it is true, by Stefano Talice da Ricaldone, who says: 'Dantes ingressus est ecclesiam, et ipsemet cum securi ipsum [puteolum] fregit'; but his commentary has practically no independent value, for, as Prof. Barbi has shown, it is little more than a transcript of Benvenuto da Imola's lectures at Bologna (see *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S., xv, pp. 213–36).

[2] In his comment on *Paradiso*, xv, 97–8 he says he noticed the neglected state of the Badia of Florence, 'dum audirem venerabilem praeceptorem meum Boccaccium de Certaldo legentem istum nobilem poetam in ecclesia sancti Stephani.'

[3] For instance, the meaning of the word *lonza* (*Com.* i, 34); and the story of the boys who threw mud at the statue of Mars on the Ponte Vecchio (*Com.* i, 461).

Purgatorio, and thrice to that on the *Paradiso*, both of which we may gather were already to some extent sketched out[1].

It is unfortunate that Richa gives no clue to the whereabouts of the MS. containing these notes of Boccaccio, the existence of which seems to have been unknown both to modern Dante commentators, and to Boccaccio specialists such as Henri Hauvette, the chief authority on Boccaccio's handwriting, and Oskar Hecker.

It may be stated, in conclusion, that the other commentators besides Boccaccio cited by Richa are an anonymous commentator, quoted from a MS. text, whom I have identified as Jacopo della Lana, whose commentary was first printed (with the erroneous attribution to Benvenuto da Imola) in the 1477 Venice edition of the *Divina Commedia*; Francesco da Buti, also quoted from MS., his commentary not having been printed until 1858–62; and Cristoforo Landino, whose commentary was first printed in the famous Florentine edition of 1481, and had been reprinted at least fifteen times before Richa's day.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.
April 1920.

[1] See my article, already quoted, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, II, p. 112.

REVIEWS.

Studies of Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English. By MATS REDIN. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift. 1919. 8vo. xlv + 196 pp.

Students of Personal and Place-names must give a warm welcome to Dr Mats Redin's dissertation, not only for its own sake but also as an assurance that the good work begun by the late Professor Björkman is being carried on no less ably by his pupils. He deals only with names of native origin. Björkman himself dealt with those of Scandinavian provenance, and another pupil—Dr Forssner—has already dealt exhaustively with the names of Continental-Germanic origin which are found in Old English documents.

The main sources of these uncompounded names are (1) Shortened forms of compound names recorded in Old English which the Anglo-Saxons themselves could without difficulty associate with the corresponding full name, e.g. *Eada-* with *Eadgar, -mund, -noð, -red, -weald, -wulf*; (2) Original short forms to which no corresponding full names are recorded in Old English. Under (1) Redin has an interesting discussion of the frequent gemination of a medial consonant found in such names. Sometimes it is due to assimilation of the final consonant of the first member with the initial consonant of the second, e.g. *Aelle* as a pet form of *Aelfwine*, but this will explain only a very small number and attention is called to the important part played by '*lall*-names' in this connexion. Pet-names of the *lall*-type, the invention of children, are found among all nations, and attention is called to the curious fact that identical names of this type have arisen for example in both Latin and Old English. *Ab(b)a, Acca, An(n)a, Nunna, Lilla* are good names in either language.

A good deal of attention is given to the question of the intelligibility of the names in Anglo-Saxon times, and out of 736 names, 338 are classified as intelligible (e.g. *Cēna*, brave) and 398 as unintelligible (e.g. *Dudda*). This gives rise to the statement that 'the Anglo-Saxons had advanced half-way towards the present-day indifference to the signification of (uncompounded) names.' Unless some attempt is made to show that the relative proportions changed in the course of the Anglo-Saxon period, this statement is meaningless. We use intelligible names, e.g. *Faith, Hope, Clara, Ernest, Irene*, but we are certainly entirely indifferent to their significance. At a later stage Dr Redin does attack the problem of chronological frequency and finds a curious development between 900 and 950 in favour of significant names. This he suggests is due to the influence of Scandinavian nomenclature with its wealth

of nicknames which often came of course to be used as surnames. Finally, he discusses the chronology of the relative frequency of compounded and uncompounded names, and points out the comparative rarity of uncompounded names in the signatures to English charters after about 935. This is attributed with a good deal of probability to a change of fashion which had led to the view that uncompounded names were too commonplace or trivial. They are still frequent as the names of serfs and moneyers and the like; they are no longer used, at least on dignified occasions, by great nobles and ecclesiastics.

Dr Redin's book will be of great value to students of place-names. The last resort for the explanation of a difficult place-name is to take the first element as a personal-name. Many ghost-names exist in Searle's *Onomasticon* and have been used hitherto in all good faith by writers on place-names. They will now know just where they are in this matter. They can find what uncompounded names are genuine and then, so far as they may wish, invent hypothetical forms to explain the rest.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

A Treasury of Seventeenth Century Verse, from the Death of Shakespeare to the Restoration (1616—1660). Chosen and edited by H. J. MASSINGHAM. (Golden Treasury Series.) London: Macmillan and Co. 1919. 8vo. xxiii + 399 pp. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This volume is an instructive record of the reawakened interest, especially among our younger writers and poets, in the poetry of Donne and of those later seventeenth century poets who acknowledged allegiance to the

> King, that rul'd as he thought fit
> The universall Monarchy of Wit.

There is indeed a not purely imaginary affinity between the 'metaphysicals'—not Donne the Elizabethan who moves among the rest of Mr Massingham's group rather like Gulliver among the Lilliputians—and our young Georgians. Their relation to the Elizabethans, the splendid and flamboyant poetry of Spenser and Marlowe and Shakespeare and Drayton, is not unlike that of the Georgian anthologies to the last of the great romantics, the Morris, Rossetti, Swinburne group of the mid-century. Unwilling or unable to take up the tradition of elaborate harmonies and exotic beauties of diction and romantic themes in each of the periods in question, poets turned to other subjects, a simpler style, a more inward and spiritual treatment of love and religion and meditation upon life and death. I would emphasise the phrase 'simplicity of diction,' for it seems to me that Mr Massingham ignores one of the titles which the 'metaphysicals' made good to a peculiar place of their own in the history of English poetic style when he speaks of their extravagant adventures among words, 'their precious and inkhorn terms.' Their adventures among images and symbols

are palpable and notorious but their English style is far purer and simpler than that of the Elizabethans. 'This class of authors,' said Sir Walter Scott, 'used the same violence towards images and ideas which had formerly been applied to words,' but, as Coleridge insists, they did so in a style which, if often harsh and occasionally obscure, is generally pure and natural, colloquial but gentlemanly. Their characteristic fault, he insists, 'is the reverse of that which distinguishes too many of our recent versifiers' (i.e. Erasmus Darwin and the last of the eighteenth century poets); 'the one conveying the most fantastic thoughts in the most correct and natural language, the other in the most fantastic language conveying the most trivial thought.' Donne and Jonson—who declared that 'Spenser writ no language'—led the way in rejecting the 'poetic diction' of the Spenserians and the writers of Ovidian idylls, poems like *A Lover's Complaint* and even *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, to say nothing of the sonneteers. Every poet will to some extent create his own vocabulary, but compared with the Elizabethans before them and the later poets who learned a new poetic diction from Milton, Donne and Herbert and Vaughan and Cowley and Herrick are the purest wells of English after Chaucer; and before Wordsworth and Shelley, our finest masters of the neutral style. Keats was the chief source of the poetic diction of the later, the Victorian Romantics,—Tennyson, Rossetti, Swinburne. In the style of many of the young moderns we can trace another reaction from a 'poetic diction' to the language 'which men do use.' The beginning of such a reaction is perhaps traceable to the influence of Mr Kipling.

Of the other feature of mid-seventeenth century poetry, the fantastic wit which critics from Dryden and Addison to Johnson and Scott were unanimous in condemning, Mr Massingham says just the right thing, that it was the outer symbol of the greater complexity of their thought and feeling alike about love and about religion. He speaks indeed as if the term 'metaphysical' were applicable, and generally applied, to the religious poets only. Historically this is a mistake. It was of Donne's love-poems Dryden was speaking when he referred to his metaphysics; and, as Mr Massingham himself sees, the love-poetry is traversed by 'frissons métaphysiques' quite as much as the religious. That is if 'metaphysical' be the right word; 'psychological' would be more accurate. The interest of Donne and his genuine disciples is that they are the first 'moderns,' the first poets who are curious about their own reactions in love and religion. They are not metaphysical as Lucretius and Dante were, nor even as the great romantics, Wordsworth and Shelley and Browning. They have either no philosophy or a traditional one, Anglican or Catholic, about God and man, and even the religious poets, except Traherne and Henry More who are no great poets, are not curious students of the metaphysics of religion but of their own spiritual moods; the same is true of Donne and occasionally other of the love poets. But this 'metaphysical' or psychological strain is by no means universal in the poets whom Mr Massingham's anthology represents. In many of them the metaphysical wit is simply a fashion

in conceit; and others, as his favourite Wither, are quite simple singers of simple moods. In fact, the final impression one gathers from Mr Massingham's volume, intensified by the self-denying ordinance which excludes Milton, Herrick and many of the best pieces of poets otherwise represented, is of a period exceptionally rich in excellent minor poetry, charming poems, meditative, playful, fantastic. There are no love-poems here which have the vibration of Donne's; no lyrics with the honied perfection of Herrick's; nothing with a touch of the great style which is Milton's, but (and here again the period has affinities with our own) the general level of pure poetry is extraordinarily high. The Carolines live and move in an atmosphere of poetry as the lesser poets, say of the Romantic Revival, do not. But Mr Massingham's selection is not representative of the very best poetry of the age, nor of its more passionate and tormented strains.

As an editor Mr Massingham, if he has abundant enthusiasm and critical insight, when the latter is not distorted by personal prejudices, lacks the high qualities of patient care and loyalty to the poets whose work he handles. His volume is dedicated to among others the shades of the Poets from whose work he has gathered. He must feel that he owes those shades at least a silent blush for the mutilation of their poems and the carelessness with which he has printed the text. For the practice of cutting and carving the poems at will, without even the erection of a warning-post in the form of asterisks to indicate where verses have been torn away, Mr Massingham may plead the precedent of Palgrave and Professor Quiller-Couch. Nevertheless it is an objectionable practice. The principle on which Mr Massingham has dealt with Fanshawe's Ode (No. c) needs but little extension to admit a re-writing of the poem. Verses are omitted and the others so rearranged as to obscure or destroy their original meaning. It is not sufficient justification to appeal to one's own sense of 'poetic merit' and to disclaim 'recondite or historical interest.' Our judgment of the poetry of a past age must allow itself to some extent to be guided by the taste of that age so far as we can recover it. We must try to be representative of the age, not only of what in its work appeals to us. The result of doing the last is that Palgrave gave us only those few poems which the taste of the age of Tennyson approved. Donne was allowed no place; Herbert and Crashaw and Vaughan the very smallest. It was Mr Bullen's and Professor Saintsbury's fine blend of poetic taste and historical imagination which reopened and reassessed these long neglected poets. But part of their quality is their inequality, the fluctuations of their passionate and imaginative rhapsodies; and we do them wrong to cut and carve in accordance with our own personal whims and modern prejudices. Mr Massingham omits from Cowley's fine poem on Crashaw what he calls in an airy note 'the few flattish lines genteelly demurring at Crashaw's creed.' They are historically the most interesting lines in the poem—one of the first clear expressions of the slowly awakening spirit of toleration—and personally the most passionate. Donne's splendid *Anniversarie* is just spreading its wings for a final soar and stoop when

Mr Massingham takes off its head, apparently because he does not appreciate the theological conceit in which the poet's feeling expresses itself. The great quality in the evolution of Donne's songs is a continuous onward movement of passionate thought which will not suffer such mutilation as Mr Massingham here and Professor Quiller-Couch in the *Oxford Book* are guilty of. One owes something to the old poets. Their poems should be printed as they wrote them or, if space does not permit, we should at least be warned by asterisks where omissions occur. Why give anything at all of Lovelace's *Grasshopper* if one is to disguise the true character of this interesting experiment in an Horatian ode of the lighter, Epicurean kind. The three opening verses taken by themselves have no significance, nor are they notably better than the other verses. From Crashaw's *Hymn to the Name and Honour of... Saint Teresa* Mr Massingham in like manner drops the lines on love which strike the keynote of the whole poem, including such beautiful lines as:

> 'Tis Love, not Yeares or Limbs that can
> Make the Martyr, or the Man.
> Love touch'd her Heart, and lo it beates
> High, and burnes with such brave heates;
> Such thirsts to dy, as dares drink up
> A thousand cold deaths in one cup.

A little further on he omits again (this time with an indication) some extravagant but splendid and characteristic lines on the same theme, lines such as:

> His is the Dart must make the Death
> Whose stroke shall tast thy hallow'd breath;
> A Dart thrice dip't in that rich flame
> Which writes thy spouse's radiant Name
> Upon the roof of Heav'n; where ay
> It shines, and with a soveraign ray
> Beates bright upon the burning faces
> Of soules which in that name's sweet graces
> Find everlasting smiles.

The omission of such lines and the whole selection from Crashaw suggest that Mr Massingham is not quite in sympathy with the more passionate strain which to other readers is the chief justification of these writers' daring conceits. His preference for King, Vaughan and Wither is instructive of his taste for the more meditative, pensive, playful and peaceful strain, and the result is an anthology individual and interesting but not fully representative of what is best and most characteristic.

The text of his poems Mr Massingham seems to have left to the care of the printer or the chance of the edition used to set up from. The result is not a happy one. Carew's fine *Elegy on the Death of Dr Donne* has not been printed from the best text which is that affixed to Donne's poems. I revised it with some care in my edition. The same is true of Carew's lines to George Sandys which are admirably printed in the 1636 edition of the *Paraphrase upon the Psalmes*. Mr Massingham has added some fresh errors. In the Donne elegy (p. 19) 'kindled first by

the Promethean breath' should be 'thy Promethean breath'; 'precedents' (p. 20) should be 'precedence'; the lines:

> Till verse refin'd by thee, in this last age
> Turned ballad rime, to those old Idols be
> Adored again, with new apostacy,

lines which yield no apparent sense, should run:

> Till verse refin'd by thee, in this last Age
> Turne ballad rime, Or those old Idolls bee
> Ador'd againe, with new apostasie.

On p. 21 'I will not draw the envy' should be 'I will not draw thee envy.' The phrase recalls Jonson's:

> To draw no envy, Shakespeare, on thy name.

In the Sandys lines (p. 24) the ridiculous 'she reach thy dark' is in 1636 'she reach thy Lark.' On p. 23 'hatched a Cherubim' should surely be 'hatched a Cherubin.'

Cowley and Crashaw have suffered too, though Mr Waller's Cambridge editions were available. In Cowley's *Ode on the Death of Mr Crashaw* we read (p. 43) 'And build' for 'And built'; 'thou...Have' for 'thou...Hast'; on p. 44 'lie our fates' for 'tie our fates' and 'corrupt our Muses then' for 'corrupt our Muses thus' as the rhyme requires. In the fine *Hymn to the Light* (as Cowley calls it), p. 46, 'With them there hasten' should be 'With them there hastes,' and, p. 47, 'Thou cloth'st in it' is 'Thou cloth'st it in.' This fine poem has lost some of its best stanzas, e.g.:

> The guilty Serpents, and obscener Beasts
> Creep conscious to their secret rests:
> Nature to thee does reverence pay,
> Ill Omens, and Ill Sights remove out of thy way,

a stanza which one might fancy to be echoed in Shelley's:

> The sunbeams are my shafts, with which I kill
> Deceit, that loves the night and fears the day;
> All men who do, or even imagine ill,
> Fly me, and from the glory of my ray
> Good minds and open actions take new might,
> Until diminished by the reign of Night.

Crashaw has fared rather worse than Cowley, though Waller's edition (if the notes are also consulted) would have given a good text. I note some of the errors. In *Music's Duel* the lines (p. 56)

> his hand does go
> Those parts of sweetness, etc.

are as in all the editions but are quite unmeaning. The Sancroft MS. gives the true text 'paths' for 'parts.' In lxiv (p. 57) *Upon Bishop Andrews*, l. 8, the comma should follow 'home'; 'with an holy strength' qualifies 'Snatched herself hence to Heaven.' So 'till' (l. 12) should be 'still.' Of lxv *The Weeper* (p. 58) the first stanza is more intelligible with the original punctuation:

> Thawing crystals! Snowy hills,
> Still spending, never spent! I mean, etc.

In *Loves Horoscope* (p. 60) 'Love's motive hours' should be 'Love's native hours,' and lower down 'their best aspects twined upon' should, in a modernised text, run 'their best aspects twinned upon.' The verb is not 'twine' but 'twin,' an astrological term meaning 'to combine, unite.' On p. 61 for 'Lay back' read 'Lay black' and for 'this funeral nest' read 'his funeral nest.' Of the Saint Teresa lyric (pp. 61–5) the punctuation needs reconsideration in places. In the fourth stanza of *A Hymn to the Nativity* I can find no authority for

> I saw the obsequious Cherubim.

The 1648 and 1652 editions read:

> I saw the obsequious Seraphims
> Their rosy fleece of fire bestow.

It is the Seraphim who burn in love. The 1649 edition and Sancroft MS. give an earlier text:

> I saw the officious Angels bring
> The down that their soft breast did strow.

The unintelligible lines in *On a Foul Morning* (p. 67):

> Shall rise in a sweet harvest, which discloses
> To every blushing bed of new born roses

are made clear by the Sancroft MS. (Waller's notes) which reads:

> Two ever-blushing beds of new-blown roses.

In the last line (p. 67) 'To sit and cool' is a quaint error for 'To sit and scowl.' In his notes on Crashaw (p. 330) Mr Massingham writes as though he had forgotten that *Music's Duel* is a paraphrase from the Latin of Famianus Strada's *Prolusiones Academicae* (1617). The notes on nightingales near Rome is irrelevant. It was not till after this poem was written that Crashaw went to Italy. It might have been well to give Ford's version also, if either was to be included.

In the case of Donne, Mr Massingham, who speaks very generously and kindly of my edition, professes to accept my text but he has frequently not done so, and I hoped for some comment, for I make no claim to infallibility. But the departures seem to be inadvertent. The last two lines of *The Good Morrow*, p. 74, are unintelligible. There are two versions, each of which makes sense:

> If our two loves be one, or thou and I
> Love so alike that none do slacken, none can die,

and

> If our two loves be one, or thou and I
> Love just alike in all, none of these loves can die.

In *The Relique* the late reading 'Mass-devotion' should be 'Mis-devotion.' In *The Ecstasy*, p. 81, 'Senses' force' should, I think, be 'forces, sense.' In *Love's Infiniteness* there should be a full-stop after the sixth line or no colon after the eighth. In *The Dream*, p. 88, it is a small thing to omit the comma after

> And knew'st my thoughts,

but it is to ignore or obscure what Donne said. Why Mr Massingham should call this poem Petrarchan I do not understand. It is rather frank for Petrarch:

Enter these arms, etc.

In 'Soul's joy,' p. 88, which is probably by the Earl of Pembroke, Mr Massingham prints, p. 89:

For when we miss
By distance, our hopes joining bliss,
Even then our souls shall kiss.

I cannot make sense. Lansdowne MS. 777 reads:

For when we miss
By distance our lip-joining bliss
Even then our souls shall kiss,

which seems unexceptionable.

In King's *The Pink*, p. 157, the old editions read in the last line, not 'your sweet creature' but

Must ever your (sweet) creature live,

where 'sweet' is of course a vocative, an address:

Must ever your, Sweet! creature live.

The couplet remains obscure. Perhaps 'she' is deliberately used for 'her.'

These errors in the text and punctuation, and there are many others, in the poems selected from Browne, Bunyan ('Because thou gavest such' for 'savest such'), Burton, Robert Fletcher ('refuge' for 'refuse'), Robert Heath, George Herbert, Lord Herbert, Marvell, nor have I checked all the poems, are doubtless due to setting up from imperfect texts, as Chalmers', and not revising with sufficient care. The errors of ascription are due to a peril we are all exposed to, meeting in a printed or MS. collection some poem that interests us and which we fail to recognise as already printed. The present writer included at the last moment in the third Appendix to Donne a fragment on which he had stumbled in a MS.:

And though thy glass a burning one become

without recognising that it was a part of William Browne's *Elegy* on the Countess Dowager of Pembroke who died in 1621 (Goodwin II, 250).

Mr Massingham must be aware that some of his ascriptions are erroneous. Herrick is omitted, but he has assigned to Corbet (p. 42, No. lv) part of Herrick's *On a Country Life* and printed as anonymous his well-known lines *To Robin Redbreast*. The Erratum opposite p. 1 does not cover the whole error as to No. cccxxx. This poem is a strange conglomerate of three poems by Waller, *The Self-Banished* (Drury's Ed. p. 101), *To Amoret* (*ib.* p. 83) and *While I listen to thy voice* (*ib.* p. 127). Drury calls attention to this version in his notes. In cclxviii Mr Massingham has printed from *Fragmenta Aurea* what is evidently a couple of poems which have accidentally appeared as one. The first is by Lord Herbert (Churton Collins, p. 47)—i.e. three verses of a poem of six. The second is probably by Lord Herbert also. To Donne Mr Massingham

assigns with some hesitation, 'Absence, hear thou my protestation' and 'Soul's joy, now I am gone.' I need not discuss the question, as I have done so fully elsewhere. It is, however, hardly fair to say that I have disfranchised Donne of a poem which no editor assigned to Donne till 1721, though it had been printed as early as 1602, a date which excludes the possibility of its being written by Hall (Massingham, p. 335).

It would be worth a little trouble and expense to make the text of these poems worthy of the enthusiasm and taste which Mr Massingham has brought to the selection. He has introduced his readers to poets and to poems not readily accessible to anyone who lives remote from the greater libraries and done the work of selection which is so much needed even for readers of Professor Saintsbury's volumes.

His notes are generally excellent if, like his selection, a little personal in character. If Lovelace's 'Tell me not, Sweet' seems overpraised to Mr Massingham his view will not be shared by every reader. Lovelace's two best poems are the finest expression in poetry of two sentiments which glorify even a mistaken and defeated cause, loyalty and honour. Why, with the admiration he expresses for Marvell, he should have omitted his noble religious poems it is hard to understand, as it is why Habington should be called an Anglican Puritan seeing he was (as Mr Massingham's own note indicates) a Catholic. The last refuge of puritanism is now the Catholic Church. It is interesting to note how little there is in Habington, Catholic by upbringing, of the ecstasies of converts like Crashaw or the Dutch poet Vondel. The distinctive note of Mr Massingham's volume is given, as has been said, by the place he assigns to the pious and quietist poetry of Vaughan and Wither. Vaughan, like Wordsworth, is apt to appeal to readers only by his occasional splendid felicities. Mr Massingham has recognised that these are the efflorescence of a poetic and imaginative fervour which pervades all he wrote, that the chilliness of his meditative strain, like the simplicity of Wordsworth, is an illusion due to the reader's failure to appreciate the latent ardour and mystical significance. This is perhaps the greatest service which Mr Massingham's volume has conferred on us, this reiteration of the worth of Vaughan. But a taste which selects by affinity Vaughan and Wither does not easily do justice to the more radiant heat of Crashaw, or the troubled intensity which Herbert's neat and finished art a little disguises. And even to Vaughan at p. 235, *Man*, Mr Massingham does the injustice of omitting a stanza necessary to complete the grammatical structure of the first, and to give the meaning of the whole poem.

As for the 'curiously modern poem,' No. cccxxxiv, *The Child's Death*[1], the present writer would substitute 'certainly' for 'curiously.' Nothing but the original MS. or one risen from the dead will persuade us that this poem was written at any other epoch than the reign of Queen Victoria:

[1] [Mr W. Worrall of the *Oxford Dictionary* informs us that the 'curiously modern' poem is the last two sections of a juvenile piece by J. R. Lowell, *Threnodia*, dated 1839, and that this is at least the fourth time it has been printed as if it belonged to the seventeenth century. Edd.]

A strip of yellow sand
Mingled the waters with the land
Where he was seen no more!
O stern word, Nevermore.

'Quoth the raven, Nevermore!' Taken out of a seventeenth century setting the poem is pleasing, by no means 'exquisite.' There are errors in the text of the anonymous poems as p. 265 'Yet all the world may see' for 'That all the world.' In *The Garland*, p. 279, l. 5, 'when' should be 'where,' and l. 10 'Selvies crest' should be 'Selinis' crest.' The allusion is to Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, I, 7, 32.

H. J. C. Grierson.

Edinburgh.

Robert Burns. Leben und Wirken des schottischen Volksdichters. Dargestellt von Hans Hecht. Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1919. 8vo. viii + 304 pp. 8 M. 40.

Dr Hecht's work was finished in June 1914. It is now published, the author tells us (preface dated July 1919), with slight additions and no important change: 'Soweit es mir möglich war, habe ich Neuerscheinungen noch berücksichtigt.' The book is founded on thorough and persevering study; every inch of it has been tested, and nothing admitted without scrutiny; nothing irrelevant. Dr Hecht's edition of *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts*, Edinburgh, 1904, is one of the most valuable contributions in recent times to the history of Scottish poetry; his notes on the *Merry Muses of Caledonia* are further proofs of his diligence, in *Archiv*, 129, 130. Now he has told the story of Robert Burns in full, with sincere admiration and good sense. It is interesting to compare his book with Angellier, and pleasant to follow the French poet's sane judgment also over the difficult ground of Scotch manners and Scotch religion. The memory of Burns has suffered no injustice, in the one or the other book. Every reader has of course his own preferences, but no honest reader will fail to admire Dr Hecht's knowledge of the poems; his critical estimates are well argued. In dealing with personal matters he will not please everyone, but the final impression left on the mind is that of justice and true comprehension. Particularly admirable is the author's respect for Mrs Burns, towards the close of her husband's life.

The places and the 'local conditions' are well described and understood. The Scottish reader may wonder at the disguise of familiar objects, e.g. 'in Nance Tinnock's respektablem Ausschank'—but this is trivial. The ecclesiastical and theological problems, Old Light and New Light, are presented discreetly, with no too exhaustive criticism, but just sufficient to explain the poet's satire; not enough to repeat, in German prose, the blinding discharge of *Holy Willie's Prayer*.

Dr Hecht gives its proper place to Burns's letter on the Revolution of 1688, parliamentary government and the House of Stuart. This, addressed to the editor of the *Star* in 1788, is Burns's political creed; belief in the British Constitution and in progress; unbelief in the cant of the Whigs, whom he exhibits gloating over the fall of the Stuarts

and forgetting the American instance against the tyranny of Parliament. But in this connection Dr Hecht does not seem to appreciate more than other biographers the extraordinary political information of Burns; he had followed contemporary history as closely as if his vocation were debates or journalism. 'Good morning to your Majesty' (*A Dream*) is a poem that expresses this; likewise 'When Guilford good.' This needs to be repeated, for innocent readers of the poet are liable to be taken in by some of his devices. The Poetic Genius of his country found him at the plough—with a head full of British history, all the annals of the American war and the rise and fall of ministries. The ploughman was taking notes of the same things as Horace Walpole, and none of his notes were fudged; not a point in his *Dream* but is pertinent. 'She bade me sing the loves, the joys, the rural scenes and rural pleasures of my natal soil, in my native tongue'; and he sings *Hallowe'en*, with a prose Commentary added in literary English and a preface offering 'some entertainment to a philosophic mind' in the remains of old usages among 'the more unenlightened.' Again, 'I tuned my wild artless notes as she inspired' he says: whereas no poet since Chaucer had been more thoroughly an artist, more obedient to the traditions of a school. Dr Hecht is good on the poetical ancestors of Burns; there is one place however (there are not many) where the phrasing might be improved. Comparing *The Cotter's Saturday Night* with Fergusson's *Farmer's Ingle*, Dr Hecht says 'Die neunzeilige Stanze von *The Cotter's Saturday Night* geht letzter Hand auf Spenser zurück, und wurde von Burns mit der Modifikation verwertet, die sie durch Thomson, Shenstone und Beattie erfahren hat. Sie unterscheidet sich von der in Fergusson's *Farmer's Ingle* angewandten durch ihre etwas abweichende Reimtechnik.' To talk of Burns's stanza as differing from Fergusson's is putting things the wrong way round: Burns keeps to the regular measure of the Spenserian stanza; Fergusson is the nonconformist here and invents a stanza of his own. One might ask also what exactly the author means by the modification of the Spenserian stanza in Thomson, Shenstone and Beattie. The verse of *The Minstrel*, it is true, does not sound like Spenser; but the *Castle of Indolence* is not far from the *Faery Queene*. The difference is not easy to explain, and Dr Hecht's continental readers might think it more definite than it really is. Does he fully recognise the dangers of prosody? At any rate he has given plenty of space and care to the songs of Burns. He is not the first in this field, but he has surveyed it all for himself; and this is the part of his book which may be particularly recommended. Here you see Burns at work as a critic and a poet, the critic and the poet indistinguishable. For the Poetic Genius of his country found in him a mind remarkably keen and also patient in criticism; he took endless trouble for Johnson and Thomson, but most of all for his own ideal of good workmanship. This part of his life is especially well told here, and in such a way as to bring out what the author nowhere defines explicitly: the difference between Burns's poems of 1786–7 and his later writings. For this is the great miracle of Burns's

genius, that he expressed his mind completely in his first volume of poems, and in the poems of the same season which were not published at the time, particularly *The Jolly Beggars* and *Holy Willie's Prayer*. After that he returns very seldom to the old ground; once, with a 'sudden glory' in *Tam o' Shanter*, and again, with style as unfaltering as ever, in praise of Matthew Henderson and Captain Grose. But there is never another volume like that of Kilmarnock, into which, as poet and artist, he put the whole meaning of his life.

W. P. Ker.

London.

The Foundations and Nature of Verse. By Cary F. Jacob. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1918. 8vo. xii + 231 pp. 6*s.* 6*d.*

After summarising the state of our knowledge regarding the physical and psychological factors of verse in a series of competent chapters on pitch, intensity, time, rhythm, duration, accent, etc., Dr Jacob outlines his own theory of verse structure and scansion. 'Any theory of English poetry which assumes for the syllables either equality of time-length or the existence among them of any degree of simple proportion is without foundation in fact' (p. 117). 'Usually the marking off of the measures is by mere increase of loudness; but this means of accentuation is not at all obligatory. Provided a feeling of a fairly definite time-length has once been established, the ear will seize upon any phenomenon at hand that will assist in maintaining the periodicity of occurrence' (p. 124). He accepts Scripture and Wallin's 'centroid syllable.' 'The latter has undoubtedly come to a correct understanding of the case in thinking of accent as produced by length, pitch, and intensity singly or in combination, when centered in some syllable made emphatic by their presence' (p. 126). 'The centroid sounds occur at time intervals which are felt, when not too closely inspected, to be of equal length' (p. 193). 'When due allowance has been made for the inaccuracies of time-judgments, the time-lengths of the syllables do approach the time-lengths of notes, not as written but as played' (p. 194). Jacob finds no 'essential difference between the various kinds of feet' (*pace* Mr Bayfield!) (p. 178). 'They represent merely the perceiver's method of grouping the syllables' (p. 216). There is not necessarily an equal number of centroids to each line of any particular type of verse: 'it is the tendency of corresponding phrases toward equality of time-length that makes possible their division by an approximately equal number of centroid syllables' (p. 196). 'The arrangement of verse into lines of fixed length is a purely arbitrary matter' (p. 216).

To Dr Jacob, then, pause is an integral factor of rhythm. 'Centroid syllables...and pauses are the phenomena which mark for the senses the time divisions of verse' (p. 215).

The so-called spondee is, according to Jacob, made up of two intervals (or feet). 'It is arbitrary and unwarranted to include two centroid intervals in one interval' (p. 136). The so-called pyrrhic Jacob

dismisses: 'I have never been able to find...a single case in which one of three things does not take place. In the first, one of the unaccented syllables is given a subjective accent to make it conform to the general scheme of periodicity of accent. In the second, a pause is introduced in order that the subjective accent may be felt during the pause. In the third, the unaccented syllables belong with either the preceding or the succeeding syllable' (p. 137).

The so-called 'compensating foot' such as occurs in

She that hath that is clad | ⏑ ⏑ | ′ ′ | in com|plete steel |

is dismissed, and the line is scanned[1]:

• ⏑ ⏑ | • ⏑ ⏑ | • ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | • ⏑ ⏑ | •⏑⏑ |
She that hath | that is | clad in com | plete | steel

where the single syllable centroid intervals between the centroids on *plete* and *steel* is felt to be equivalent roughly to the duration of accented syllable plus two unaccented syllables (p. 138). Dr Jacob scans the line

To further this Achitophel unites

• ⏑ • ⏑ | • ⏑ | • ⏑ | • • ⏑ | •
To further | this | A | chitophel u|nites

with the proviso that the centroids...on *this, chit,* and *nites* and at the beginning of the line are much heavier than those on *fur* and *phel* and that in the pause (p. 139).

'Hovering accent' and 'deferred accent' are similarly explained (or dismissed). The first line of *Lycidas* is scanned (p. 140):

• ⏑ | • ⏑ • ⏑ | • ⏑ • ⏑ | • ⏑ ⏑ • ⏑ | • ⏑ • ⏑
Yet | once more, | O ye | Laurels and | once more

'The so-called hovering accent is nothing more than a centroid in which duration is more prominent than loudness' (p. 140).

Here, it seems, the centroids on *once, Lau, once,* and the centroids at the beginning of the line and in the first pause are much heavier than those on *more, O, more,* and in the second pause.

In this line, as in the second of those already scanned, Jacob finds that the foot, bar, or measure, contains two centroid intervals.

Dr Jacob's is an ingenious and well documented attempt to explain the nature of English verse and to suggest a system of scansion. I have little doubt that his system (which closely resembles Mr T. S. Omond's) is substantially correct for 'accentual' verse, but I have grave doubts as to its suitability or accuracy in the case of 'alternating' or 'syllabic' verse, in which pause is of no account, as far as I can see, and time intervals do not, except in a very secondary manner, enter into the scheme, although doubtless the 'centroid' conception is feasible and sound here too, being but another name for 'weight.'

T. B. Rudmose-Brown.

Dublin.

[1] In this and the following example it must be recollected that the foot, bar, or measure may begin with the accent or centroid or end with it, as already explained.

L. Vincent. *La langue et le style rustiques de George Sand dans les romans champêtres.* 1916. 8vo. 400 pp. 12 fr. *George Sand et l'amour.* 1917. 12mo. 270 pp. 4 fr. 50. *George Sand et le Berry.* 1919. 8vo. xiv + 672 pp. 12 fr. 50. *Le Berry dans l'œuvre de George Sand.* 1919. 8vo. 368 pp. 12 fr. 50. Paris: H. Champion.

Les études de M^lle^ Vincent, lentes et patientes, sévères et techniques, embrassent une région de faits bien circonscrite. Le Berry tient une grande place dans l'œuvre et dans l'existence de George Sand qui a passé les deux tiers de sa vie à Nohant. Il convenait donc de rechercher ce qu'elle doit au Berry et ce que le Berry lui doit. Elle a été élevée au cœur de cette province, dans une tranquille région rurale, en pleine paysannerie. C'est là qu'elle 'a grandi comme une plante du sol,' c'est là qu'elle s'est ouverte aux impressions qui, pour la formation de son génie, ont été déterminantes. C'est là enfin qu'elle est venue reposer son âge mûr et sa vieillesse.—L'ouvrage le plus documenté sur la biographie de l'illustre écrivain est celui de W. Karénine. Cette biographie doit à M^lle^ Vincent d'être éclairée, complétée et rectifiée sur plusieurs points capitaux. George Sand (Aurore Dupin) appartient au Berry par ses ancêtres paternels. M^lle^ Vincent nous fait connaître la famille Dupin en long et en large et relate les circonstances qui accompagnèrent le mariage clandestin de Maurice Dupin et de Sophie Delaborde, père et mère d'Aurore. Celle-ci, petite sauvage, est envoyée en 1817 au couvent des Anglaises. Elle revient à Nohant au printemps de 1820 et s'enivre à la lecture de Chateaubriand, de Rousseau surtout qu'elle réserve 'pour la bonne bouche.' Elle fait alors la connaissance de deux Berrichons qui exerceront sur elle une profonde influence: Jules Néraud et Stéphane Ajasson de Grandsagne. Le premier l'a initiée aux beautés de la nature et lui a donné le goût des études botaniques, entomologiques et minéralogiques qui furent une occupation et une distraction durant toute sa vie. Quant à Grandsagne, il fut l' 'initiateur' tout court. C'est avec lui qu'Aurore ébaucha son premier roman, à l'âge de seize ans. Leurs relations se renouèrent plus tard au point de devenir très intimes. Après les explications de M^lle^ Vincent, il ne sera plus guère permis de dire comme W. Karénine que Sandeau fut le premier des amants de George Sand. Mais la plus grande nouveauté qui nous est présentée, c'est la réhabilitation du baron Casimir Dudevant. Il nous apparaît comme un personnage différent de celui que la légende et W. Karénine ont pour ainsi dire ordonné. Naguère encore, F. Gribble (*George Sand and her Lovers*, London, 1910, p. 145) l'appelait 'a fool, a boor, a drunkard, and an avaricious spendthrift.' Eh bien! Casimir a été affreusement calomnié. Sans doute, cet agronome émérite n'avait rien de transcendant ni d'éthéré. Mais il était bon, droit, sincère, un peu faible, généreux, mais il n'était ni incapable, 'ni avare, ni ivrogne, ni libertin, ni brutal.' Il a été 'bien vengé par l'insuccès de tous ceux qui lui ont succédé dans le cœur d'Aurore Dupin. Mais *les autres*, on pouvait les quitter, les reprendre

à volonté. Le plus grand tort de Casimir a été d'être le mari...Tout porte à croire que s'il avait épousé une autre femme...il eût été un excellent mari.' Nous sommes pleinement d'accord avec M^lle^ Vincent: Casimir eût été un excellent mari s'il avait eu pour femme une fermière placide, sérieuse, pensant à

> .....mettre en notre étable,
> Vu le prix dont il est, une vache et son veau,
> Que je verrai sauter au milieu du troupeau.

La conduite de George Sand à l'égard de Dudevant et des *autres*, ses attaques contre le mariage, la société, le sexe fort, s'expliquent par la nature infirme et bornée de la femme, par l'effet d'une disposition fatale que M^lle^ Vincent analyse dans son livre sur *George Sand et l'amour*. La romancière avait un tempérament de glace et une imagination de feu. C'était une amoureuse platonique par force, comme dit le D^r^ Michaut, et une passionnée la plume à la main. Son histoire est celle de Lélia et son cas intéresse plus les médecins que les moralistes.

Nous devons à M^lle^ Vincent une multitude de renseignements, nouveaux en partie, sur l'activité politique et sociale de George Sand, sur ses amis berrichons (les plus connus sont Jules Sandeau et Henri de Latouche, directeur du *Figaro* qui protégea un peu tyranniquement les débuts littéraires de Madame Dudevant), sur ses affaires de famille (procès avec Dudevant, rapports avec sa fille Solange et son fils Maurice), sur ses relations avec François Rollinat, Michel de Bourges, Mallefille, Pierre Leroux, Chopin, Louis-Napoléon-Bonaparte. De 1852 à 1876, elle est vraiment châtelaine de Nohant. Nous sommes abondamment documentés sur sa demeure, son train de maison, ses domestiques, ses repas, sa santé admirable, sa sobriété monacale et ses capacités culinaires. (Elle aurait mérité un diplôme de licenciée ès-confitures !) Sa puissance de travail était prodigieuse: c'est qu'elle avait la patience et l'endurance du bœuf berrichon. Outre ses innombrables ouvrages, elle a dû écrire 50,000 lettres au minimum ! Il est inexact d'ailleurs que dans le pays, on l'ait jamais appelée 'la Bonne Dame.' Ce nom n'est donné là-bas qu'à la Sainte-Vierge.

Comment George Sand a-t-elle représenté le Berry? M^lle^ Vincent a répondu à cette question avec toute la précision désirable. Grâce à elle, nous savons combien l'auteur de *la Mare au Diable* était attentif à tout ce qui touchait sa province et surtout la Vallée Noire, histoire et préhistoire, géographie, sites et paysages, habitations, mobilier, vêtement, nourriture, travaux rustiques, religion et superstitions, usages, divertissements, caractère enfin et intuitions poétiques des paysans. M^lle^ Vincent s'est donné beaucoup de peine pour contrôler les renseignements fournis par l'écrivain sur le Berry et ses habitants. Elle les a trouvés aussi fidèles que possible. Le paysan de George Sand est, si l'on veut, le paysan endimanché, mais il est beaucoup plus proche de la vérité moyenne que le paysan de Balzac et de Zola.

Il restait à étudier l'usage que la châtelaine de Nohant a fait des ressources qui lui étaient fournies par le patois de son village et des environs. C'est ce travail que M^lle^ Vincent a entrepris avec diligence,

mais on sent un peu que la philologie n'est pas son pain quotidien. Que signifie une phrase comme celle-ci : ' Elle (G. Sand) appréciait beaucoup cependant la phonétique de son pays ' ? *Amitieux*, *honteux* avec le sens de *timide* n'appartiennent pas exclusivement au patois du Berry ou du Centre ; *ablette*, *agasse*, *aumaille* sont attestés en ancien français et sont toujours très vivants ailleurs que dans le Centre. George Sand était persuadée que le berrichon était le 'français primitif': c'est pourquoi sans doute il lui paraissait indifférent d' 'emprunter son vocabulaire et sa syntaxe tantôt au patois de son pays, tantôt au vieux et moyen français dont sa mémoire était meublée.' (Rappelons que Montaigne, Rabelais surtout lui étaient très familiers.) Il y a une assez large part de fantaisie dans la langue que George Sand a parlée dans ses romans champêtres, mais elle est arrivée à faire illusion. Le travail de M^lle^ Vincent sera utile surtout comme un catalogue explicatif des particularités qui, dans la langue et le style de l'écrivain, trahissent l'influence du berrichon, réelle ou imaginaire.

Il faut louer le zèle consciencieux de M^lle^ Vincent et son scrupule extrême d'exactitude. On ne pourra plus s'occuper de George Sand sans recourir à ses études si fouillées, un peu sèches pourtant et sans grâce, comme un procès-verbal.

Jules Dechamps.

London.

Benjamin Constant. *Adolphe.* Édition historique et critique. Par Gustave Rudler. (*Modern Language Texts: French Series.*) Manchester: University Press. 1919. 8vo. lxxxvi + xxi + 168 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

We offer a hearty welcome to Professor Rudler's edition of Constant's *Adolphe*, which presents us for the first time with a scholarly critical edition of this text, based not merely on the early editions, but also on the manuscript in the possession of the present representative of the Rebecque family, M. Monamy. The care and scientific method with which Professor Rudler has prepared the text is, it need hardly be said, exemplary; his text is, in the best sense, definitive. For us, moreover, Professor Rudler's work is a valuable object-lesson. The editing of French classical literature in this country has been strangely unable to keep pace with the increase of serious French literary studies; we are still complacently turning out 'school' editions of French classics, and even more complacently placing these in the hands of our University students of French. A dozen texts edited with the meticulous care and high ideals which Professor Rudler shows, would, I venture to think, further French studies at our universities more than any other immediately attainable measure of reform. My only regret is that the Marshal Foch Professor of French in Oxford has not added to the debt which French studies in this country already owe him, still another: that he has not paid us the compliment of editing *Adolphe* with English Introduction

and Notes. In saying this, I am not thinking merely of the language; but also of the point of view. *Adolphe* is a European work; not intrinsically a very great one, nor even a conspicuously interesting one; but it is in a peculiar degree symptomatic of its time. Now, in editing it with the needs of the English student in view, an editor would naturally put this 'European' aspect of the book in the foreground; would be disposed to treat it less as a particular French work by a particular French author than as a contribution to and an illustration of a literary movement which also had its echo in England. Moreover, there are obviously quite special reasons in the English relations of the book which justify us in wanting to see it in an English framework.

With regard to the Introduction, Professor Rudler's discussion of the 'sources personnelles' seems to give undue weight to the subjectivity of Constant's story. I am inclined to take Constant's disclaimer of portraiture and autobiography more at its face value than Professor Rudler. If the bare bones of personal impressions and experiences peep through, is it not rather due to the author's lack of artistic power to achieve his purpose? Ellénore, the heroine of the novel, is, M. Rudler says, a composite picture of four or five different women; but without being unduly sceptical, one might say that Ellénore is too conventionally conceived, too much of the 'literary' heroine of a sentimental age, to be a portrait of anybody. Moreover, Constant was not a big enough artist to coalesce into one creation the impressions of five different realities, and if he had been a big enough artist, well, he would not have done it! One of the most valuable aspects of M. Rudler's references to the literature of the time and Constant's literary sources is that it makes the indebtedness of the character of Ellénore to that literature apparent.

To these literary sources I would add one that M. Rudler appears to have overlooked. I refer to a peculiarly interesting English 'Wertheriade'—my colleague Professor Priebsch has given me the opportunity of reading it at leisure—the anonymous story of *Eleonora*[1]. The significance of this novel is that it illustrates that shifting of the centre of gravity of the original *Werther* theme from the hero to the heroine—a process which meant much for France, and in the development of which *Adolphe* itself represents a stage. *Eleonora* is an unassuming sentimental story in letters, which the author, or probably authoress, has had some difficulty in padding out with an irrelevant episode, into two little volumes. Like Constant's heroine, the English Eleonora stands between two lovers, a Count Ponthin (Constant's Comte de P——(?), but Eleonora—being English!—is not his mistress) and Werther, to whom we are first introduced as the lover of her sister Julia. Julia dies, and the passion of Eleonora and Werther comes to a climax, only to end in misunderstandings, disillusionment and the cooling-off and flight of Werther. Eleonora, like Ellénore, is a heroine who wears the tragic halo of desertion.

Without making too much of these parallels, it seems to me they are not entirely accidental; Constant may have remembered the English

[1] *Eleonora: from the Sorrows of Werter.* A Tale. London, 1785 (two editions).

story, extracts of which also appeared in French[1], when he planned his own. There would appear to be no points of contact in matters of detail. Constant's heroine is, however, not called Eléonora, but Ellénore. This, again, points to an English source. In 1796 William Taylor of Norwich published in the *Monthly Magazine* his famous translation of Bürger's ballad, *Lenore*. Here, it is true, the name is Eleonora, but in the same year he reissued the poem as a separate publication; and in the revised issue he changed the name to Ellenore[2]. This is, no doubt, where Constant found it. But neither this source nor the English novel explains why Constant made his heroine a Pole or provides any other hint for the setting of the French story.

On Professor Rudler's notes I have only two criticisms to offer. In the very first note of all, that on the words 'on franchit comme Arsène la cercle magique...' the editor says: 'je ne sais rien d'*Arsène*.' Arsène is Voltaire's *La Bégueule*; or possibly Constant was thinking of the popular opera on Voltaire's poem by Favart, *La belle Arsène*, produced in the early seventies of the eighteenth century. The Italian place-names in Constant's introductory 'Avis' (see note to p. xx, 3 ff.) present no difficulty. The river Noto, the town of Cerenzia near it and at some distance from the sea, and due east of Cerenzia, almost on the coast, Strongoli will all be found on any large-scale map of Italy.

The following corrections in and additions to the Bibliography might be noted for a second edition: No. 6: Read 'Adolfo,' 'desconocido,' 'publicada.' No. 7: Constant surely wrote 'Wallstein,' which has the advantage of being a little more correct than Schiller's 'Wallenstein.' No. 8: Read 'Sauerländer.' After No. 13 insert under 1857 a 'Réédition Charpentier.' No. 22: the Hungarian title needs revision. No. 31: Read 'Hendel.' After No. 46 insert Adolphe, edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by W. M. Dey, New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1918; and Adolf, übertragen von Elisabeth Schellenberg, Insel-Bücherei, No. 284, Leipzig, 1919. I have also a note of a Danish translation of 1826 and a Dutch one of 1911. F. Gribble's essay cited as No. 56 is hardly important enough; certainly not as important as Brandes' chapter on *Adolphe* in his *Main Currents of European Literature*, which is not included.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

[1] *Extraits d'Eléonore, autre ouvrage anglais, contenant les premiers aventures de Werther*, appended to the translation of *Lettres de Charlotte pendant sa liaison avec Werther*, Londres, 1787.

[2] In this form it is also printed in the *Historic Survey of German Poetry*, London, 1830, ii, pp. 40 ff. Cp. J. W. Robbards, *Life of William Taylor of Norwich*, London, 1843, i, p. 101.

Attilio Levi, *Le palatali piemontesi* (*Piccola biblioteca di scienze moderne*, No. 248). Turin: Bocca. 1918. 8vo. xxii + 279 pp. 6 L.

Mr Levi's book is both pleasing and baffling: pleasing because of an attempt to appeal to a wider circle of readers by explaining technical expressions and avoiding excessive dryness; baffling because it contains much more than is promised by the title, but does not provide its readers with that substantial fare they might feel justified in expecting.

Apart from a clear and unassuming introduction, occasional explanatory notes at the beginning of each section, and a few words of conclusion, the book consists of a list of 534 Piedmontese words in which there are palatal consonants. Mr Levi shows that such consonants are a natural development in Piedmontese from Latin *cl- gl-*, or from groups cons. + *cl*, cons. + *gl* (*ċamẹ́* < *clamare*; *ġaira* < *glarea*; *kuvérċ* < *cooperculum*; *sanġúṭ* = *singultus*), or derived, when no external causes have intervened, from infantile talk and onomatopeia. Words containing palatals of different derivations, such as endings which are borrowed from neighbouring dialects, or from words having an analogous origin or analogous meanings, but belonging to the ordinary Italian vocabulary, are grouped together. In a second section are enumerated those words which, besides containing a palatal consonant, have been borrowed by Piedmontese from the French, from other Italian dialects or from the language of the learned. Each of the sections is divided into several subsections, not a few of which are further divided.

Merely by looking through the table of contents one sees the redundancies and deficiencies of the book. The student who hopes to find in it a scientific study of the palatals in Piedmontese will be disappointed; as Mr Levi has avoided to draw even quite general inferences or definitely to tabulate his results. In point of fact, a good deal of space has been apportioned to the etymology of the words examined, a matter on which Mr Levi has some useful information.

Piedmontese, Mr Levi explains, is generally understood to mean the dialect spoken in Turin, a dialect on which a considerable influence has been exerted by French domination in Piedmont, long political association with regions, like Savoy, in which French is spoken, the Piedmontese habit of migrating temporarily to France, especially southern France, a habit which was and is still frequent among the working classes, and finally by the continuous contact with neighbouring regions in which Lombard or Genoese dialects are used.

Mr Levi has evidently bestowed much labour on his book, but he seems to have been so much carried away by the interest he takes in the study of Piedmontese words, that he has been led into combining a phonetic and linguistic survey with notes on etymology. We are indebted to him for a good deal of valuable information, but our gain would have been greater if the book had been planned with more regard to customary method.

C. Foligno.

Oxford.

Kampf und Krieg im deutschen Drama von Gottsched bis Kleist. Zur Form- und Sachgeschichte der dramatischen Dichtung. Von Max Scherrer. Zürich: Rascher und Comp. 1919. 8vo. 428 pp. 6 M.

The scope and purpose of Dr Scherrer's book may be seen from the following quotations, the one from his Introduction, the other from the brief summary of 'Ergebnisse': 'Die folgende Untersuchung unternimmt es,...das dramatische Reich zu mustern und versucht, aus der wechselnden Verfassung der dramatischen Heere und der dramatischen Kriegführung Einblicke in den Wandel der dramatischen Form zu gewinnen.' 'Die Einzelforschung hat sich höhere Ziele zu setzen als nur die Durchackerung einer bestimmten Materialmasse. Sie darf von ihren Gegenständen nicht lassen, bis sie ihnen jene Einsichten in den Gang der Dinge im ganzen abgewonnen hat, die sich der treuen Auffassung planvoll begrenzter Phänomene am sichersten zu erschliessen scheinen. Hier sollte in der Darstellung von Kampf und Krieg ein Kapitel dramatischer Geschichte durchschritten werden und die Sonderfrage zum Okular für scharfe Betrachtung ihres allgemeinen Laufes dienen.' It may be added that 'Kampf und Krieg' is a formula used by the author to cover all types of physical combat (whether actually represented on the stage or imagined as occurring behind the scenes) from a frustrated duel or an unresisted arrest to large-scale battle or the storming of a fortress; so that in spite of the restricted scope of the investigation, there is a very large mass of material to be dealt with.

Dr Scherrer has carried out his investigation not only conscientiously but with evident zest; and his book contains much that is valuable, suggestive, and even stimulating. What he has, unfortunately, failed to do, is to present his results in a form that does him justice. His style tends to be affected, and is often unnecessarily involved; and such readableness as the book would have retained, in spite of these failings, is further marred by the necessity of constant reference to foot-notes, and an irritating tendency to repetition arising from the general arrangement. This arrangement is, no doubt, largely due to the fact that the book has grown out of a doctoral thesis which itself forms the first of the four sections into which the book is divided: (i) Von der französischen Form zum nationalen Schlachtfestspiel. (i.e., from Gottsched to Klopstock); (ii) Shakespeare und das Kampfstück des Sturm und Drangs; (iii) Die Verfestigung der Form; Stildrama, Kampftheatralik und Theatralsatire (the least homogeneous of the four parts, dealing as it does with Klinger's maturity, Goethe's classical period, the later 'Ritterstücke,' Kotzebue, the theatre version of *Götz von Berlichingen*, and Tieck); and (iv) Das deutsche Kriegsdrama in seiner Blüte (Schiller's classical period, Heinrich von Kleist, and, strangely enough, the second part of *Faust*).

In spite of its faults Dr Scherrer's book deserves to be recommended. He shows a thorough knowledge of his subject and the critical literature bearing on it, and ability to discriminate between what is superficial and

what is essential. His detailed discussions and analyses of the 'Kampf und Krieg' elements in such outstanding works as Klopstock's *Hermanns Schlacht*, Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen*, Schiller's *Räuber*, *Wallenstein* and *Jungfrau von Orleans* are excellent. Considered separately, they are of real value for the study and appreciation of the dramas in question; taken together, they give a fairly good, though necessarily incomplete, general view of the main lines of development. It is curious, by the way, that though Dr Scherrer discusses very fully the attitude of other dramatists towards war, he refrains from a similarly clear exposition of the ethics of warfare as expressed by Kleist in his *Hermannsschlacht*. The main text of the book is followed by three appendices on 'Die Waffe,' 'Die Wunde,' and 'Das Pferd,' a select bibliography, and a full and useful index.

F. E. Sandbach.

Birmingham.

MINOR NOTICES.

As far as it goes, Mr A. H. Koller's little volume on *The Theory of Environment.* Part I: *An Outline of the History of the Idea of Milieu and its present Status* (Menasha, Wisconsin: G. Banta. 1918. 104 pp.) is a useful compilation of materials; but it is little more. Moreover, there are serious gaps in it. In the earlier section one finds, strange to say, no mention of Dubos; and the Italians are entirely ignored. If Mr Koller will discover the real predecessors of Taine, he must turn to the group of critics in Italy at the beginning of the eighteenth century; Calepio and Quadrio, for instance, have given quite surprisingly Taine-like expression to the idea of milieu as a factor in literature; and indeed, it seems probable that all their successors, German as well as French, are to some extent in their debt. We do not feel that Mr Koller has established the correct line of descent for the idea the history of which he traces. The later sections of the book suffer from their unlimited range; once the idea of milieu has become a commonplace, it is difficult to see how anything in the nature of history can be legitimately excluded. We look forward, however, with interest to Mr Koller's promised treatment of the narrower field of the milieu in literature. J. G. R.

Professor John Edwin Wells' slender volume, *First Supplement to A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* 1050–1400 (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1919. 4*s.* 6*d.*), contains additional entries, including unprinted MSS., and brings the literature of M.E. writings down to September, 1918. Professor Wells has here been able to make use of Part I of Professor Carleton Brown's valuable *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse.*

W. J. S.

The '250 Contributions to the interpretation and prosody of Old West Teutonic Alliterative poetry' rather oddly entitled *Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings,* by Ernst A. Kock (Lund, 1918), are short notes dealing with the interpretation of difficult passages, together with occasional suggestions for emendations of text. The great majority of the passages selected are from O.E. verse and the explanations offered are often well worth the consideration of scholars. W. J. S.

Mr Herbert E. Cory has for some years past devoted himself to research in connection with Spenser and has already issued various books dealing with this subject. His *Edmund Spenser, a Critical Study* (University of California Press, Berkeley. 1917. ii + 478 pages. $ 3.50) therefore embodies the fruits of Mr Cory's assiduous labours in this field. It shows his intimate acquaintance not only with the most recent investigations of Spenserian scholars, but one might almost say with all that has ever been written about Spenser. At the same time

Mr Cory brings his own judgment to bear and arrives at independent conclusions. It is part of his method to combine an interpretation of Spenser's mind with an account of what previous critics have said and thought. Therein lies the merit of Mr Cory's work. It contains much useful information.

Aesthetically, on the other hand, one can scarcely judge it so favourably. The repeated quotations are apt to pall on the reader. Above all one cannot see the necessity of the long passages from Spenser with which the book is so interlarded that it is swollen to inordinate dimensions. The result is that the reader carries away a somewhat confused impression of the work as a whole. Nevertheless, if he cares to turn back and consider its details, he will profit by the author's wide reading and scrupulous research. H. G. W.

The object of Dr R. E. Zachrisson's *Engelska Stilarter* (Stockholm: A. V. Carlsons Bokförlagsaktiebolag. 1919. 175 pp. 4 kr. 50), as the author tells us in his introduction, is not to discuss the styles of various authors but to give a brief account of the different varieties of modern English—archaic, colloquial, everyday, vulgar and literary. As might be expected of Mr Zachrisson, he has done the work thoroughly and on scientific lines. He approaches the question with the trained eye of the phonetician and philologist, and the result of his studies is this valuable little book. All the above-mentioned kinds of English are analysed from the point of view of their vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar and after reading Mr Zachrisson's work, we can form a clear idea of the many strands in the texture of present-day English. Pages 127–173 are devoted to specimens of the various types and comprise passages from the Bible, *Hamlet*, *The Ancient Mariner*, *A Forsaken Garden*, *The Dynasts*, *Stalky and Co.*, *Kipps*, and Shaw's *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*. As a guide to the peculiarities of modern English, Mr Zachrisson's *Engelska Stilarter* will be found very serviceable. H. G. W.

Madame de Staël's Literary Reputation in England, by Robert C. Whitford (*University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Vol. IV, No. 1, 60 pp., Feb. 1918), is a most industrious collection of the allusions made to Mme de Staël in contemporary English memoirs, letters, and reviews. The reception of *Delphine*, of *Corinne*, of *De L'Allemagne*, and of her other works in this country is described; and the successive verdicts on Madame de Staël's looks, on her talk, on her character, on her opinions, and on her talent, passed by Jeffrey, Mackintosh, Byron, Brougham, and a score of others, are extracted with precise references in footnotes. The outburst of obituary in 1817–19 forms an interesting section (pp. 45–53). The material presented by Mr Whitford is of value, as material; he has used his predecessors, of course, but he has evidently gone to the sources and has turned the mouldy files, not only of the great quarterlies, but of the forgotten *Critical* and *Monthly*. More he has hardly professed to do; he gives us a full and well-arranged notebook, without much selection, and without saying much of his own;

but he is to be thanked for his labours. He does not say much about the influence of England on Madame de Staël, or, as he puts it, of her 'reaction to English stimuli.' It may be hoped that he will write on this hereafter, and that he will not be too modest to make the result somewhat more shapely than his present essay. O. E.

In the first of his three lectures on *La Liquidation du Romantisme et les Directions actuelles de la Littérature française* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1919. 53 pp. 3*s.* 6*d.*), Mr Francis Yvon Eccles aims at demonstrating that Romanticism, while the logical outcome of the literature of the eighteenth century, is after all an 'écart de l'esprit français,' and so doomed to failure. All that is best in Balzac, Flaubert, Victor Hugo—and here Mr Eccles is at one with Professor Lanson—is labelled 'classic.' It is now some forty years since Émile Deschanel published his series of volumes on *Le Romantisme des Classiques*; soon it will be original to hold that the Classics are classic and the Romantics romantic! The second and third lectures show that the general tendency of post-Romantic writers is the return to national (i.e., classical) tradition. This is deliberate in the case of the theorists and propagandists, instinctive in that of the pure artists. The little book forms a valuable guide to contemporary French literature, for Mr Eccles illustrates his theme by apt references to and quotations from all the principal critics, poets, dramatists and novelists of the day, telling us just enough to enable us to form an idea of their essentials and—what is more important—only just enough to make us want to know more. Every page shows the author's wide knowledge, discriminating taste and rare sense of style. The language is in itself an intellectual treat. F. P.

The author of *Sweden's Laureate: Selected Poems of Verner von Heidenstam*, translated from the Swedish with an Introduction by Charles W. Stork (New Haven, Conn. London: H. Milford. 1919. 159 pp. 6*s.*), is already known to the public as a translator of Swedish verse. He began with the *Selected Poems of Gustaf Fröding*, and afterwards published an *Anthology of Swedish Lyrics*. Mr Stork has profited greatly by the experience thus gained, and his volume of translations from Heidenstam is the most successful of his publications. One may also observe that Heidenstam lends himself to translation far better than Fröding, with whom the rhythm and melody of the verse play so subtle and significant a part. In selecting Heidenstam as the subject of his interpretation, Mr Stork has chosen well. Hitherto little has been known in England and America of Heidenstam's poetry. At the present moment he is undoubtedly the most striking personality in Swedish literature and has long been a literary hero in the eyes of his countrymen. We may therefore be grateful to Mr Stork for the volume that he has given us. The book, which is tastefully printed, is provided with a useful introduction by the translator, who shows himself to possess knowledge, sympathy and insight. To those who wish to make the acquaintance of Heidenstam's virile mind Mr Stork's anthology may be heartily recommended. H. G. W.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

March—May, 1920.

GENERAL.

Dörwald, P., Die Dichtkunst. Eine Einführung in das Verständnis des Wesens der Poesie. Gütersloh, C. Bertelmann. 5 M. 40.

Golz, B., Wandlungen literarischer Motive (i, Hebbels Agnes Bernauer; ii, Die Legenden von den Altvätern) (Veröffentl. des Forschungsinstituts für Psychologie, v). Leipzig, W. Engelmann. 9 M.

Hamel, A. G. van, Litteraire stroomingen sedert de middeleeuwen. Vlaardingen, Dorsman en Odé. 4 fl.

Heinemann, K., Die tragischen Gestalten der Griechen in der Weltliteratur (Das Erbe der Alten, iii, iv). Leipzig, Dieterich. Each 7 M.

Leky, M., Grundlagen einer allgemeinen Phonetik als Vorstufe zur Sprachwissenschaft. Cologne, Bachem. 7 M.

Ogle, M. B., The Perilous Bridge and Human Automata (*M. L. Notes*, xxxv, 3, Mar.).

Wallis, G., The Philosophy of Speech. London, Allen and Unwin. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Weston, J., Mystery Survivals in Medieval Romance (*Quest*, Jan.).

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Bottiglioni, L., L'ape e l'alveare nelle lingue romanze. Pisa, F. Mariotti.

Nitze, W. A., On the Chronology of the Grail Romances, i (*concl.*) (*Mod. Phil.*, xvii, 11, Mar.).

Richter, E., Grundlinien der Wortstellungslehre (*Zeits. f. rom. Phil.*, xl).

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Campanella, T., La città del Sole, a cura di G. Paladino. Naples, Giannini. 4 L.

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Child, J. A., On the Concessive Clause in Early Italian (*Mod. Phil.*, xvii, 11, Mar.).

Collison-Morley, L., Some Aspects of the Italian Settecento (*Quart. Rev.*, 463, Apr.).

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Gallarati-Scotti, T., La Vita di A. Fogazzaro. Milan, Baldini e Castoldi. 10 L.

Grandgent, C. H., The Power of Dante. London, G. G. Harrap. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Grandgent, C. H., Dante's Verse (*Stud. in Phil., Univ. of N. Carolina*, xvii, 1, Jan.).

Grillo, E., Early Italian Literature. I. Pre-Dante Poetical Schools. London. Blackie. 10*s.* 6*d.*

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Leanti, G., La satira contro il settecento galante in Sicilia. Palermo, Trimarchi. 3 L. 50.

Leopardi, G., I Canti, con la vita del poeta narrata di su l' Epistolario da M. Scherillo. 4ta ed. Milan, Hoepli. 7 L. 50.

Lesca, G., Sensi e pensieri religiosi nella poesiadi Arturo Graf (*Bitychnis*).

Messedaglia, L., L'Italia e gli stranieri nel pensiero di T. Folengo (*Atti del r. ist. veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*).

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Rovetta, G., Dramatis personae: antologia dei tipi e delle figure di G. Rovetta. Milan, Baldini e Castoldi. 6 L.

Scandura, S., Il pensiero politico di V. Alfieri e le sue fonti. Catania, Muglia. 6 L. 50.

Serra, R., Scritti critici. I. G. Pascoli, A. Beltramelli. Rome, La Voce. 3 L.

Tissi, S., L' ironia leopardiana. Florence, Vallecchi. 6 L.

Tommaseo, N., Confessioni, a cura di G. Battelli (Scrittori ital. e stran. No. 145). Lanciano, G. Carabba. 2 L.

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Castro, A., Adiciones hispánicas al Diccionario etimológico de W. Meyer-Lübke (*Rev. fil. esp.*, vi, 4, Dec.).

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Farnell, I., Spanish Prose and Poetry, Old and New. Oxford, Clar. Press. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Goldberg, I., Studies in Spanish-American Literature. Introd. by J. D. M. Ford. New York, Brentano. 2 dol. 50.

Mele, E., Mas sobre la fortuna de Cervantes en Italia en el siglo xvii (*Rev. fil. esp.*, vi, 4, Dec.).

Sarrailh, J., Algunos datos acerca de D. Antonio Liñán y Verdugo (*Rev. fil. esp.*, vi, 4, Dec.).

Zériga-Fombona, A., Le symbolisme français et la poésie espagnole moderne. Paris, Mercure de France. 1 fr. 50.

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Decurtius, C., Rätoromanische Chrestomathie. xii. Die modernen Dichter der Surselva, herausg. von C. Cammada und M. Decurtius. Erlangen, Junge. 21 M.

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Kolsen, A., Zwei provenzalische Sirventese nebst einer Anzahl Einzelstrophen. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 2 M. 25.

Poesie provenzali sulla origine e sulla natura dell' amore. Rome, Maglione e Strini. 3 L.

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(*a*) *General* (*incl. Linguistic*).

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[Note. The Italian, French and Old and Middle English sections have been compiled with the assistance of the Modern Humanities Research Association.]

VERNACULAR BOOKS IN ENGLAND IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

THERE are some 7600 English mediaeval wills which are ...ty or printed, singly in the journals of archaeological societies ... registers, or in collections[1], and the study of the cases of bequest that, in these suggests broadly three facts: the extreme, and this although population as a whole, the rarity of vernacular ... other chattels which are and the preponderance, among vernacular ... out 1420—1450 books were devotion over secular books, such as ... scribed singly when bequeathed;

The booklessness of individuals is ... books' or 'all my books' without of 7568 wills examined, only 338 ... 00 valuable books, like the Vulgate, books were of quite equal value ... an individual, or bequeathed to the described with such care. Down ... booklessness of individuals suggested sufficiently valuable to be, as a r... in most cases, by access to a library, before that date a bequest of ... r the majority of clerks. Even wealthy further description is rare. Bef... s, apart from the service books which were almost always entailed if ... library of some community. T... gle wills has been printed in the writer's *The Lollard* by the wills was not mitiga... *ersions*. Camb. Univ. Press. either in the case of lay peop... d in this article: nobles often possessed no b... *ddle Ages*. Merryweather, F. S. 1849. *of Canterbury and Dover*. James, M. R. *n*. SS. 1839. *oln Wills*. Gibbons, A. 1888. *s Commission's Reports*. *Library of Lambeth Palace*. James, M. R. *cesan Documents*. Clark, A. 1914. *Wills proved...in the Court of Husting, London*. Savage, E. A. *Parker's Coll. of Manuscripts*. James, M. R. SS. las. *Westminster Abbey*. Armitage Robinson, J. and

[1] A table of such collections and ... *Bible: and other Mediaeval Biblica...*
The following abbreviations are ...
Bibliom. Bibliomania in the ...
Canterbury. Ancient Librari...
CVD *Catalogi...Veteres Dune...*
Early Linc. Wills. Early Lin...
HMCR *Historical Manuscripts ...*
Lambeth. Manuscripts in the ...
Linc. Dioc. Docs. Lincoln Di...
London Wills. Calendar of... Sharpe, R. R. 1889.
OEL *Old English Libraries.*
Parker Coll. Sources of Arch.
SS Surtees Society.
TE *Testamenta Eboracensia.*
TV *Testamenta Vetusta.* N...
VCH *Victoria County Hi...*
Westminster. Manuscri... James, M. R.

formed part of the furniture of their chapels; and though seculars were sometimes allowed to borrow from monastic libraries, this was rare[1]. Those parish priests again who were not holders of prebends in any cathedral or collegiate church almost certainly possessed no books except their office books before 1400, and very few books after[2]. The better endowed clergy, the bishops, cathedral clergy and members of collegiate churches, and university teachers, formed almost the only class of the population who, occasionally before 1400, and frequently after, possessed small libraries of their own. The only other possessors of libraries are seen to have been certain members of the regular orders, great nobles, and lawyers. The better endowed clergy again were the only class which had access to libraries, particularly those of the secular cathedrals of York, London, Exeter, Lichfield, Hereford, Lincoln, Salisbury, Chichester and Wells[3], and the small collections sometimes possessed by collegiate churches[4].

The comparative rarity of vernacular books as compared to Latin is clear, not only in the case of books bequeathed, but from the numerous mediaeval catalogues which have survived to us. Since the clergy, and especially the higher clergy, were the most frequent bookowners, it is natural that the books bequeathed most frequently were service books (in very great preponderance), biblical books and commentaries, manuals, homilies and law books, all of course in Latin.

Among vernacular books again, secular books were rarely bequeathed, or possessed[5]. Few except bibliophiles actually possessed romances or vernacular chronicles, though a popular knowledge of romances was widespread through singing or recitation. The devout were more numerous than the bibliophiles, and those of the upper classes sometimes possessed French or English works of piety rather for their

[1] OEL, 176; HMCR, vi, 290.

[2] OEL, 189, 232.

[3] See list of cathedral and other catalogues, *ibid.*, 263–85.

[4] E.g. 1407, S. Mary of Warwick, VCH *Warwickshire*, ii, 127; 1498, Auckland, *Wills and Inventories*. SS. 101–3.

[5] I have made no complete list of secular books bequeathed in the above-mentioned wills, but noted the bequest of: FRENCH BOOKS: 1405, *Tristrem*, TE, i, 339; *Tristram* and *Lancelot*, *Early Linc. Wills*, 92; other 'Romances' probably in French, *id.* 99, 118, 130; 1399, history of the *Chevalier à Cigne*, *Royal Wills*, Nichols, J., 181; the *Romaunt of the Rose*, *North Country Wills*, Clay, J., 39; in 1428, TE, iv, 12 n.; chronicles, *London Wills*, ii, 312; in 1408, *Barlaham and Josephath*, TE, i, 352. ENGLISH BOOKS: 1396, *Pers Plewman*, TE, i, 209; 1431, *Pers Plughman*, *id.* ii, 34; 1433, *Piers Plowman*, *Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills*, Furnivall, F. J., 2; *Talys of Caunterbury*, *id.* 136; Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, in 1420, *id.* 136; in 1410, Harl. 44; *De Spiritu Guidonis*, in 1408, TE, i, 352; *De Fabulis et Narrationibus*, in 1432, *id.* ii, 34; *Polichronicon*, in 1458, *id.* ii, 227; in 1473, *id.* iii, 208, cf. *London Wills*, ii, 326; *le Crede Play*, in 1446, TE, ii, 117; 'all my books except the play books,' in 1537, *Bury Wills*, Tims, 129; 'my book *with the siege of Troy*,' in 1463, *id.* 35; Boccaccio, *De Casu Principum*, *Essex Archaeol. Soc.* v, 290.

religious than their literary value. It may be of interest to state which vernacular books are indicated by the wills as the most popular, including those of which there is any other contemporary evidence of ownership, but excluding the few cases of ownership of secular books, and whole Bibles.

The period before 1400 was so much more bookless than that between 1400 and 1525, that it may be considered first. French books were still commoner than English ones. Margery de Crioll, of Lincoln, left a 'mattins of our Lady,' possibly in French, in 1319[1]; Henry, duke of Lancaster, made a *Livres de Seyntz Medicines* in 1354[2]; Elizabeth, countess of Salisbury, possessed the French *Historia Scholastica* which was taken from king John at Poitiers, in 1356[3]; the earl of Warwick in 1359 bequeathed French gospels, psalter and apocalypse[4], two apocryphal gospels, and the *Mirror of the Soul*, perhaps the second of the Deguilleville *Pèlerinages*[5]; the earl of Devon in 1377 left his three daughters one book each, the third of which was 'a French book,' probably, from the context, of devotional character[6]. John Pye owned a book of moral stories in French verse, at about this date[7]; in 1385 Richard de Ravenser, archdeacon of Lincoln, left to lady Isabella Fryskney 'the book of apocalypse which she has of mine,' which was more probably in French than Latin[8]; in 1392 sir Robert de Roos left a French psalter and legend[9]; in 1393 William Creyke, vicar of All Hallows, London Wall, bequeathed a *Manuel des Pechiez*[10], and in 1399 Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester, bequeathed a *Legenda Aurea* in French, and two psalters glossed in French[11].

The English books bequeathed included: a 'psalter written in Latin and English,' by Robert Felstead, vintner of London, in 1349—a date rather early for Rolle's psalter to have been known in London, and a description which would fit rather the west midland psalter, or some interlinear version[12]; a west midland psalter, which belonged to John Hyde[13]; an English legend, given by John Katerington, canon of the

[1] *Early Linc. Wills*, 5; cf. *Canterbury*, 129.
[2] HMCR, ii, 145.
[3] CVD, xxviii.
[4] Either a prose apocalypse [see *A Fourteenth Cent. Eng. Bib. Ver.*, Paues, A., 1902, xxi, and *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vii, 445], or the metrical version edited by P. Meyer in *Romania*, xxv, 174 ff.
[5] *Bibliom.*, 193.
[6] *Reg. of Thomas de Brantyngham*, ed. Hingeston-Randolph, 1906, 381.
[7] HMCR, ii, 145.
[8] *Early Linc. Wills*, 68.
[9] TE, i, 179.
[10] *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, New Ser., iii, 232.
[11] TV, 148–9.
[12] *London Wills*, i, 636. Both Rolle's and the west midland psalter gave both Latin and English: but there is a slight probability that the will would have described Rolle's psalter as 'cum glosa.'
[13] HMCR, iv, 589; Trin. Dublin, 69.

church of S. Mary of Litchwick, to that church, about 1380[1], and a *Legenda Aurea* in English verse, bequeathed by Thomas Wotton, a layman, about 1400[2]. The other books are all by Rolle, or were soon ascribed to him. Rolle's own manuscript of his English psalter was bequeathed by him to the Hampole nunnery; a 'book composed by Richard the hermit' was bequeathed by sir William Thorp in 1391[3]. The *Prick of Conscience* was not ascribed to Rolle before 1400[4]; between 1380 and 1400 John Staynis, a monk of Thetford, bequeathed it to Margaret Salis of Methwold[5]; and in Jan. 1396–7 William, prior of Newstead in Sherwood, pleaded in the borough court of Nottingham against John Ravensfield for the detention of this book[6]; in 1399 it was bequeathed by Thomas Roos of Igmanthorpe[7].

Between 1400 and 1525 French was still used to some extent in nunneries, and French MSS. were still copied, but much less frequently than English ones. In 1401 Isabella Percy of York bequeathed a French psalter[8]; about that date Thomas Arnold gave two devout French books to the monastery of S. Augustine's, Canterbury[9]—which had an exceptionally large number of French books in its library[10]; in 1412 lady Alice Basset left 'a book called Apocalypse[11]'; in 1449 Thomas Wentworth 'a book called *Lucidary* written in the French tongue[12]'; in 1450 sir John Fastolf had a *Meditations of S. Bernard* in French[13]; in 1480 Anne, duchess of Buckingham, bequeathed 'a book of French of the epistles and gospels[14]'; and about that year a French manual, the *Lumen Laicorum*, was given to Christchurch, Canterbury[15], and an apocalypse in French and Latin, with pictures, was bequeathed to the same house by the countess of Huntingdon[16]. Devout French books were also bequeathed by sir John Holt in 1415[17], and lady Margaret Zouch in 1449[18].

Among English books, those of Richard Rolle seem to have been the most frequent—partly because his glossed English psalter was the only biblical book which the laity might use without license[19]. The English psalter bequeathed by Isabella Percy in 1401 was probably his[20]; Katherine Hampton possessed it in 1413[21]; in 1415 Edward Cheyne of Bedford left

[1] *Parker Coll.*, 34. [2] *Lambeth*, 32. [3] *London Wills*, ii, 326.
[4] See *Authorship of Prick of Conscience*, Allen, H. E., Boston, 1910.
[5] Digby MS. 99.
[6] *Recs. of Borough of Nottingham*, i, 335. [7] TE, i, 252.
[8] *Id.* i, 271. [9] *Canterbury*, lxxiii.
[10] *Id.* 371–4. [11] *Early Linc. Wills*, 110.
[12] TE, ii, 124 n. For the *Elucidarium*, see *S. Anselmi Opera*, Paris, 1675, 457–87; its authorship, *Pat. Lat.* 158, col. 39. It is found translated into English by a Lollard writer in Ii. 6. 26, f. 158 as the *Lucistrye*.
[13] HMCR, viii, 268. [14] TV, 357. [15] *Canterbury*, 371. [16] *Id.* 210.
[17] *Early Linc. Wills*, 125. [18] TE, ii, 156. [19] *Concilia*, Wilkins, iii, 317.
[20] TE, i, 271. [21] Univ. Coll. 61.

a ' psalter glossed by Richard Hampole ' in tail to his son John[1]; in 1416 Thomas, lord Berkeley, had it written for him[2]. It was possessed about then by Hugh Eyton, sub-prior of S. Albans[3]; about 1450 by John Colman, prior of Westwood[4]; bequeathed in 1467 by Robert Est of York[5]; and possessed in 1496 by Nicholas Williamson of Stone[6]. Rolle's *Twelve Chapters*, or *Mending of Life*, was bequeathed by Nicholas Holme, canon of Ripon, in 1458[7]; his *Meditation on the Passion* by Elizabeth Sewerby in 1468[8]; and books by him by Robert Helperby in 1432[9], and Thomas Pinchbeck of York in 1479[10]. The *Prick of Conscience*, whether Rolle's work or not, was left in 1434 by a burgess of Yarmouth to Agnes Paston[11]; by William Reevetour, chaplain of York, in 1446[12]; by John Tapton, master of S. Catherine's hall, Cambridge, at about this date[13]; by Margery Carew about 1450[14]; by William Worthington in 1487[15]. Other wills which refer to 'a holy treatise in English of contemplation' probably thus describe a work of either Rolle or Walter Hilton[16].

Nicholas Love's *Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Iesu Crist*[17] had an interesting history, and was probably more popular than any other single book in the fifteenth century. Gospel harmonies had throughout Europe been considered safer reading for the laity than vernacular gospels, from the time when the early Waldensians learned the latter by heart, and based heretical arguments on the literal interpretation of the text. At the great anti-heresy campaign undertaken by the council of Toulouse in 1229 (a council attended by bishops, archbishops, princes and a papal legate), prohibitions were passed against lay Bible reading: ' lay people shall not have books of scripture, except the psalter and the divine office, and even these books they shall not have in the vulgar tongue[18].' This prohibition was repeated in other European countries, and the popularity of vernacular gospel harmonies must be attributed partly to this suspicion of lay reading of the canonical scriptures. Translations of the latter of course existed, but only in the libraries of princes and great nobles: it was not their existence, but their popularisation which was condemned. A vernacular life of Christ, with the orthodox

[1] *Bedf. Hist. Rec. Soc.*, ii, 33.
[2] *Psalter*, Bramley, S. R., xxiii.
[3] *Id.* xxii; Bodl. 467; *Incendium Amoris*, Deanesly, 122.
[4] *Corpus Christi Coll. Descrip. Cat.*, James, ii, 237.
[5] TE, iii, 160; Rolle's holograph. [6] Laud 286. [7] TE, ii, 219.
[8] *Id.* iii, 163, 165 n. [9] *Id.* iii, 91. [10] *Id.* iii, 199 n.
[11] *Norfolk and Norwich Arch. Soc.*, iv, 326. [12] TE, ii, 117.
[13] *Pembroke Coll. Descrip. Cat.*, xxviii.
[14] *S. John's Coll. Descrip. Cat.*, MS. 29; cf. HMCR, iv, 589. [15] Digby MS. 87.
[16] E.g. sir John Scrope, TE, ii, 190; Arthur Ormsby, *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.*, vii, 116.
[17] Ed. Powell, L. F., 1908.
[18] *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, Mansi, xxiii, 197.

editor's interpretations often inserted, was less likely to mislead the laity than the 'naked text' of the gospels—and no appeal could be made to it in support of theological argument. England was not troubled by Bible-reading heretics till the time of the Lollards, nearly two centuries later, when books were much commoner and cheaper, and a sweeping prohibition like that of Toulouse more difficult to enforce. Consequently, archbishop Arundel not merely took the negative measure of prohibiting, in 1408, the reading of English Bibles without episcopal license[1], but before 1410 he took the positive one of licensing a substitute. This was a free translation of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*[2], long attributed to S. Bonaventura[3], but perhaps by another Franciscan, John de Caulibus. It had been popular throughout Europe in its Latin form, and was translated into several vernacular languages. It was now translated into English by Nicholas Love, prior of the Carthusian house of Mount Grace in Yorkshire, 'to the confutation of all false Lollards and heretics,' and, as a note copied into nearly all the manuscripts informs us, was before 1410 taken to London by its translator, and read and licensed by Arundel for the use of the faithful[4].

This work, sometimes described as the *Mirror of the blessed life of Jesu*, sometimes as *Bonaventura's Meditations on the Life of Christ*, in English, was owned by a priest, John Langridge, between 1410 and 1450[5]; at about that date by Beatrice Beverley[6]; was bequeathed in 1467 by sir Peter Ardern[7]; to Elizabeth Sewerby in 1468[8]; and at about this date was owned by the canons of Oseney[9], and by Sion abbey[10]. It is mentioned in 1520 in the *Day Book of John Dorne*[11], and a printed copy was mentioned in an anonymous York inventory in 1508[12]. Its popularity is also shewn, not only by the relatively large number of surviving manuscripts[13], but also by the fact that, in contrast with the never-printed Middle-English gospels, it was printed by Caxton in 1488, Pynson, 1495, and Wynkyn de Worde in 1517 and 1523. It was also, probably, in some cases, the *Vita Jesu* referred to as the possession of Master Woodcock, 1432[14]; Thomas Wright, 1487[15]; the duchess of

[1] Wilkins, iii, 317.
[2] Printed in Vatican (1609, Mainz) edition of *S. Bonaventurae Opera*, vi, 334–401.
[3] See the Quaracchi ed. of S. Bonaventura, x, 25.
[4] For Nicholas Love's original MS. see *Yorkshire Archaeol. and Topog. Journal*, ii, 380, xviii, 259.
[5] Trin. Camb. 352.
[6] *C. C. C. Camb. Descrip. Cat.*, MS. 142.
[7] TE, iv, 102.
[8] *Id.* iii, 163, 165 n.
[9] *Oseney Reg.*, Clark, A., 1–4.
[10] *Census of Caxtons*, Ricci, S., 1909, 14.
[11] O.H.S. *Collectanea*, i, 109.
[12] TE, iv, 280.
[13] 23 MSS. are mentioned by Powell, *Mirrour*, p. 1.
[14] *Pembroke Coll. Descrip. Cat.*, p. xvi.
[15] *Id.* xvii.

York, 1495[1]; William Ward, chaplain, 1496[2]; an anonymous York inventory[3]; and possibly of William Byconnell, canon of Bath, 1448, and sir Thomas Cumberworth, 1451[4]. Other English harmonies of the gospels existed and were used to some extent: in 1517 John and Margaret Farmer owned one called the *Speculum Devotorum*, which had been composed, according to the author's preface, by a Carthusian of Sheen. This writer apologised for his work as partly unnecessary, since he had recently discovered that 'a man of our order of Charterhouse,' a reference clearly to Nicholas Love, had already turned Bonaventura's Latin life of Christ into English; his own chief authorities, however, had been Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* and Nicholas of Lyra's glosses. He mentioned the existence of a prose English version of the *School History*, and the section of this work dealing with the gospels was also current in the late fifteenth century in English verse[5].

Walter Hilton's works seem to have been most popular, after those of Rolle. Elizabeth Wilby, a nun, left the *Scale of Perfection*[6], as did John Grant in 1493[7]. John Dygoun, recluse at Sheen about 1438, and one of the earliest English students of the *Imitatio Christi*, possessed Hilton's letter to the intending Carthusian, Adam Horsley[8]. The treasurer of York cathedral in 1432 bequeathed a 'devout book made by Walter Hilton[9]'; Eleanor Ross 'an English book called the first book of master Walter in 1438[10]'; sir Thomas Cumberworth an English book 'on active life' (perhaps so called from the early chapters in Hilton's *Epistle on the Mixed Life*), in 1451[11]; Robert Est of York left a work of Hilton's in 1467[12], as did Margaret Purdaunce of Norwich in 1481[13], and the duchess of York in 1495[14]. The English translation of Bonaventura's *Stimulus Amoris* was ascribed to Hilton in two manuscripts, and another belonged to dame Alice Braintwath, prioress of the Dominican nunnery of Dartford[15]; the English version of Bonaventura's *Meditations on the Passion* was also ascribed to Hilton in one case[16]. The popularity of Hilton's work among lay people was perhaps partly due to the recommendation of it in Nicholas Love's *Mirrour*, and it was also much read in monastic houses, as can be seen from their catalogues.

[1] *Wills from Doctors' Commons*, 3.
[2] TE, iv, 114. [3] *Id.* iv, 306.
[4] *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.*, vii, 115. Cf. also *Westminster*, 50, and *Lambeth*, no. 328; *Linc. Dioc. Docs.*, 48.
[5] Gg. 1. 6; HMCR, iii, 243.
[6] *Parker Coll.*, 49. [7] *Lambeth*, no. 472.
[8] Magd. Oxford, 93; *Eng. Trans. of the Imitatio Christi*, Copinger, W. A., vi.
[9] TE, iii, 91. [10] *Id.* ii, 65. [11] *Linc. Dioc. Docs.*, 48.
[12] TE, iii, 160. [13] *Norfolk and Norw. Archaeol. Soc.*, iv, 355.
[14] See TE, ii, 227–8. [15] Hh. 1. 12; HMCR, ii, 33; Harl. 2254. [16] CVD, 163.

At the Carthusian house at Sheen it was copied out by Benet, the procurator, and studied by the monk Greenhalgh, who also presented a beautiful early printed copy to a friend of his, Johanna Sewell, nun of the neighbouring house of Sion[1].

Among less frequently owned books were the *Pore Caitiff*, which was owned by John Dygoun[2], and bequeathed by dame Margaret Erley about 1420—1450[3], and lady Peryne Clanvowe in 1422[4]; and translations of the second of William de Deguilleville's *Pèlerinages*, the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, known generally as the *Grace Dieu*. Joan Game wrote her name in her copy about 1400[5], the chaplain of the chapel of S. Mary Magdalen at York left one in 1449[6], as did Thomas Chaworth in 1458[7]. Sir Thomas Cumberworth, a rich and devout knight who left endowment in 1451 for two chantry priests, left to one his book of *Grace Dieu*, and to the other his book of *Grace Dieu of the Soul*[8], probably the English versions of the first two *Pèlerinages*. The first *Pèlerinage* was less common than the second, and was generally known simply as *The Pilgrim*; it was translated in 1413 into English verse, and was bequeathed soon after by dame Joan Wentworth[9]. Dame Agnes Radcliffe bequeathed the *Grace Dieu*, the pilgrimage of the soul, to a nunnery, about 1450[10]; and a French prose version of this book was left in 1435 by George Pacy, canon of Ely[11]. In 1466 Ewelme Almshouse, in Oxford, had 'a book of English, in paper, of the *Pilgrimage*, translated by dom John Lydgate out of French[12].'

The evidence for the possession of English primers, and the number of manuscripts surviving, are scantier than would have appeared probable; but primers before about 1380 were of course in Latin, and probably there were as many Latin as English primers throughout the period. At a visitation of Chichester in 1569 complaints of popery were made: 'many bring to church the old popish Latin primers, and use to pray upon them[13].' The primer left by the earl of Devon to his daughter in 1377[14] was, from the absence of specification as to language, almost certainly in Latin. Agnes Orges, who died at Harfleur in 1446, possessed an English one[15], in 1479 Joan Fitzlowes had left to her 'my little English book like a primer[16],' and in 1518 Isabel Alexander bequeathed one[17].

[1] Trin. Camb., 354; *Incendium Amoris*, 82.
[2] Magdalen, Oxford, 93.
[3] Rawl. C. 882.
[4] *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, Furnivall, F. J., 50.
[5] Kk. 1. 7.
[6] TE, ii, 151.
[7] *Id.* ii, 227–8.
[8] *Linc. Dioc. Docs.*, 48.
[9] Caius, 124.
[10] HMCR, vi, 288.
[11] Douce, 305.
[12] OEL, 280.
[13] VCH *Sussex*, ii, 26.
[14] See *supra*.
[15] *Sum. Cat. of Western MSS.*, Madan, F., iv, 567.
[16] *Lay Folks Prayer Book*, Littlehales, H., xxxix.
[17] *Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.*, i, 270.

John Lacy, the recluse of Newcastle who owned a Wycliffite New Testament, wrote for himself an English primer, and bequeathed it in 1434 to Roger Stonesdale, chaplain of the church of S. Nicholas at Newcastle, and to the chaplains who should succeed him, 'to remain in the said church till it is worn out[1].'

English legends, often in verse, and separate lives of saints in verse, were fairly frequent. William Reevetour bequeathed an English legend in 1446[2]; Margery Carew part of the *South English Legendary* about 1450[3]; sir Thomas Chaworth the lives of SS. Alban, Amphiabell, etc., in 1458[4]; John Burton, a mercer of London, an English *Legenda Aurea*[5]; the duchess of Buckingham an English legend in 1480[6]; and Thomas Hornby to a nun of Swine a life of S. Katherine in 1485[7]. The lives of SS. Katherine of Sienna and Matilda, left by the duchess of York to her daughter in 1495, were probably in English[8].

Certain other devout books were mentioned only rarely. The *Revelations* of S. Bridget of Sweden was left by Elizabeth Sewerby in 1468[9], Margaret Purdaunce of Norwich in 1481[10], and the above-mentioned duchess of York in 1495. Suso's *Horologium divinae Sapientiae* in English was left by Robert Semer in 1432[11], by Alice Lego about 1450[12], and the same sir Thomas Chaworth in 1458. 'Books in English of the Paternoster,' or *De Oratione Dominica*, were left by the before-mentioned William Reevetour in 1446, sir John Scrope ('with mattins of the Passion') in 1455, and John Burn in 1479[13]. The *Speculum Christianorum*, partly Latin and partly English, was left by Ralph Maynard about 1450[14], Arthur Ormsby in 1467[15], and perhaps as a 'book of English and Latin with divers matters of good exhortations' by John Baret, a layman, in 1463[16]. The *Chastising of God's Children* was owned by Sibylla Felton, abbess of Barking, 1401, and given to the Carthusians of Sheen by the first recluse there, John Kingslow, about 1415; it was bequeathed by Agnes Stapleton in 1446, and Mercy Ormsby in 1451[17]. The *Book of Tributions*, or *Twelve Profits of Tribulation*, was bequeathed by the Lollard sir Lewis Clifford in 1404[18], Ormsby in 1451[19]. 'A book

[1] S. John Baptist's, Oxford, 94. [2] TE, ii, 117.
[3] *S. John's Camb. Descrip. Cat.*, MS. 29. [4] TE, ii, 227–8.
[5] *Sum. Cat. of Western MSS.*, iv, 610. [6] TV, 357. [7] TE, iii, 165 n.
[8] See *supra*. The nunnery of Kilburn had two MSS. of the English *Legenda Aurea* in 1536: *Monast.* iii, 424.
[9] TE, iii, 163, 165 n.
[10] *Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.*, iv, 355. [11] TE, iii, 91.
[12] *Caius Coll. Descrip. Cat.*, MS. 390. [13] TE, iii, 199.
[14] *Pembroke Coll. Descrip. Cat.*, MS. 285.
[15] *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.*, vii, 116. [16] *Bury Wills*, 35.
[17] Bodl. 923; Rawl. C. 57; *North Country Wills*, SS, 48; *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.*, vii, 107.
[18] *Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills*, 2. [19] CVD, 173.

called *Le doctrine of the herte*, or *Doctrina Cordis*, was left to the Durham monks in the fourteenth century,' and by the said Margaret Purdaunce in 1481. The above-mentioned Richard Firth, or Methley, translated into Latin the *Divine Cloud of Unknowing*, and the *Mirror of Simple Souls*[1]. John Windhill, rector of Arnecliffe, left an 'English book of the expositions of the gospels' in 1431[2], and John Holland, a monk of Westminster, a *Gospel of Nicodemus* in English verse about that date[3]. Sibylla Felton, abbess of Barking, owned an English *Cleansing of Man's Soul* in 1401[4]; William Vyott, minstrel of Coventry, left John Awdley's *Concilium Conscientiae* in 1426[5]; sister Mary Hastings of Barking, and Matilda Hayle of Barking, owned a *Craft of Dying* in 1430[6]; William Reevetour a book of miracle plays; sir John Paston an *Abbey of the Holy Ghost* about 1479[7]; and *Dives and Pauper* and the *Knight of the Tower* were bequeathed in 1504[8].

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[1] Pembroke MS. 221.
[2] TE, ii, 34.
[3] *Westminster*, 24–5.
[4] *Sum. Cat. of Western MSS.*, v, 342.
[5] *Id.* iv, 586.
[6] Addit. 10596.
[7] *Paston Letters*, Gairdner, J., 1901, p. ccclxviii.
[8] *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.*, vii, 111.

ALEXANDER NEVILE'S TRANSLATION OF SENECA'S 'OEDIPUS.'

THE Elizabethan translations of Seneca's tragedies are generally admitted to be poor productions, though they are worthy of study in view of their influence on the development of the drama. Of the ten plays included in the collected edition of *Seneca his Tenne Tragedies*, published in 1581, the translation of the *Oedipus* by Alexander Nevile has received the most praise, on account of the supposed youth of the translator. According to the title and dedicatory epistle the play was 'Englished' in 'the yeare of our Lord MDLX' when Nevile was in his sixteenth year. This statement has led critics to compare the *Oedipus* favourably with the other translations, made by men like Heywood and Studley, who were Fellows of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. 'Notwithstanding the translator's youth,' said Warton, 'it is by far the most spirited and elegant version in the whole collection, and it is to be regretted that he did not undertake all the rest,' and this verdict was reprinted in the introduction to the Spenser Society's edition of the *Tenne Tragedies* in 1887. A German scholar, Ernst Jockers, echoes this praise in his dissertation on the translators: 'Nevyle ist ohne Zweifel der begabteste von sämtlichen Uebersetzern. Seine Uebersetzung zeigt dichterischen Schwung und jugendliche Lebendigkeit[1].'

Considered as the work of a schoolboy of sixteen, the translation as it appears in the 1581 edition is sufficiently creditable, though it contains a number of small errors. There are extant, however, two copies (in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library) of Nevile's *Oedipus* as it originally appeared in 1563, and a collation of this edition with that of 1581 shows at once that the critics' praise of the youthful translator was not altogether deserved. No hint is given in the *Tenne Tragedies* of any revision of the translation, and in the case of plays translated by Heywood, Studley, and Nuce there is no alteration of any importance. The title, dedication, and preface of the *Oedipus* would lead the reader to imagine that Nevile's translation had been reprinted in the same way. The extreme rarity of the 1563 edition has caused it to be

[1] *Die englischen Seneca-Uebersetzer des* 16. *Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg, 1909), p. 43. See also J. W. Cunliffe, *Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, p. 5.

overlooked by writers on this subject, who have assumed that its text was substantially the same as that contained in the collected edition of 1581[1].

We find, however, that Nevile practically rewrote the translation for its appearance in the *Tenne Tragedies*. Almost every line contains some alteration. The versification of the original edition was extremely irregular. Intermingled with the regular fourteeners which formed the staple metre were lines containing twelve or sixteen syllables, or even short unrhyming lines of four or more syllables. Whenever the schoolboy translator found himself with more words than he could fit into his rhyming couplets, he adopted the simple device of enclosing the superfluous syllables in brackets to show the reader that they were hypermetrical. Most of these irregularities are smoothed out in the 1581 edition, and changes other than metrical are also made. Speeches are altered, and assigned to different characters[2], lines are inserted or omitted, and there are a large number of purely verbal changes.

The extent of the alterations may be gauged by a comparison of two or three parallel passages:

1563 Edition.

(Sig. A 1.)

The night is gon. & dredfull day begins at length to appeare.
And Lucifer beset w^t^ Clowds, hymself aloft doth reare.
And gliding forth with heavy hewe. A doleful blase doth beare (in Skyes).
Now shal the houses voide be sene, with Plagues deuoured quight:
And slaughter y^t^ the night hath made, shall daye brynge forth to lyght.

(Sig. A 2.)

This feare and only this my (*read* me) dryues from fathers kingdoms great.
Not lyke a wanderyng Vacabounde the wayes unknowen I beate,
But all mystrustfull of my selfe thy lawes (O Nature) for to keape
I sought the meanes. Yet feare I still and fear into my mynde doth creape
Though cause of Dread not one I se yet feare and dread I all.

1581 Edition.

(Fol. 78.)

The Night is gon: and dredfull day begins at length t' appeere:
And *Phoebus* all bedim'de with Clowdes, himselfe aloft doth reere.
And glyding forth with deadly hue, a doleful blase in Skies
Doth beare: Great terror & dismay to the beholders Eyes.
Now shall the houses voyde bee seene, with Plague deuoured quight.
And slaughter that the night hath made, shall day bring forth to light.

(Fol. 78 verso.)

This feare, and onely this me causde my fathers kingdome great
For to forsake. I fled not thence when fear the minde doth beat.
The restless thought still dreds the thing, it knows can neuer chaunce.
Such fansies now torment my heart, my safety to aduaunce,
And eke thyne euer sacred lawes (O Nature) for to keepe

[1] In a previous article in the *Modern Language Review* (July 1909, 'The Elizabethan *Tenne Tragedies of Seneca*') I made the same assumption. This was corrected, however, in my *Elizabethan Translations of Seneca's Tragedies* (Cambridge, 1912).

[2] E.g. Iocasta's speech in Act 1, I. 22 is given to Oedipus, and 'you' is accordingly changed to 'I,' and 'that' to 'this.'

1563 Edition.

And scante in credit with myself, I seke my fatal fall
(By Dome of doulful Destinies)
For what shuld I suppose the cause?
A Plage that is so generall...

(Sig. B 2 verso.)

Oedipus. For feare my body chilles alas and trembling al I stande
In quaking dred. I seke & toile these mischiefes to withstande.
But al in vayn I labour I it wil not bee I see.
As longe as meare repugnaunts thus together mixed bee.
My mynd desirous still (Oh god) the truth for to vnfold.
With doubtfull Dred is daunted so, that it can scante vphold (Itself.)
O brother deare if eny meanes or waye of health thou knowe.
Declare it out and sticke not nowe the truth to me to showe,

Creon. Syr if it pleas your noble grace, the annswers hidden lies.

Oedi. Who doubtful helth to sick mē brings all health to them denies.

Creon. *Appolloes* vse it is the truth with darksom shades to duske.
And *Oedipus* of gods it hath, things doubtful to discus.
Speke out and spare not man.

Creon. The mightie God comaundes
To purge the Princes seat forthwith and that strayght out of hande
That vilayn vile requited be, with plages and vengeance dire.
Who firce with bloody hands of late, my brother *Laius* slue.
Before that this performed be, no hope of mylder ayer.
Wherefore do this O king, or els, of hope and healthe dispaier.

Oed. Durst eny man on yearth attempt that noble prince to slaye?

1581 Edition.

A stately Scepter I forsooke, yet secret feare doth creepe
Within my breast: and frets it still with doubt and discontent,
And inward pangues which secretly my thoughts a sunder rent.
So though no cause of dred I see, yet feare and dred I all,
And scant in credit with my selfe, my thoughts my mind appall
That I cannot perswaded be though reason tell me no,
But that the Web is weauing still of my decreed wo.
For what should I suppose the cause? a Plague that is so generall...

(Fol. 81 verso.)

Oedipus. For feare my body chilles, alas, and trembling all I stand
In quakinge dread. I seke and toyle, these mischiefes to withstand.
But all in vayne I spend my thoughtes it wil not be, I see,
As long as all my sences thus by cares disturbed bee.
My mynd desyrous stil (Oh God), the truth for to vnfold,
With doubtful Dread is daunted so, that it can scant vpholde
Itselfe. O Brother deare, if way or meane of health thou know,
Declare it out and sticke not all the truth to me to show.

Cre. The Oracle (most noble king) ys darke, and bidden lies.

Oed. Who doubtful health to sicke men brings, all health to thē denies.

Cre. *Apolloes* vse yt is the truth in darkesome dens to hold,

Oed. And *Oedipus* of Gods it hath thinges hidden to vnfold:
Speake out, tell all, and spare not man: all doubtes I can discus.

Cre. *Apollo* then (most noble King) himselfe commaundeth thus.
By exile purge the Princes seat, and plague with vengeance due
That hapless wretch, whose bloudy handes of late King Laius slue:
Before that this perfourmed bee, no hope of milder ayer:
Wherfore do this (O King) or else All hope of helpe dispayre.

Oe. Durst any man on earth attempte, that noble Prince to slay?

1563 Edition.	1581 Edition.
Shewe me y^t^ slaue that I may him dispatche out of the way.	Shew me the man that I may him dispatch out of the way.
God graunte the sight be good (Alas)	*Cre.* God graunt I may it safely tel:
Cre. the heringe is to terrible.	the hearyng was to terrible
My sences all amased stand, it is a thing so horrible.	My senses all amased are: it is a thing so horrible,
That I abhorre to speke my mynde,	That I abhorre to vtter it (oh
O god for feare I quake	God) for feare I quake
And euen at the very thought my lyms begin to shake.	And euen at the very thought my lims beginne to shake.
(Sig. B 8.)	(Fol. 84.)
Som horrible mischief great, alas, these fearfull signes declare.	Some dyre and blouddy deed (Alas) these hydeous signes declare.
(O *Iupiter*)	Whats that the Gods would haue
Whats that y^e^ Gods wold haue	reuealde, and yet doe bid beware
reueld and yet do bid beware	To vtter it? By certaine signes
(To vtter it,)	their wrath is oft descride:
They are ashamed: I know not	Such signes appeere, and yet they
what. Come hether quickely	seeme their fury great to hide.
bring.	They are ashamde: I wot nere
Some salte with the. Goe it vpon	what. Come hither, quickly
the wounded heifer fling.	bring
	Some salt with thee, and it vpon the sacrifice goe fling.

The reason for these changes is evident. In the eighteen years which had elapsed since the first publication of Nevile's translation, English poetry had made marvellous progress. The standard of versification had been raised, and the halting metre which had been tolerated in 1563 would not pass muster in 1581, even as the work of a youth of sixteen. It may be urged that the same reason ought to have produced revised versions of the other plays, but these did not contain such glaring irregularities, though they are devoid of poetical merit. Moreover, Heywood and Studley, who were responsible for seven out of the ten tragedies, were in a very different position from Nevile when the 1581 edition appeared. Both had been forced to give up their university careers, and had devoted themselves to the promulgation of their religious opinions, Heywood as a Jesuit priest, exiled from England, and Studley as a Puritan whose views were unacceptable to Whitgift, the Master of his college. Nevile, on the other hand, had remained a scholar, and was now secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was the author of various Latin works, and his brother was one of the most prominent Cambridge dignitaries. A drastic revision of the early translation was necessary, but even when this was complete Nevile seems to have felt that the result was not altogether creditable to his mature scholarship, and he therefore sheltered himself behind the title and dedication which ascribed the work to his sixteenth year.

It is worth noting that the 1581 edition insists strongly on the fact, not mentioned in 1563, that the translation was made as early as 1560. In the list of plays and translators at the beginning of the *Tenne Tragedies*, the only translation of which the date is given is Nevile's *Oedipus*, to which '1560' is added. The title of the 1563 edition runs thus:

> 'The Lamentable Tragedie of Oedipus the Sonne of Laius Kyng of Thebes out of Seneca. By Alexander Neuyle. Imprynted at London in saint Brydes Churchyarde: ouer agaynst the North doore of the Churche: by Thomas Colwell. 1563. 28 Aprilis.'

In the *Tenne Tragedies* the play appears with the following title:

> 'Oedipus. The Fifth Tragedy of Seneca, Englished. The yeare of our Lord M.D.L.X. By Alexander Neuyle.'

The alterations in the dedicatory epistle to Dr Wotton are even more significant. In the 1563 edition the epistle opened without any reference to the translator's youth:

> When first right honorable Syr, I trauayled in the translation of this present Tragadie, Written by the moste graue, vertuous & Christian Ethenicke (For so doubteth not *Erasmus* to terme him) *Lucius Anneus Seneca*: I minded nothynge lesse, then that at any tyme thus rudely transformed he shoulde come into the Prynters hands.

In the 1581 edition these opening sentences have been thus rewritten:

> This sixtenth yeare of myne age (righte honorable) reneweth a gratefull memory of your great goodnes towardes me: (for at Baptisme your honor vouchsafed to aunsweare for mee): and causeth mee thus boldly to present these greene and vnmelowed fruicts of my first trauailes vnto you: as signes and testimonies of a well disposed minde vnto your honor. Albeit when first I vndertoke the translation of this present Tragedy, I minded nothing lesse, than that at any tyme thus rudely transformed it shoulde come into the Printers hands.

Nevile's claim to be regarded as a youthful prodigy must therefore be dismissed, and it is difficult not to suspect him of an attempt at deliberate falsification. His behaviour raises interesting questions as to the amount of revision which an Elizabethan author might legitimately bestow on his work without making any acknowledgment of the change.

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'THE SHEPHERD TONY'—A RECAPITULATION.

THE identity of the 'Shepherd Tony' of *England's Helicon* has long been a matter of dispute; and although at one time Mr A. H. Bullen appeared to have settled it satisfactorily his verdict has never been unanimously accepted by the critics. In view, also, of the fact that its discussion has never, apparently, extended beyond the scope of a note in an appendix or an introduction, it will not, perhaps, be out of place to reconsider the whole question, not only independently but as fully as the present state of knowledge will allow.

The only writer whose claim has ever been directly considered is Anthony Munday; even those critics who have most vehemently opposed this identification have not suggested any rival. It will be perfectly legitimate, therefore, to make Munday's claim the basis of discussion; before doing so, however, nothing can be lost, and something may be gained, by a brief consideration of the Shepherd Tony poems themselves, quite apart from any question of their authorship. That this course has not hitherto recommended itself to those who have taken up the matter is probably due to the fact that it has never been given independent investigation.

Starting from this point, then, it is at once obvious that, of these seven Shepherd Tony poems, only one is of outstanding merit. This is the famous 'Beauty sat bathing by a spring,' which is certainly one of the finest poems in the whole collection. Its very excellence has, however, tended to obscure the issue, by concentrating critical attention on this one poem: the result has been that the usual verdict has pronounced the general level of Munday's verse to fall so far below it as to make his authorship a literary impossibility.

A detailed examination of the seven poems will show that not only are they very unequal in execution, *inter se*, but that the six less famous ones fall not infrequently below the ordinary level of the greater part of the collection,—Bartholomew Young's mediocre productions always excepted.

Turning to the second of these poems, the story of Harpalus and Phyllida, this inequality is very evident. Its metre is of a thoroughly

jog-trot nature, which, if not exactly verging on doggerel, becomes at times singularly unmusical:

Bide awhile fair Phyllida,
List what Harpalus will say
Only in love to thee;
Though thou respect not me,
Yet vouchsafe an ear
To prevent ensuing ill,
Which no doubt betide thee will;
If thou do not foresee
To shun it presently,
Then thy harm I fear.

Similarly in the last poem, *The Shepherd's Sun,* the movement is every now and again a little uncertain, as in

Admit you were used amiss,

nominally a four-beat line, where the accent must be badly wrenched if it is to scan. To balance this, however, there are some delightful passages:

Then Robin Redbreast stepping in,
Would needs take up this tedious strife,
Protesting true loving
In either lengthen'd life.

One more example must suffice: *The Woodman's Walk* is conventional both in conception and in metre; although here the writer achieves smoothness he achieves it at the cost of becoming monotonous:

I marvelled much at his disguise,
Whom I did know so well;
But thus in terms both grave and wise,
His mind he 'gan to tell.
Friend, muse not at this fond array,
But list awhile to me;
For it hath holp me to survey
What I shall show to thee.

The more these poems are examined in detail the more it becomes evident that their writer had occasional flashes of lyrical felicity, but was in the main somewhat uninspired. Were it not for 'Beauty sat bathing by a spring' it is extremely doubtful if the other six poems would ever have drawn much more attention to themselves than have Bartholomew Young's. There is, finally, one more point which is perhaps worth noticing: in *England's Helicon,* as originally published in 1600, there are only five poems written in a six-line iambic pentameter stanza, rhyming *ababcc,* and of these five two belong to the Shepherd Tony—a fact which may perhaps argue a special fondness on his part for this particular measure.

Turning next to the consideration of Munday's claim, it will be as

well, at the outset, to recognize that in his own day he had won high praise as a poet. William Webbe's encomium is sufficient witness to his reputation amongst his contemporaries:

> Anthony Munday, an earnest traueller in this arte, and in whose name I haue seene very excellent workes, among which, surely, the most exquisite vaine of a witty poetical heade is shewed in the sweete sobs of Sheepheardes and Nymphes; a worke well worthy to be viewed, and to bee esteemed as very rare Poetrie.
>
> (Webbe: *Discourse of English Poetrie.*)

The work to which Webbe referred thus in 1586 was a collection of poems published by Munday in 1583, and entited *The Sweete Sobbes and Amorous Complaintes of Shepardes and Nymphes*[1]. It is, unfortunately, non-extant; otherwise it would probably settle this question out of hand.

While being a very unsafe guide to merit, contemporary praise has, in the present case, this importance: it makes the inherent likelihood of the inclusion of some of his poems in such a collection as *England's Helicon* almost a certainty; and this practical certainty is further heightened by the fact that Munday was evidently a friend of John Bodenham, under whose auspices, and, apparently, at whose instigation, the volume was compiled[2].

Recognizing, therefore, the inherent probability that some of Munday's verse should find its way into *England's Helicon*, the next step is to see how the Shepherd Tony poems compare with his acknowledged work. Apart from the songs in his plays and romances, and the verse of his city pageants, there are two specimens of considerable bulk still extant to enable us to form a fairly reliable idea of his poetical talent. These are *The Paine of Pleasure*, published in 1580, and a collection of songs written to set tunes, *A Banquet of Dainty Conceits*, 1588.

The Paine of Pleasure, as its name implies, is a collection of moral poems which set forth somewhat luridly all the misfortunes that may befall a man through over-indulgence in pleasures and sport of all kinds—even such seemingly innocent recreations as music and divinity. They are remarkable for a certain antiquarian interest to be found in the accounts given of such games as tennis, but they are very barren of poetic merit.

In the same volume is included another poem of a very different nature, called *The Authors Dreame*. It is written in quite a spirited

[1] See Arber, S. R., II, 427.

[2] In *Belvedere or the Garden of the Muses*, also issued in 1600 under Bodenham's patronage, Munday addressed a sonnet to him as 'his loouing and approoued good friend M. John Bodenham.'

ballad metre, and has a real vigour of its own that contrasts strongly with the sententious insipidity of the others. While not in any sense a remarkable poem it rises much above the level of the rest, both in conception and execution, and contains some clever little impressionistic pictures of city life.

In making any criticism upon the poems in the *Banquet of Dainty Conceits* it must be remembered that they were all written to fit existing tunes, and that this undoubtedly accounts to a certain extent for the unevenness of the metre. Munday in his preface anticipates this complaint, and assures us that they have all been tried with their music, and 'go' perfectly. Admittedly for the most part Munday is astride of a very pedestrian Pegasus in most of these poems; in the greater part of the *Banquet* there is very little originality of thought or beauty of diction. It must be remembered, however, that they are all pieces of a moral nature, and it is worth noticing that the editor of the Harleian Miscellany considers that, though some of them betray a Procrustean species of constraint, 'others merit more than equal praise with the generality of the graver pieces contained in...*England's Helicon* and *A Paradise of Dainty Devices*.'

In the first edition of *England's Helicon* Mr Bullen rejected Munday's claim with scorn, on the grounds that the *Banquet* afforded excellent proof to the contrary. As a specimen of the general poverty of the collection he quoted the following stanza:

> Soft fire makes sweet malt they say;
> Few words well placed the wise will weigh;
> Time idle spent in trifles vain
> Returns no guerdon for thy pain;
> But time well spent doth profit bring,
> And of good works will honour spring.

He commented, 'Very thin gruel this,' and condemned the whole collection as one in which 'there is not even a passable lyric to be found.'

While well aware that Mr Bullen afterwards recanted and acknowledged Munday's claim, I have deliberately quoted the above because it is only typical of the usual critical attitude towards Munday, and of the usual method adopted in considering his claim. It is not a fair method, and it is also a fallacious one, for it compares only the best of one set of poems with the worst type of the other. Granted that the above passage is little better than doggerel when set beside 'Beauty sat bathing by a spring,' so is the foregoing citation from 'Harpalus and Phyllida' when compared with the beginning of 'the author's farewell to Fancie' in the *Banquet*:

Farewell, sweet Fancie,
  Thou maist goe play thee;
Wisedom saith—I may not stay thee.
  I am unskilfull
  And thou too wilfull,
And time doth thy sports denay me.

The rest of the poem lapses into mediocrity, but this is Munday's 'exquisite vaine,' and there is no single passage that rivals it to be found in any of the six less famous Shepherd Tony poems. While undoubtedly the general level of the *Banquet* comes nearer to Mr Bullen's quotation than the above, it would certainly be difficult for anyone not acquainted with the Shepherd Tony poems but only with Mr Bullen's criticism to say which of the two extracts referred to above was from the *Banquet*, and which from *England's Helicon*. Similarly with the two following examples:

It was my chaunce to walk abroade,
  Where ladies were a-sporting,
And youthfull yonkers on a row
  From every place resorting:
And sitting downe upon the bancks
  Where flowers grew full sweetlie;
By one and one they did begin
  To speake their severall fancie.

Without partiality it may be said that these first eight lines of the last of the *Dainty Conceits* are well able to sustain comparison with the first eight of the last of the Shepherd Tony poems:

Fair nymphs, sit ye here by me,
  On this flowery green,
While we this merry day do see
  Some things but seldom seen.
Shepherds all, now come sit around
  On yon chequer'd plain,
While from the woods we here resound
  Some comfort for love's pain.

In fact, the conclusions to be drawn from an examination of the *Banquet* are almost identical with those already arrived at in regard to the unknown writer of the Shepherd Tony poems—that Munday shows occasionally a genuine lyric gift, but that his poems are very unequal, and that there is much more of the mediocre than of inspiration.

The best example of Munday's poetry, however, is the exquisitely simple little dirge in *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon*:

Weep! weep! ye woodmen wail!
Your hands with sorrow wring:
Your master Robin Hood lies dead,
  Therefore sigh as you sing.

Here lies his Primer, and his beads,
His bent bow and his arrows keen,
His good sword and his holy cross,
Now cast on flowers fresh and green,
And as they fall shed tears and say
Wella wella day, wella wella day.

There is a music in this of which the Shepherd Tony need not have been ashamed: it is just as unlike the general fare of the *Banquet* as is 'Beauty sat bathing by a spring,' and it should be sufficient to convince anyone who still considers Munday to be incapable of having written this latter poem.

The above citations by no means exhaust the examples of his poetry that are worthy of quotation; in his novel *Zelauto* there is, as Mr Bullen admits, 'a tuneable love-lyric'; and there are, in his romances, several poems for which the original gives no authority, in connection with which it is interesting to notice that two out of the three which occur in *Primaleon of Greece* are written in the same six-line stanza as two of the Shepherd Tony poems, as is also one of those in the *Banquet*. There is, finally, a certain amount of verse in his pageants; and while much of it can hardly be dignified by the name of poetry the general level is quite fairly represented by an extract such as the following:

In times of olde Antiquitie,
When men liu'd long and healthfully,
Detesting sloth and idlenesse,
Which breeds but surfet and excesse.
When yea and nay was greatest Oath,
And men's best weare good woollen Cloath.
(*Himatia-Poleos:* 1614.)

Even if it savour of the 'right butter-woman's rank to market' it is no bad opening in praise of the drapers' craft; while 'The Song of Robin Hood and his Huntsmen' is a really delightful little ballad:

Now wend we together, my merry men all,
Unto the Forrest side-a:
And there to strike a Buck or a Doae,
Let our cunning all be tride-a.
.....
What life is ther like to Robin Hood?
It is so pleasant a thing-a:
In merry Shirwood he spends his dayes
As pleasantly as a King-a.
(*Metropolis-Coronata:* 1615.)

Having shown, therefore, that there are no valid reasons for discrediting Munday's claim on grounds of style, but that there are, on the contrary, definite points of resemblance between his acknowledged work and the Shepherd Tony poems, it remains yet to consider whether there are any positive facts to confirm the theory of their identity.

Although there are few people nowadays who embark on the reading of Munday's prose-romances, anyone who turns over the pages of his *Primaleon of Greece* will discover that 'Prince Edward's Third Song in the Garden to the Princesse Flerida' is none other than the famous 'Beauty sat bathing by a spring.' (Book II, Chap. 27.) To Mr Bullen belongs the credit of having first put this fact on record, and he himself was persuaded by his discovery that Munday's claim was therefore settled once and for all[1]. Had the question been left at that any such a statement of Munday's claim as the foregoing would have been unnecessary; as it is, however, two points have come up within the last few years which so diminish the value of this fact that it can no longer be said to be really conclusive.

The first of these points was brought up by Mr Henry Thomas in an appendix to a paper entitled *The Palmerin Romances*, read before the Bibliographical Society in 1914. In it he expressed his belief that Munday 'merely incorporated in his text a popular poem of the day'; and although the reasons given are by no means convincing, and all spring from the fact that, to Mr Thomas, 'it seems incredible that this exquisite lyric could have been written by the "dismal draper of misplaced literary ambitions",' there is, unfortunately, no doubt that Munday was perfectly capable of such a 'borrowing.' Mr Thomas, indeed, has shown that there is a considerable amount of evidence to convict him of thus appropriating the translation of Book II of his *Amadis de Gaule*. While recognizing this possibility, however, it is important also to give equal recognition to the fact that its effect on the question is strictly limited: it may destroy the value of our one piece of external evidence, but it cannot touch that of the definite points of resemblance between Munday's work and the Shepherd Tony poems.

The second of these complications was only raised last year, 1919. Now that a perfect copy of *Fedele and Fortunio*, *The Two Italian Gentlemen*, has again come to light to prove that Collier and Hazlitt were equally unfaithful to the facts in giving the author of the play as A.M. instead of M.A., the question is, how far does this affect the identification of Munday with the Shepherd Tony? Is Munday's authorship of the play finally discredited by this discovery, and, if so, what is to be made of the fact that one of the Shepherd Tony poems is to be found in it, as a song sung by Fedele to Victoria?

The discovery of the Mostyn copy of the *Two Italian Gentlemen*

[1] See Prefaces to *Lyrics from Elizabethan Romances*, 1890; and 1899 reprint of *England's Helicon*.

disposes of the question of Chapman's authorship of the play even more effectually than it does of Munday's. That Munday might transpose his own initials, and, perhaps too, those of the patron of his work, is conceivable; but, as it stands, M.A. is an impossible signature for Chapman, even supposing the style of the play to resemble his, as, most emphatically, it does not[1].

Against Munday's authorship of the play there is the fact that in none of his works at present known to us does he ever sign himself M.A. In favour of his claim there are, on the other hand, several points. In the first place, without wishing to press unduly a point of style, it is only fair to notice two things,—one, the author's fondness for the six-line stanza to which allusion has already been made; and the other, the resemblance between the mock-Latin of Crackstone in this play and that of the learned clown Turnop in Munday's acknowledged play *John a Kent and John a Cumber*. No fewer than 216 lines of the play are written in this stanza, of the use of which there are also instances in *John a Kent*; while Crackstone's

> .....Ropericall aliquanci
> Swinum, Velum, Porcum, Graye-goosorum iostibus
> Rentibus, dentibus, lofadishibus

distinctly resembles Turnop's 'winum vinum' and his

> Well, for your wisedomes in chusing me, I rest quoniam dignitatis vestrum primarion,...Frater meum amantissime Hugo the Belringer the hebrew epitheton Barra cans, as much to say, no man can barre his chaunce....

Similarly, they both use the word 'pediculus' for 'school-master,' while Turnop's high-sounding 'cannibal' words 'prerogastride' and 'minstricallically' are obviously of the same family as Crackstone's 'perplexionablest' and 'terrebinthinall.' These two instances by no means exhaust the resemblances, but a full and detailed treatment of them is necessarily outside the scope of this account.

In the second place it is certainly a strange coincidence, that, of Munday's three works published between the years 1584 and 1586, two should have been published by Thomas Hacket, the publisher of *The Two Italian Gentlemen*, to whom also Munday's *Banquet of Dainty Conceits* was entered in 1584[2]. A glance at Munday's bibliography

[1] Chapman's authorship was put forward by Mr Charles Crawford in his edition of *England's Parnassus*. He did so on the attribution of Allot, the original editor, who, by Mr Crawford's own showing, ascribes 130 quotations out of 2350 wrongly, and incidentally ascribes three of Chapman's to Spenser and credits him with one out of Tottel's *Miscellany*. Further, Mr Crawford's argument on the grounds of style is manifestly unsound to any careful reader who compares this play with Chapman's work.

[2] I.e. *A Watch-woord to England*, 1584; and *Antony Munday his godly exercise for Christian Families*, 1586. Also *Fedele and Fortunio...the fine conceipted comoedie of two Italian Gentlemen*, entered Nov. 1584, published 1585.

will show that it was almost habitual with him to publish several works one after the other with the same publisher:

e.g. John Charlwood	*A ballat of the encoragement of an English soldiour to his fellow mates.*	1580.
	Zelauto.	
William Wright	*A View of Sundry Examples.*	1580.
	A Breefe Discourse of the takinge of Campion.	1581.
	A Breefe and True Reporte.	1582.

Thirdly, it is again a curious coincidence that Collier should have considered Munday as a likely author, that independently other critics should have tried to identify Munday and the Shepherd Tony, and that afterwards one of the Shepherd Tony poems should have been discovered in that particular play[1].

Finally, it is perhaps not without significance that a copy of the play—one of the only two (or three?) known to be in existence—should have come to light in Lord Mostyn's collection, which also contains Munday's autograph MS. of *John a Kent.* It is not altogether a fanciful suggestion that M.A. is simply a transposition of Munday's initials, and that M.R. is similarly a transposition of those of Lord Mostyn's ancestor, Roger Mostyn. This Roger Mostyn, of Mostyn Hall, Holywell, Flintshire, was born in 1567, matriculated at Brazenose College, Oxford, in 1584, was knighted in 1606, and died in 1642. He was descended from Adda ap Iorwerth Dda of Pengwern, who married Isabel, the sister of Owen Glendower. Now it is certainly curious that these two plays should both be preserved at Mostyn Hall, one of them in a unique MS.; that the one should be dedicated to M.R. which is a simple transposing of Roger Mostyn; that the other should be written around the doings of a magician popularly supposed to be Owen Glendower and a Llewllyn Prince of Wales with both of whom the Mostyn family

[1] Although the natural temptation is to accuse Collier of forgery in connexion with the dedication, it must be remembered that not only did he see a copy with a dedication, which he has given correctly in the main, but that this copy was not the Mostyn quarto which has the title-page that was lacking in the one he saw. There is, therefore, almost certainly another quarto in existence somewhere; and it is possible that the dishonesty is to be laid to Munday's charge, not Collier's. Munday may have been guilty of the practice of dedicating his work to two different patrons, because it is strange that Collier should invent a personage of the name of John Heardston Esquier—who, for all that is known of him, might just as well be a pure invention—if the patron were already given as M.R.—initials that, one would have thought, Collier would have at once identified as those of Matthew Roydon. From the bibliographical point of view it is unsafe to assume with absolute certainty that Collier's John Heardston and his A.M. are forgeries, as the above is a possible, though not therefore a probable, contingency.

was connected by descent, and that it should be definitely stated to have for the scene of its action the very neighbourhood of Mostyn Hall in several of the scenes; and lastly that there should be definite resemblances of style between the two plays, unless, indeed, they are the work of one and the same author, and that author Anthony Munday.

There is, of course, in all this, nothing in the least final in the way of proof of Munday's authorship of the play. It is possible to say that all these points adduced are merely coincidences. Surely, however, to swallow six 'coincidences' all pointing to the same conclusion, and to strain at the simpler solution of Munday's probable authorship is absurd.

The case, then, with regard to Munday's claim to the Shepherd Tony poems, stands thus: on the grounds of style it is amply justified; it is not discredited by the discovery of the perfect quarto of the *Two Italian Gentlemen* as it is still open to the investigator to hold a brief for Munday as its author; nor, finally, does Mr Thomas' objection do more than establish the fact that, in the case of such a writer as Munday, the occurrence of one of the Shepherd Tony poems in his *Primaleon* cannot be taken as final and conclusive proof of his authorship, but that instead the emphasis must, in the present state of knowledge, be laid on the internal evidence.

There is no doubt that the pieces of the puzzle fit together very simply if the identification is admitted. Munday wrote a collection of pastoral poems, *The Sweete Sobbes and Amorous Complaintes of Shepardes and Nymphes*, in 1583; with his usual economical habit, he included one of them in a play in 1584; in 1596 he included another in a translation of a romance—indeed, there is little doubt that he knew the trick of 'filling To raise the volume's price a shilling'; finally, seven of these poems were included in a popular anthology in 1600. It is possible that one day definite information may be forthcoming to show that Munday was not the Shepherd Tony; until such evidence is available, however, it is merely prejudiced and uncritical to say that 'his claim is antecedently impossible,' because at present everything stands in favour of it, if the matter is given an impartial consideration.

M. St Clare Byrne.

SOME PROVINCIAL PERIODICALS IN SPAIN DURING THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT.

El Europeo (1823-4); La Alhambra (1839-41); Diario de Barcelona (*c.* 1833-9).

Most of the books which deal with aspects of Spanish Romanticism have devoted far too little space to its periodical literature, and the critics who have studied Romantic journals with any care confine themselves almost entirely to those published in Madrid. For those who would extend the field opened by Hartzenbusch's valuable *Apuntes para un catálogo de periódicos madrileños desde* 1661—1870 (Madrid, 1894), there is material in the summary bibliography of Criado y Domínguez' *Antigüedad e importancia del periodismo español* (Madrid, 1892), much of which may be followed up in the Biblioteca Nacional of the capital, and much more in the University Libraries of Barcelona, Granada, Zaragoza, Valencia and the other centres whence emanated the most important of the journals in question[1]. But the material has not been fully used, either by historians like Blanco Garcia[2], general writers like Piñeyro, or investigators of particular authors or influences like Professor Churchman[3] or M. Georges le Gentil[4].

Anyone who has read even summarily the history—at present but

[1] I should wish here to express my gratitude for facilities for study obtained and various pieces of information given by my friend Sr. Solalinde of the Centro de Estudios Históricos, Madrid, and many of the officials of the Biblioteca Nacional. I am also greatly indebted for much help (both in the subject of this article and in a wider study on which I am engaged) to the staff of the University of Barcelona Library; to Sr. D. Aureliano del Castillo y Beltrán, Librarian of the University of Granada; Sr. D. Francisco de P. Valladar, editor of the *Alhambra*; Sr. D. Manuel Jimenez Catalán, Head of the Biblioteca Provincial y Universitaria of Zaragoza; and Sr. D. Angel Ramírez Cassinello, Librarian of the Biblioteca-Museo, Villanueva y Geltrú. One important piece of information and much of minor importance I owe to the diligent enquiries of my friend D. Fernando González, lately of the University Library, Barcelona, pursued on my behalf for some time after I was able to carry them out in person.

[2] See *infra*, p. 375.

[3] In the *Beginnings of Byronism in Spain* (1910) Professor Churchman includes no periodicals but those found in London, Paris or Madrid, and though he finds several important provincial reviews in the Biblioteca Nacional, he is unable to consult the important *Europeo* and the *Diario Mercantil de Cádiz* (*op. cit.* p. 60).

[4] I refer to M. le Gentil's interesting minor thesis *Les Revues littéraires de l'Espagne pendant la première moitié du xix^e siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1909). But this, of course, was subordinated to the requirements of the author's major study of Bretón de los Herreros, and is composed accordingly.

scantily written—of the origins of Spanish Romanticism knows well that that history, elusive and difficult of interpretation as it is, can never be worthily written until the reviews founded and kept alive by the mere boy-Romantics of 1820 to 1830—many of whom were afterwards among the greatest of their generation—have been disinterred and read, together with the ever-important news-sheets which form the permanent stock-in-trade of the nineteenth century literary historian. I propose here to give some account of a number of provincial periodicals which for various purposes I have had occasion to examine, and to dwell more particularly on points which have so far escaped notice. It may perhaps be suitably remarked that the first three of these journals exemplify respectively the three main divisions into which all their contemporaries may be roughly classified: the *Europeo* may be termed a serious review, though of the others of this class which I have seen only the short-lived *Revista europea* (1837) approaches our modern reviews in quality; the *Alhambra* of 1839–41 is essentially a 'magazine,' in which fashions are discussed in the same spirit as books, and some excellent verse is varied with short stories and articles of indifferent merit—or *vice versâ*; the *Diario de Barcelona* is first and foremost a newspaper,—though more literary in the numbers which are here examined than most of its contemporaries,—the literary importance of which resides entirely in reviews of books, critiques of plays and miscellaneous semi-literary information, chiefly foreign.

I.

El Europeo, 1823–4.

Here we have a review recognised generally as of the first importance, and spoken of by Blanco Garcia (*La literatura española en el siglo xix*, vol. I, p. 79) as 'la célebre revista barcelonesa,' yet dismissed by him in half-a-dozen lines, as follows: 'En esta revista se explicaron las teorías románticas, no solo como genuinamente españolas, sino en el más amplio sentido con que se propagaban en Alemania, Italia e Inglaterra. Allí también apareció en castellano un poema de Lord Byron, *El Giaour*, y por primera vez sonaron los nombres de otros grandes poetas extranjeros.'

The comparative inaccessibility of the review[1] may account for this cavalier treatment: the fact that there is *not* in this tiny review a

[1] Which I found complete in the library of the University of Barcelona: it is not in the national libraries of London, Paris or Madrid.

translation of the *Giaour* certainly suggests that Blanco Garcia[1] did not consult it at first hand, and it is inconceivable that he can have read the articles which I am about to describe and written nothing more of them in the 1400 pages of his work on the nineteenth century.

The journal appeared only between October 1823 and April 1824, and the shortness of its life as well as its cosmopolitan character must be set against its early date and comparatively high literary merit in the gauging of its ultimate importance. It was edited by Aribau and López Soler, together with an Englishman, Ernest Cook, and two Italians, Monteggia and Galli. Aribau, who was also the founder and editor of *El Constitucional*, *El Español*, *El Corresponsal*, *La Nación*, *La Voz de la Razón*, and *La España* was probably the moving spirit in the enterprise. Hardly more than thirty years of age, he had just moved from Lérida to Barcelona, where he had been appointed secretary of the *Junta de Comercio*. López Soler, as we may judge from his contributions, as well as from his later history, was an enthusiastic collaborator of rather more advanced views than his colleague; Monteggia had critical as well as original talent; Cook and Galli contributed little. The first number bears the date 'Sábado, 18 de octubre de 1823.' It is a small pamphlet (7″ × 4″) with the title-page:

El Europeo || Período (*sic*) de Ciencias, artes || y literatura || por los Sres. Cook, Aribau, L. Monteggia || López Soler y Galli || Tomo único de 1823 || Barcelona || Imprenta de Torner.

On the back of the title-page is the epigraph from Quintana's *Oda a Guttemberg*:

... ¡ Mente ambiciosa !
Vúelvete en fin a mejorar al hombre.

This number has forty pages, and the eleven succeeding issues, which take the review to the end of the year and complete the first volume, are of roughly the same size; in matter they comprise sections on Literatura, Política, Poesía, Bellas Artes, Medicina, Física, Historia, Moral and the like, together with an important and comprehensive section headed 'Variedades.' The second volume contains twelve numbers of from thirty to forty pages each, and these take us to the end of March 1824. With No. 13 of volume II a new series is begun, perhaps on account of the secession of Galli and Cook referred to below. But the review only survived four more numbers. At the end of No. 16 is a short editorial statement entitled 'Despedida del *Europeo*,' explaining

[1] Though he worked near, if not actually in this library, I am driven to the conclusion that he must have missed the review.

the causes which brought about the cessation of the review. After apologising for the lateness of the current number[1] the note continues:

La partida de nuestros colaboradores Galli y Cook, dejó en el Periódico un grande vacio, que hemos procurado llenar en cuanto nuestras fuerzas lo han permitido ; pero aumentadas posteriormente las ocupaciones de algunos de nosotros, nos vemos ya con dolor imposibilitados de seguir haciendo a la ilustración pública este sacrificio gratúito, guardando para mejor ocasión volver a una tarea, que para nosotros es en extremo agradable.

For the student of literature two articles stand out above all the rest in this review, as being the first of any substance to appear upon Romanticism. The former of these, by Luis Monteggia (October 25, 1823), has the simple title 'Romanticismo.' It is very general in character, shewing a considerable acquaintance with the new elements in the literatures of England, France, Italy and Germany, but it reveals no conception of Romanticism as a revolt, still less as a force which was to dominate the literature of half-a-century[2]. To Monteggia the typical 'Romantics' are Chateaubriand and Mme de Staël: in other words it is pre-Romanticism of which he is primarily writing.

Al solo nombre de Romanticismo (he begins) se recuerdan las infinitas disputas que tienen dividida toda la república literaria. Nuestro intento no es mezclarnos en ellas, sino decir algo sobre la significación y máximas fundamentales de este sistema de literatura.... La esencia del romanticismo...consiste...en los elementos poéticos que componen el *estilo*, en la elección de los *argumentos*, y en el modo de tratarlos por lo que toca a la *marcha* : tres puntos que serán el objeto de este artículo.

Under the first heading Monteggia shows, after the fashion of the *Génie du Christianisme*, how for the mythology of the Greeks were substituted as a background for the imagination, after the establishment of Christianity, the mysteries of the Christian religion. The effect of the Northern invasions of Europe made themselves felt, 'llevando consigo las lúgubres ideas de los climas septentrionales, y el gusto por las melancólicas canciones de los Bardos y de los Druidas.' Then the chivalry of the Moors awoke sentiments 'con que obsequiaban a las damas, poniendo en los escudos por emblema de honor: Dios, la patria y amor.' These elements, together with the introduction of Christianity as a *motif*, combined to produce the style of a Calderón, which is as truly romantic (says Monteggia) as that of a Byron. 'El carácter principal del estilo de los románticos propiamente dichos (is his summing-

[1] It was timed to appear (and was no doubt in the press) only a few days after the death of Byron occurred. The many signs of the editors' interest in Byron and the diligence with which Aribau hunted the foreign papers make us wish that the life of the *Europeo* might have been prolonged until the news had reached Barcelona.

[2] In another place (Vol. II, p. 49) Monteggia sums up the merits of Romanticism as consisting 'en lo sentimental del estilo, en la pintura de las costumbres de la edad moderna, particularmente después del establecimiento de cristianismo, en lo patético de sus cuadros, y en la elección de argumentos interesantes.'

up under this head) consiste en un colorido sencillo, melancólico, sentimental, que más interesa el ánimo que la fantasía. Quien haya leído el Corsario y el Peregrino de Lord Byron, el Atala y el Renato de Chateaubriand, el Carmañola de Manzoni, la María Stuard (*sic*) de Schiller tendrá una idea más adecuada del estilo romántico, de lo que podamos dar nosotros hablando en abstracto.' And then he supplements his exposition characteristically: 'Un escollo de este estilo es el que las ideas tristes se vuelvan demasiado terribles y fantásticas, como las del Manfredi de Lord Byron: entonces la poesía se convierte otra vez en un juego de palabras, y cesa de interesar a la mente y al corazón.'

Under the head of 'argument,' Monteggia writes from the Romantic standpoint. 'Los argumentos antiguos, y en particular los griegos y los romanos, no tienen para nosotros [note the pronoun] un interés tan inmediato, como los de las cruzadas, del descubrimiento del nuevo mundo, y de las revoluciones modernas.' The Romantics say, he continues, that the interest of classical subjects is often merely conventional, while not only does the history of mediaeval and modern ages offer much unworked material, but modern heroes are men of like passions and interests to our own. The classicists can only make their characters live by endowing them with the qualities of the moderns. The advantage is always with the romanticists, for 'también los asuntos antiguos pueden servir a los poetas románticos, con tal que sepan tratarlos románticamente, es decir no con los colores y los resortes de convención que se enseñan en las escuelas; sino con aquellas que dicta a pocos el genio, y que nos dejan conocer también en los heroes de la antigüedad a hombres como nosotros.' Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* is cited in this connection as exemplifying what can be done by the 'inmortales hijos del genio,' 'que todo lo sacan de la naturaleza y del corazón.'

The third division takes the Romantic standpoint also, but develops the usual arguments with the moderation of *De l'Allemagne*. In lyric poetry, we are told, the Romantics are 'más libres en la colocación de sus pensamientos y en la aplicación de los metros, esmerándose en hacer de modo que la forma de los poemas sea dependiente de los lances de las pasiones, en lugar de sujetarlas a demasiada regularidad.' As to drama, the article deals at some length with the place of the Unities, stating the typical Romantic position that the rules should be considered 'como la opinión de algunos, y no como una regla necesaria sacada de la naturaleza.' The origin of the rules of the Unities is shown to justify in no way their abuse by the 'ciegos imitadores de todo lo que proviene de (los antiguos).' And Monteggia employs a phrase which did

duty many times before and since when he says that 'los románticos no reconocen más que una sola unidad que es la de interés.'

On November 29, 1823, appeared a second article on Romanticism, this time from the pen of López Soler[1]. The preceding number had contained a shorter 'Examen sobre el carácter superficial de nuestro siglo' by the same author, in which he deprecates the tendency of the age to rest content with the laurels won by the *Siglo de oro* and trumpets the herald-call of Spanish Romanticism: 'Pensamos ser autores cuando somos únicamente imitadores, y estar dotados de un ingenio fecundo cuando sólo lo estamos de esteril erudición.' This expression of the patriotic and anti-Gallic spirit, which we find so frequently in reviews of this and the following decade, prepares us for an article espousing the new theories with some warmth. It is a little disappointing to find it headed 'Análisis de la cuestión agitada entre románticos y clasicistas,' an attempt, in fact, to strike a mean between the conservatism of the one school and the already apparent exaggerations of the other.

The article is in two instalments, occupying together some thirteen pages of the journal. 'Séamos permitido,' it begins, 'entrar a la vez en tan gloriosa contienda, y no ya por un espíritu de partido, sino con el objeto de conciliar si es posible a los contrincantes. Para ello daremos a conocer las bellezas que más sobresalen en el lenguaje de los homérida y las que más recomiendan el de los osiánicos.'

The aspect of Romanticism which appeals most to López Soler, at this point in his evolution as a man of letters, is its mediaeval and religious side: like Monteggia, he had evidently studied the *Génie du Christianisme*. He describes the 'origin of Romanticism': 'el esplendoroso aparato de las cruzadas, las virtudes y el pundonor de los caballeros...dieron vasto campo a las descripciones en la parte humana, para explicarnos así de los poemas; pero para su parte metafísica y sublime se recurrió a la Religión, tomando de ella un colorido lúgubre y sentimental, que daba...en general alto grado de terneza e interés a las composiciones.' The article attempts to show by a comparison of modern with Homeric literary heroes, the tremendous influence which Christianity exerted on literature: in tragedy, more particularly, Christianity is responsible for the emotions which the modern hero experiences.

The other 'sources' of Romanticism, according to the writer, are the dress which nature wears in the countries whence it springs 'confusa...

[1] López Soler was young at this time, but he afterwards became a full-fledged Romantic and mediaevalist, with the publication of his novel *Los bandos de Castilla o el caballero del Cisne* (1830) a work inspired largely by Byron and Scott, and containing a long definition of Romanticism which shows a great advance upon what he writes in the *Europeo*.

lúgubre y...melancólica: más análoga a la incertidumbre de nuestros afectos y al combate de las pasiones.' And the third great influence is that of feudal customs, so much more 'poetic' than those of antiquity.

Thus much laid down—and it is an incomplete enough presentation even of one side of the subject—the author proceeds to 'conciliate' the claims of the two schools. It is needless to say that he presents the true case of neither. 'There is beauty in both,' is his theme, 'and both enrich literature. So why should we quarrel?' Yet López Soler's article has just as much significance as Monteggia's. He was a Spaniard and he realised that in Spain the gulf between the two sets of writers (they were not yet two schools) was growing. He was already a mediaevalist, and a literary patriot: with two such qualities the final evolution of López Soler could only be what it was. The development, as it proved, came quickly. It is hard to believe that the man who in 1823 was 'tent(ando) la reconciliación de las diferencias entre los partidarios de uno y otro sistema,' had in 1830 a pen dipped in the fire of a Victor Hugo, and could describe the literary creed which he had embraced as 'libre, impetuosa, salvaje, por decirlo así; tan admirable en el osado vuelo de sus inspiraciones como sorprendente en sus sublimes descarríos.'

If indeed the *Europeo* failed to blossom as the *Muse Française*, it none the less did excellent service in familiarising its readers with pre-Romantic and Romantic ideas, and the fact that there are in eight numbers no less than four instalments of such material as that which we have just considered would suggest that the material was in some demand. The poems published in the review are for the most part undistinguished in quality; in form, and generally in matter, they are strictly classical. López Soler's ode on *La Emulación*, Aribau's *Fanatismo* with its obtrusive personifications, Monteggia's conventional verse-translations from the Italian, are far more typical than Galli's Italian poem on Death (which is at least semi-romantic) and the translation (Vol. II, p. 135, sub *Variedades*) entitled *Canto de Dorval en uno de los poemas de Osian.* The Romantic tendencies of the review are better seen in two other classes of contribution:

i. Articles on the Orient and on the Middle Ages, reinforcing the interest which, as it would be easy to show, had never been lost in Spain as elsewhere, and was now beginning to revive very fast, as is manifest even from the occasional references in contemporary journals. In No. 4 of the *Europeo* is an article 'Sobre el estado de las ciencias en la edad media'; in No. 5, 'Ventajas e inconvenientes que han resultado a las ciencias y a la humanidad del olvido de la lengua latina'; in No. 11,

an exposition by Aribau, 'Sobre la literatura oriental' with reference to Collins' *Oriental Eclogues*; in No. 2 of Volume II López Soler gives a lengthy account of 'Las Costumbres de los antiguos caballeros'; in No. 4 is a review of 'Lyonnel, o la Provenza en el siglo 13'; in No. 5 appears a translation of one of Collins' eclogues under the title 'Hazan, o el Conductor de Camellos.' There are also a number of verse *Romances* which call for no special mention. But in the following significant introduction to López Soler's chivalric article the disciple of Sir Walter Scott seems to be speaking from his heart: 'No podemos negar que al tomar la pluma para describir algun objeto de la edad media se apodere de nosotros un venerable entusiasmo. Sobre todo cuanto tiene referencia con la caballería sorprende de antemano la fantasía y excita algún sentimiento de ternura en el corazón[1].'

ii. The other feature is the number of short reviews introducing the foremost foreign writers to a Spanish audience. As the year 1824 progresses we find more and more of these, English writers—Macpherson, Byron, Scott, Moore—and the Americans Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving coming in for a particular share of attention. I append in their entirety the three most striking of these short reviews—those written on Moore, Scott and Byron by Aribau. There is another (of Millevoye's complete works) which has perhaps more interest still, for Millevoye was less in the popular ear than any of these English poets. To say of him, then, as Aribau does, 'La Francia ha perdido en M. Millevoye uno de sus mejores poetas,' reveals a taste as delicate as its expression was unexpectedly bold.

Los amores de los ángeles; Poema en tres cantos traducido del Inglés de M. Moore por M. Davésiés. Este poema debía formar el episodio de una orba más considerable, que exigía aun algunos años de trabajo. El autor habiendo sabido que su amigo el Lord Byron había escogido el mismo asunto para la composición de un drama en el que está trabajando prefirió publicar inmediatamente su bosquejo con las variaciones y adiciones convenientes, a sufrir la desventaja de reñir después de un rival tan peligroso. M. Moore se compara a la humilde estrella que empieza a aparecer un poco antes que la luz del crepúsculo sea bastante para hacerla desaparecer, y se felicita de producirse sobre el orizonte literario, antes del astro (Lord Byron) cuya brillante luz debía obscurecer la suya.

Obras completas de Sir Walter-Scott, en 24 tomos. Este autor rival de Lord Byron ha sido mirado por algunos como el primero de los románticos modernos, y colocado al lado de Richarson (*sic*) y Fielding. Ha sido el creador de un género nuevo, siempre original y superior en cada una de sus producciones: sus pinturas son vivas y animadas: reina una verdad admirable en sus descripciones de los usos y costumbres locales; sabe hermanar con la mayor gracia la historia con la ficción, conoce a fondo el corazón humano, y posee el arte de inventar carácteres siempre nuevos, de

[1] And no apology is made for such interests. Monteggia (Vol. II, pp. 49–67) in reviewing Grossi's *Ildegunda* and quoting copious extracts, only regrets that he cannot give the entire novel in translation for lack of space!

mantener siempre vivo el interés del diálogo, y de variar al infinito los cuadros y aventuras.

Obras completas de Lord Byron, traducidas en francés por A. Pichot, 6 tomos en 8º de 500 pág: cada uno. Las originales producciones de la pluma de este padre del romanticismo exagerado, recogen una infinidad de prosélitos, admiradores de sus sublimes extravagancias. Tres ediciones se han apurado en muy poco tiempo. .....Sabemos que del don Juan Tenorio ya tiene el autor publicados en Londres hasta 14 cantos. Estamos deseosos de ver como en el siglo en que vivimos hace interesante este disparatado argumento de nuestro Tirso de Molina. Para ello se necesitan muchas bellezas en el autor, o mucha imaginación en los lectores.

II.

La Alhambra, 1839–41.

Before speaking of *La Alhambra*, of which there are three volumes in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, and the library of the University of Granada, it is necessary to say something of its chequered history, so that any future investigators may not be as much puzzled by its spasmodic appearances as I was when I first attempted to track it.

The review appeared then: i, from 1839[1] to 1843, as a weekly: it is with this issue that the present article is concerned; ii, from 1850 to about 1868[2], when it was mainly concerned with politics, and with matters of local interest such as the restoration of the Alhambra; iii, from 1884 to 1895, as a 'review of arts and letters,' under the editorship of Sr. Valladar; iv, in January 1898, as a new periodical of similar aims, founded by Sr. Valladar, under whose able and experienced editorship it still flourishes. From 1869 to 1878 also there appeared a journal under the same management as the earlier *Alhambra* called *El Liceo de Granada*.

It is principally the first stage of the *Alhambra's* life which is of importance and interest to the student of Romanticism, and for this reason I regret that, though I searched in Granada, where neither the Liceo, the University, nor the present editor has a copy, as well as in Madrid and Barcelona, I could find no copy of the review later than the volumes 1839 to 1841 which I used in the Biblioteca Nacional. The last of these volumes has bound up with it[3] some seventy pages of another. This would suggest that the *Alhambra* ceased to appear in 1842, and, in

[1] According to an article in the *Liceo de Granada* (April 1, 1869), which I saw at the house of the present editor of the *Alhambra*, and from which I have taken some of the detail which follows, the *Alhambra* was inaugurated in 1838. Nevertheless the first number bears the date 1839.

[2] No later copy of this series is known by Sr. Valladar, the present editor of the review.

[3] The numbers are badly bound and the three volumes do not correspond precisely to the three years which are represented by them.

spite of the direct assertion of the *Liceo de Granada*, I am inclined, by my failure to find any later numbers, to think that this was the case[1].

The review is described as a 'Periódico de Ciencia, Literatura y Bellas Artes,' published by the Liceo de Granada. Its two principal editors were Nicolás Peñalver y López, a highly respected Granadine, and Nicolás Paso y Delgado, who, however, was very young at the time, and says himself, thirty years later, of his work: 'I did little else in the first volumes of the *Alhambra* but express in halting verse the feelings of a boy of 18 or 20 whose heart was overflowing with friendship, enthusiasm and love[2].' A casual glance at its list of contributors reveals the names of many who, though not in the first rank, were very high in the second. José de Castro y Orozco, Marqués de Gerona, had just achieved a success in Madrid with his drama *Fray Luis de León*, or *El siglo y el claustro*, which was tinged with Romanticism. Mariano Gonzalez del Valls, a Valencian and a fervid admirer of the Middle Ages, was twenty years later to give proof of his tendencies by writing a novel 'in the language of the thirteenth century.' José Fernandez Guerra has claims upon our attention for his adaptation of Gray's *Elegy*, but more for being the father of the Granadine poet Aureliano Fernandez Guerra y Orbe (1816–1894), also a youthful contributor himself to the *Alhambra* and later famous as the editor of Quevedo's prose, as critic and as collaborator with Tamayo y Baus. Gonzalez Aurioles published very soon after his work in the *Alhambra* an opera *Boabdil, último rey moro de Granada*, which reached some celebrity. Manuel Cañete (1822–91), before winning fame as a critic, poured out his eighteen-year soul in torrents of unequal verse. Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda[3] (1816–1873), who had come from Cuba to Europe only three years before, made a name in Granada through her work in this review before going to Madrid to achieve her brilliant successes in its Liceo. It was natural enough that the capital should attract all the talent of Andalusía, and that those who did not, like the Duque de Rivas, emigrate for political reasons, or, like García Gutierrez, leave their native soil in childhood, should find the provinces too narrow a sphere for their expanding genius.

Most of the contributors, then, who have become well-known to posterity, were at the time of their connection with the *Alhambra* youths without reputation and frequently without any great literary

[1] Sr. Valladar tells me that he has a single number of the 1842 volume, and that no more can be traced in Granada. The *Liceo* itself seems to have lapsed from 1843 to 1847. It was certainly in very low water at this time.

[2] 'La Palabra del Liceo,' in the first number of *El Liceo de Granada* (pp. 1–6).

[3] Appropriately enough she writes for the *Alhambra* under the pseudonym of *La Peregrina*.

merit. There is, however, in the last volume (1841) a long article in several instalments by Javier de Burgos, then over sixty, whose long journalistic experience and reputation as a poet and dramatist would no doubt secure him a reading even by those who were out of sympathy with his views. The contribution is on the history and the present state of the Spanish stage. After three instalments dealing with the great days of the old drama he inveighs against the vices of the theatre of the day, regretting that 'the respect which one owes to one's contemporaries forbids me to speak in any detail of the present-day theatre,' but adding that 'though when we have peace again it will not be necessary for a resuscitated stage to follow the principles of Aristotle or Horace, it will be well to go for inspiration to Moreto and Calderón[1].'

In a review both directed and supported by young writers we should expect to see Romanticism in its hey-day, above all in a review emanating from Granada, which, eleven years before, Victor Hugo had made known to the French as typically Catholic and Romantic. For literature was throbbing by this time with Romantic fervour. Let us remember that before 1839 had been produced the *Conjuración de Venecia*, *El Trovador*, *Los Amantes de Teruel*, that Espronceda had all but lived out his stormy life, that scenes had been witnessed in Madrid rivalling those of the first night of *Hernani*, that the Duque de Rivas had given to Spain and the drama that gigantic figure of *Don Alvaro*, that Byron's complete works had been published ten years before in Spanish and a score of his poems and plays had been translated independently. And Romanticism had found a voice in the Press, both through isolated contributors who were also men of letters, and through organs such as the ephemeral *Artista* (1835–6) and the longer-lived *Semanario Pintoresco* (founded 1836).

How does the *Alhambra* compare with such thorough-going Romantic journals as these, and what is its general literary character? It is clear from the merest glance that it was in a backwater, partly from free-will, no doubt, since its principal interest is naturally enough Granada and its monuments; but partly also because of the youth and inexperience of the contributors. They know next to nothing of the Romantic drama of Spain. There is a flattering notice, it is true, of *La Conjuración de Venecia* (II, p. 192), and another of *Alfonso el Casto* (IV, p. 49), but the rest of the tale is all of Scribe, and the drama which is passing away. Young Cañete has an article (III, pp. 40–1) entitled 'Nuestra Literatura

[1] *Alhambra*, 1841, pp. 193 ff. To find the great Horatian scholar in this galley will not surprise those who remember his semi-romantic affinities.

Dramática.' 'There was a time,' is his theme, 'when Spain was famous for her drama, and Lope de Vega was known throughout Europe.' Now our stage is 'inundated with imitations'; our national drama is nothing but a copy of that of France. 'No podemos menos de lamentar el miserable estado en que se encuentra una tan útil parte de la literatura, cuando por razón de los adelantamientos de la época, debiera brillar con todo esplendor.' Can it be that he spoke in ignorance? No better informed is Nicolás de Roda writing in the same volume (III, pp. 125–7) on the 'Influencia del teatro en las costumbres y de estas en el teatro.' He describes the English drama as 'melancólico, sombrío, enérgico, positivo,' the French as distinguished 'por la variedad...por la claridad, por la energía, por el lenguaje,' the German as 'tan oscuro en el teatro como en todos los demás géneros de literatura.' But all he can find to say about the modern Spanish drama is that though 'enérgico, natural, muchas veces original' by nature, it is merely servile and exaggerated at the time at which he writes. More extraordinary still is an earlier review in which the writer roundly declares: 'El movimiento literario de Europa apenas tiene representación en nuestra patria.' This article is more optimistic in tone, it is true, than the others. But it is curious that on the next page there is a laudatory notice of the *Conjuración de Venecia.*

The *Alhambra* is nevertheless more open to foreign influences than might be supposed. In the last (and uncompleted) volume there is a sudden glut of Byronism: imitations of Byron by Juan Valera (pp. 24, 47); a quotation from the *Hebrew Melodies* (p. 28); a paraphrase by José de Lerchundi of a fragment from *Manfred* (p. 59); and a paraphrase of Byron, entitled *A la luna,* by Manuel Cañete. In Volume II, pp. 59–60, there is an unsigned article on Lamartine, though he is considered less as a *littérateur* than as one of many 'apóstoles populares de ideas útiles y generosos sentimientos.' At II, pp. 296–7, there is a translation from the sixteenth Meditation by Manuel Dávalos, at III, pp. 184–6, a translation entitled *Napoleon* by La Peregrina, who also translated Victor Hugo[1]. A translation (probably by Luis de Montes) of a sonnet by Henry Kirke White, with the English version appended, appears at II, pp. 167–8. José Fernandez Guerra's free translation of 'Grai's' *Elegy* is to be found at III, p. 207. Some 'Thoughts in a Cemetery' (V, p. 69) suggest the influence of the same poet. A poem (V, p. 72) by

[1] III, p. 264. Other fragments of Victor Hugo are to be found at II, p. 481; IV, pp. 100–1, 118–9. There are also unimportant translations of Dumas (III, pp. 321–3) and an article on Mme. de Staël (III, pp. 87–90).

Juan Valera has an epigraph, too, from the *Lettere di Jacopo Ortis.* J. M. Quadrado (III, pp. 289–96, 301–5, 313–6) joins the staff with articles on Schiller, the *Promessi Sposi* (with numerous references to the French Romantics) and 'Literary Criticism.' As the Majorcan poet was at this time barely twenty-one years of age, we may imagine that his appearance would have gone far towards strengthening the *Alhambra* had it survived. Best known as critic and archaeologist, it must not be forgotten that he translated Manzoni and Lamartine and wrote (in collaboration) a Romantic novel *El Infante de Mallorca* (1841)[1].

These references being only the most prominent and representative, it seems clear that the *Alhambra* was far more alive to foreign influences than to the work of the Romantic spirit in Spain. It will not be hard to deduce from what has been written the nature of the original poetic contributions to the review, if the youth of their authors be also remembered. We should expect to find that they represented that stage in the evolution of Romanticism typified in France by Chateaubriand's *René,* in Italy by *Jacopo Ortis,* in England best perhaps by Gray's *Elegy,* Young's *Night Thoughts,* and Walpole's *Castle of Otranto.* Cañete, barely eighteen, is clearly under the sway of some apostle of melancholy. He writes a poem on life's autumn (*El Otoño,* II, pp. 237–8):

...Ay! Todo cambia en la feroz natura;
Todo recobra vida y lozanía,
Mientras que gime el hombre en la amargura
Sin gozar un momento de alegría!

Mísera condición la del humano!
Mirar el mundo de hermosuras lleno,
Beber la copa del placer ufano,
Y hallar tan solo matador veneno!

Ay Dios! por qué nacer, si el mundo es solo
Un yermo para el triste peregrino;
Si en él presiden la falacia y dolo,
Y es cruel de los hombres el destino!...

At times, with the irresistible impulse of youth, he breaks out in different strains:

Cuán hermoso es vivir, cuando en la mente
Se conserva sublime un pensamiento,
Más grande que el mortal, y tan valiente
Como ese sol que rige el firmamento.

But in soberer mood he thinks of such pleasures only as illusions. Only *dolor* remains (*Nuestra edad,* IV, p. 405).

None of the contributors approaches the true Leopardian pessimism

[1] In this summary I say nothing of Washington Irving's vogue, which was purely local, and not primarily literary, if at all. His life is given in the *Alhambra* in several long instalments, with translations from the *Tales of a Traveller.*

so nearly as Cañete, but throughout the *Alhambra* there are variations on this strain. Now we hear the melancholy air of *Mi delirio* by the young Aureliano Fernandez Guerra (I, pp. 110–12) or of his *Infortunio* (II, p. 64) and *A mi amigo* (II, pp. 296–7); now it is expressed in the elegies (II, pp. 416–8) of Cabezas; now in the vague sadness caused by age, parting or absence: Manuel Azcutia (II, pp. 475–6); Agustín Salido (III, pp. 141–3; 435); now it is more mature sadness as in Sandoval's *El Desengaño*, dedicated to Manuel Cañete (V, p. 35). It is impossible to reproduce all these, and in quoting five stanzas from a poem of thirty-two by Salido I have tried to choose the lines which appear to me most typical of the spirit of the review:

Es la misión del vate en este suelo
Cantar llorando y con placer cantar;
Es su misión una misión del cielo,
Su vida un soplo; su delirio un mar.

. . . .

Dichoso tú, que en horas de retiro
Puedes gozar recuerdos de ilusión;
Yo en ellas, ¡ay! hondísimo suspiro
Me arranca y despedaza el corazón.

. . . .

Son mis noches de atroz melancolía
Y en ellas vela ansiosa mi razón,
Porque a tiempo que asome el claro día,
Asome con su luz mi inspiración.

. . . .

Así pasan nuestros días,
Así pasan uno a uno,
Entre llantos y placeres,
Y entre azares e infortunios.

Esa es nuestra vida, amigo,
Hoy los placeres son tuyos;
Tal vez el pesar mañana
Derrame en tí sus influyos, etc. (III, p. 435).

. . . .

There is also in some of the poems that tendency towards 'graves and worms and epitaphs' which we find in the adaptation of Gray and the graveyard thoughts mentioned above. *El Cementerio*, a prose essay by Nicolás de Roda (II, pp. 486–9) is quite in the spirit of *René*; more so still is the first part of M. Alvarez's *cuento* beginning in the usual strain:

Nace el hombre a miserias sujeto,
Y un continuo tormento es su vida...

which describes a youth sitting on the bank of a river and

...más lágrimas que abril
Hojas produce exhalando.

With these may be compared Cañete's verses inspired by some dry leaves (IV, p. 120) and Rodriguez Ferrer's *Las Ruinas.*

As will be shown more clearly in the following section, this strain is the more significant because it occurs in journals of various kinds and in the work of young men who developed subsequently in quite dissimilar ways. It is the more remarkable because there is in the sum less of disillusionment, melancholy, *mal du siècle, Weltschmerz* (or whatever other expression the age used to describe itself) in the writings of the greatest Spanish Romantics than in those of other countries. Spain has her Espronceda, it is true, as England has her Byron, France her Musset, Germany her Heine, and Italy her Leopardi. But in French Romanticism we have also a gradation of *tristesse,*—the *mal du siècle* of Chateaubriand and Sénancour, the gentle sadness of Millevoye, the calms and storms of Lamartine and Victor Hugo, the philosophical pessimism of Alfred de Vigny. In Italy Ugo Foscolo writes the *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis* and in a famous sonnet shows himself 'avverso al mondo, avversi a me gli eventi'; Silvio Pellico cries 'Il più bel giorno di mia vita sarà quello de mia morte!'; Giusti, 'poeta del riso,' is also a *poitrinaire*; Mazzini and Guerrazzi have their moments of bitter reaction; Carlo Bini and Nicolini are avowed followers of Byron; Alessandro Poerio is a disciple as well as a friend of Leopardi; Giovanni Prati at least approaches pessimism. And this list could be indefinitely enlarged at will. But what, outside the work of Espronceda, have we in Spain? Apparently nothing: a fatalism which deserves closer study, but of disillusion, melancholy, pessimism? A few verses by the Duque de Rivas, Pastor Diaz, Miguel de los Santos Alvarez, and some half dozen others; the bitter *desengaño* of Figaro. Nothing else: *except in the periodical literature* such as that which we are studying. The psychology of each nation is not unlike; the development of Romanticism in each national literature follows a broadly similar course. But chronology and past history differ; and all the greatest geniuses in Spain—except one—are directed into another channel. The stream of disillusion flows in Spain as elsewhere, but it is a narrower stream and a more secluded. For that reason alone it is worth while to study the *Alhambra.*

III.

El Diario de Barcelona, 1833–9.

I should not have had occasion to study the *Diario de Barcelona* but for certain facts relative to Manuel de Cabanyes and his *Preludios de mi lira.* It is an old established newspaper of no apparent literary

importance, mainly political and commercial in tendency, a supporter of throne and altar, and more than a little interested in events of general appeal from abroad. I have been through the files from 1833 to 1839, and with especial care through those of the years 1833 and 1834.

The literary opinions expressed and the estimates given of current books and plays are generally orthodox, with a distinct bias towards the conservative. 'En el orden literario,' says an article entitled *Vanidad y Orgullo*, and dated July 29, 1833, 'también se han introducido estas dos flaquezas de la condición humana. En las letras la vanidad no hace más que ostentarse con gala, oportuna o inoportunamente, pero el orgullo es el padre de la amarga sátira y del descarado sarcasmo.' This is the conventional anti-Romantic complaint, slightly disguised by the cloak of morality which bedecks a considerable number of the *Diario*'s leading articles of this period. Neither the tributes to the popularity of Chateaubriand, nor the eulogies of Larra's *Doncel de Don Enrique el Doliente*, nor even the frequent allusions to Scott and the *Waverley Novels*, can be said to show the hand of any writer of merit or interest.

After 1835 the same statement may be made of the literary side of the paper in general. But between 1833 and 1835 there are a few contributions of an unusual character which give the *Diario* a place with its more literary contemporaries in this article.

It is evident from a perusal of these—which are all unsigned—that there was on the staff of the paper at least one writer who shared to an uncommon degree the pessimistic or pseudo-pessimistic outlook on life which we have seen in the *Alhambra*. In the present periodical we can trace something like a connected philosophy of illusion in which any reader of Leopardi, Vigny and Schopenhauer will recognise points of similarity with the thought of each.

This may best be illustrated by quotations, which are mainly taken from a leading article dated June 23, 1833:

> He aquí el fruto de la mayor parte de los afanes de la vida y el objeto final de casi todos los delirios y locuras de los hombres. Si del corto círculo de nuestra existencia sobre la tierra se quitasen las ilusiones, apenas quedarían algunos puntos de goce verdadero....Las pasiones que con más violencia agitan el corazón humano se ceban en la ilusión....¿ Qué otra cosa es la gloria humana que una ilusión ?...Aún las pasiones más innobles, como por ejemplo la avaricia, se alimentan principalmente de la ilusión....

The writer then considers the nature of love, which, he says, only lives by virtue of its illusory elements. Take these away and only what is grossly material remains. Nor is any other pleasure more stable. In other words, there is no true happiness at all. 'No existe el reino de la felicidad sino en nuestra fantasía.'

How then is life worth living? Schopenhauer's palliative of æsthetic contemplation is recalled by one suggested remedy, Vigny's praise of noble deeds by another. The writer's solution is, however, the religious one, and the article ends upon a conventional note.

There are, moreover, signs in these files of the journal (1833–5) that the *mal du siècle* was affecting this writer or others, but it is unnecessary to give these in detail. Critical notices of Chateaubriand and Lamartine betray their authors, poems on *Autumn* and *Melancholy* are not uncommon; there is more (generally in verse) on *Illusion*; a eulogy of the *Night Thoughts* of Young; and an article on *Ruins* which is typical of the pre-Romantic period:

> Todos los hombres tienen una secreta inclinación a las ruinas, dice un autor célebre, y ninguno hay que no sienta en sí mismo la verdad de esta aserción. Ya sea que un oculto instinto nos mueva a buscar cierta analogía entre la destrucción de los grandes monumentos con la fragilidad de nuestra existencia, ya sea que la infinidad de nuestro pensamiento a quien no limita el tiempo ni el espacio se deleite en transportarse a épocas que ya pasaron, y busque una especie de comunicación con los siglos que le precedieron. Y ¿qué buscamos en las ruinas? El poder del tiempo, la rapidez de los acontecimientos humanos, la vanidad del hombre y de su orgullo, y el imperio destructor e indestructible de la muerte....Todo desierto es sublime, porque el alma se abandona más libremente a sus meditaciones, y porque siempre es grande y magnífico el aspecto de la naturaleza....

It should be clear that such work as this, characterising two years of the life of a newspaper which in the years preceding and following it is all but barren of literary merit, argues the presence on the staff of a man of considerable gifts and power, and also of clearly marked Romantic tendencies. One thinks at once of Cabanyes' friend Roca y Cornet ('Cintio') who was certainly a contributor at this time, and an important one, since he was able to contribute, besides the review of the *Preludios* which was published shortly before the poet's death, two odes upon the loss of a writer who was after all but a boy of little more than village fame at the time[1]. There are arguments against Roca y Cornet's authorship, but it seems best to leave the question open pending researches in the archives of the *Diario de Barcelona* which are being made at present[2].

[1] I say 'two' odes on the strength of Molins' assertion (*Diccionario de escritores catalanes del siglo 19*, sub. 'Cabanyes') that Roca y Cornet was the author of the ode on pp. 1973–4 signed 'Silvio,' as well as that on pp. 1953–4 over the name 'Cintio.' I have no proof of the fact, but both stylistic considerations and what we know of Cabanyes' life and friendship with 'Cintio' inclines me strongly to accept it. I hope to return to the whole subject of Cabanyes shortly.

[2] The editorial staff of the *Diario de Barcelona* has most kindly examined the relevant files with the object of discovering who was responsible for the articles in question or the identity of the principal writers of unsigned articles. Nothing, however, has been discovered up to the present, and the further search among the papers relating to that period which with characteristic courtesy the editor promises to make is of necessity delayed owing to the disorganisation caused by a change in *locale* of the offices of the journal. As the discovery does not affect the main question, I have therefore deferred the consideration of this detail.

The most important point seems to be the tone of the articles during these years, showing, in conjunction with the articles cited in the preceding sections, how the spirit of the age was invading periodical literature of the day to an extent which has perhaps not yet been fully realised.

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Liverpool.

NOTES ON LESSING'S 'HAMBURGISCHE DRAMATURGIE[1].'

I.

The Plays of the Hamburg Repertory.

It is hardly surprising that students of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* have not given the Repertory of the Hamburg Theatre the same careful attention as they have bestowed on the theory and criticism which Lessing based on the plays he witnessed. The harsh things that have been said of the literary aspect of the Hamburg 'Entreprise' are, it must frankly be admitted, none too harsh; but the value of accurate information about the pieces performed is not to be gainsaid; in fact, it is indispensable for a right appreciation of the attitude of Lessing to the theatre of his time. The identification of the translations of foreign plays, which I have attempted to establish, has, I think, some value in view of the opinion which has been hitherto generally held that an identification is impossible[2]. The few cases to which, owing to the lack of materials in our libraries, I have been obliged to attach a point of interrogation, offer no insuperable difficulties; and I trust that these investigations may induce some one in closer touch with the German libraries to supply the missing information. It may be unreasonable to hope that an enterprising German publisher will one day give us a convenient reprint of these plays; but a series of those which Lessing discusses in detail would certainly be a boon; and it is much to be regretted that the beginning made some sixteen years ago by Sauer and Jacoby to a series of *Quellenschriften zur Hamburgischen Dramaturgie* with Weisse's *Richard III*, has never been continued.

In the beginning of December, 1767, when the publication of the

[1] The war and the consequent increase in the difficulties of printing are compelling many workers in the field of literary research to an unwilling obedience to the Horatian 'nonum prematur in annos.' The present notes are drawn from a critical edition, completed some years ago, of the *Dramaturgie*, which awaits more favourable conditions for publication. The reader is referred to my previous articles and notes in this *Review*, Vol. xii, pp. 157 ff., 312 ff.; xiii, pp. 482 ff.; xiv, pp. 68 ff.

[2] Cosack, *Materialien zu Lessings Hamburgischen Dramaturgie*, 2nd ed., Paderborn, 1891, p. 53, says, for instance, that 'es in den meisten Fällen kaum festzustellen wird, welche Übersetzungen bei den Aufführungen in Hamburg benutzt wurden.' Petersen, in his latest edition (Berlin, Bong, 1916), gives little more information than Cosack.

Dramaturgie had reached the thirty-sixth number, Lessing drew up for his own guidance a list of the performances at the theatre down to December 4, when the first Hamburg season came to an end. Another list was found among his papers containing the performances in Hamburg from May 13 to November 25, 1768, that is, the second Hamburg period. This list, which Muncker attributes to Löwen, no doubt dates from about the end of November, 1768[1].

Only a very small section of the repertory (April 22—July 28, 1767) concerns the reader of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*; but in estimating the work of the 'Nationaltheater' it is only fair to take into account the whole range of its activity, including not merely the second Hamburg season of 1768, but also the two periods in Hanover, December 28, 1767, to May 8, 1768, and November 27 to March 9, 1769, when the 'Entreprise' came to a close[2].

Leaving out of consideration ballets, with which more than half the evenings were rounded off, these lists present a record of performances of 118 works. The following table gives a convenient analysis of the repertory, the figures in brackets being the number of performances:

	German	French	English	Italian	Dutch
Tragedies (five-act)	11 (36)	10 (47)	3 (12)	—	—
Comedies (five-act, incl. one four-act)	11 (63)	24 (100)	1 (5)	—	—
Comedies (three-act)	4 (15)	14 (55)	—	5 (20)	1 (1)
Dramas (*i.e.*, French 'drames') ...	—	4 (30)	—	—	—
Comedies (one-act 'Nachspiele') ...	12 (53)	17 (62)	—	—	—
Festspiele	1 (2)	—	—	—	—
Totals	...39 (169)	69 (294)	4 (17)	5 (20)	1 (1)

The average number of performances of each play will be found to be exactly four and a third. The most popular and frequently performed works were the following: Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, 16 times; Diderot's *Hausvater*, 12; Marivaux's *Bauer mit der Erbschaft*, 12; Beaumarchais' *Eugenie*, 10. The following three pieces were each performed nine times: Weisse's *Romeo und Julia*, Hippel's *Mann nach der Uhr*, and Löwen's *Neue Agnese*. Corneille's *Rodogune* was given eight times, and the following six works seven times each: Brueys and Palaprat's *Advokat Patelin*, Molière's *Frauenschule*, Voltaire's *Semiramis*, Heufeld's *Julie*, Destouches' *Verheirateter Philosoph*, Marivaux's *Überraschung der Liebe*, and Brandes' *Der Schein betrügt*.

[1] Lessing's *Schriften*, xv, pp. 48 ff. The lists were first published by Boxberger in the edition of Lessing published by Grote, Berlin, 1875, vi, pp. xiii ff.

[2] In default of an examination of Ekhof's collection of play-bills preserved in the Gotha Library, I have drawn my statistics of the Hanover periods from the list in R. Schlösser, *Vom Hamburger Nationaltheater zur Gothaer Hofbühne*, Hamburg, 1895, pp. 66 ff.

The authors represented in the repertory by more than one play are the following: Voltaire, 10, with 40 performances; Weisse, 7, with 34; Destouches 6, with 23; Marivaux, 6, with 35; Lessing, 5, with 33; Molière, 5, with 17; Goldoni, 5, with 20; Saint-Foix, 4, with 10; La Chaussée, 3, with 14; Le Grand, 3, with 9; Löwen, 3, with 17; Regnard, 3, with 15; Schlegel, 3, with 13; Krüger, 2, with 9; Diderot, 2, with 13; Brandes, 2, with 9; Cronegk, 2, with 5; Romanus, 2, with 8; Brueys and Palaprat, 2, with 13.

In respect of this repertory, one conclusion is beyond question: it presents no advance over the repertories of the preceding periods. In spite of the promise of a break with the past, which the promoters of the theatre held out, there is no trace of a break here. On the contrary, the continuity is quite undisturbed; and one might even say that the new repertory was not essentially different from that which Ackermann offered his Hamburg patrons between 1764 and 1766, unless in so far as it shows less range and variety. Now, as before, the choice of plays was clearly dictated by the necessity of providing rôles acceptable to the actors; there was no desire to seek out intrinsically interesting plays or literary novelties. This explains why the proportion of what might be called traditional actors' plays is so large, that is to say, pieces the literary interest of which had been exhausted very long before 1767. Perhaps the most instructive method of analysing the repertory is to show just how far it was indebted to the repertories of the past.

Some of the plays performed now had been favourites—and were rather threadbare favourites—since the days of Karoline Neuber. These had passed over into Schönemann's repertory; and plays of the Schönemann era—that is to say, an era which came to an end ten years before the opening of the 'Nationaltheater'—constituted something like forty per cent. of the repertory of the new régime. The French pieces of this category, where they do not go back to the older translations of Gottsched's *Deutsche Schaubühne,* were still played in the versions available in the eight volumes which form Schönemann's *Schaubühne.* A somewhat later group of dramas in the repertory of 1767–69 had been produced by other companies, especially Koch's, and a still later group came from the period subsequent to Schönemann's retiral, during which Ackermann guided the fortunes of the Hamburg stage. This contribution increased the indebtedness of the Nationaltheater to the past to over seventy per cent. of all the plays it produced! In fact, I doubt whether, during the whole time more than eighteen

plays can be regarded as actual novelties on the Hamburg stage; as long as Lessing commented on the work of the theatre, not, I think, more than four: Cronegk's *Olint und Sophronta*, Heufeld's *Julie*—both imported from Vienna—and the two quite inconsiderable pieces by the director of the theatre, Löwen, *Die neue Agnese* and *Das Rätsel*. To these a doubtful addition is the old play by Quinault, *Die coquette Mutter*.

In the following brief notes I have restricted myself to the pieces discussed in the *Dramaturgie*, dealing with them, as far as possible, in the chronological order of their performance on the Hamburg stage. I venture to think that the material has an interest apart from its value for the study of Lessing's work; it gives a very fair idea of the ordinary repertory of a German theatre about the middle of the eighteenth century.

I. Plays from Schönemann's Repertory.

1. Thomas Corneille, *Der Graf von Essex* (St. xxii–xxv; liv–lxx). Tr. by Peter Stüven, licentiate in law in Hamburg (cp. F. Heitmüller, *Hamburgische Dramatiker zur Zeit Gottscheds*, Dresden, 1891, pp. 34 ff.); publ. Hamburg, 1747; repr. in *Die deutsche Schaubühne zu Wienn*, I (1749), pp. 1–80. It was the oldest play in the repertory, having been performed by Karoline Neuber's company in Hamburg in 1735 (cp. F. J. von Reden-Esbeck, *Caroline Neuber*, Leipzig, 1881, pp. 107 ff.). Schönemann, who was very successful in the title-rôle, revived it: Breslau, 1744, Hamburg, 1747 (H. Devrient, *J. F. Schönemann*, Hamburg, 1895, pp. 91, 249. I am indebted to this work for most of my facts concerning the Schönemann regime).

This was not the only piece from Karoline Neuber's repertory of 1735 which was still played; she produced also Destouches' *Das unvermutete Hindernis* and *Der verheiratete Philosoph*, and Regnard's *Der Spieler* and *Der Zerstreute*—the latter probably in the translation of Lessing and Weisse (cp. Reden-Esbeck, p. 304); but as the old translations were superseded, I deal with these plays below.

In 1741 Schönemann played for the first time in Hamburg at the head of a company which included Sophie Schröder, Ekhof and Ackermann. The following two pieces of the later repertory were produced by him in that year:

2. Destouches, *Das Gespenst mit der Trommel* (St. xvii). Tr. by Gottsched's wife; publ. in his *Deutsche Schaubühne* [henceforth referred to as *D. S.*], II (1740), pp. 331 ff.; also in the Viennese *Neue Sammlung von Schauspielen* [referred to as *N. S.*], V (1765).

3. Voltaire, *Zayre* (St. xv, xvi). Tr. by J. J. Schwabe; publ. *D. S.*, II (1740), pp. 359 ff.

In the following year, owing to disagreements, the company broke up, and Sophie Schröder became 'Principal' of a new company which played in Hamburg in the years 1742–44. Her repertory included besides *Essex* (played twice in 1743), *Das Gespenst mit der Trommel* (eight times) and *Zayre* (nine times), the following:

4. Saint-Foix, *Das Orakel* (St. lxxiii), a one-act 'Nachspiel' which enjoyed a long life on the German stage. Produced May 17, 1742, and played fifteen times, the translation being probably that published at Hamburg in 1745 (Gottsched, *Nöthiger Vorrath*, I, Leipzig, 1757, p. 322). There is also a version in *Des Herrn von Saint-Foix Theatralische Werke*, I, Leipzig, 1750; this translation is ascribed to J. Elias Schlegel by C. H. Schmid (*Chronologie des deutschen Theaters*, herausg. von P. Legband, Berlin, 1902, p. 97), but was probably by C. A. Wichmann (J. Petersen, edition of *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, Berlin, [1916], p. 463). *Das Orakel* appears for the first time in Schönemann's repertory on April 17, 1747; publ. in Schönemann's *Schaubühne*, VI (1752)[1]. J. C. Krüger was the author of another 'singspielartige' version produced Oct. 28, 1751 (Devrient, p. 194; W. Wittekindt, *J. C. Krüger*, Berlin, 1898, p. 13), and Gellert wrote an operetta *Das Orakel*. Further, the British Museum has an undated translation (according to Gottsched, *Nöth. Vor.*, I, p. 335, 1750), 'wie solches auf der Schuchischen Schaubühne vorgestellet wird'; and there is a repr. (of which?) in the Viennese *Deutsche Schauspiele*, 1750 (Goedeke, III, p. 370). The version used now was, no doubt, Schönemann's.

5. Destouches, *Der poetische Dorfjunker* (St. xiii); in the playbill, *Der Poet vom Lande*. Tr. by Gottsched's wife; publ. *D. S.*, III (1741), pp. 443 ff. Schönemann had intended to perform it in 1741 in Hamburg, but Sophie Schröder was not satisfied with her rôle; his first performance was deferred till May 6, 1743 (Berlin); and from that date on it occupied a prominent place in Schönemann's repertory. Meanwhile Sophie Schröder introduced the play to Hamburg on September 4, 1742, playing it eight times in this and the following years.

6. Nivelle de la Chaussée, *Melanide* (St. viii). Produced October 4, 1742 (repeated six times). Litzmann (*F. L. Schröder*, I, Hamburg, 1890,

[1] The first volume of Schönemann's *Schaubühne* is: *Sechs Schauspiele aus dem Französischen übersetzt*, Brunswick and Hamburg, 1748; Volumes II to VI are entitled: *Schauspiele, welche auf der...Schönemannschen Schaubühne aufgeführt werden*, and appeared respectively in 1748, 1749, 1749, 1751 and 1752; and Volumes VII and VIII form the two volumes of *Neue Sammlung von Schauspielen*, Hamburg, 1754 and 1757. I cite these as *Sch.* I—VIII.

p. 33) attributes the translation, but I do not know on what ground, to Brockes. Gottsched (*Nöth. Vor.* I, p. 324) mentions a translation as having appeared in a now apparently undiscoverable *Sammlung einiger Schrifften zum Zeitvertreibe des Geschmacks*, IV. St., Leipzig, 1746; and C. H. Schmid (*op. cit.*, p. 81) adds that this was edited by J. Elias Schlegel and N. D. Giseke; actually, however, by J. Adolf Schlegel (cp. J. von Antoniewicz, *J. E. Schlegels ästhetische und dramaturgische Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1889, p. cxxxiv). But the translation played by Schönemann, who produced it at Schwerin on August 6, 1753, may have been of later date; it is printed in *Sch.* VII (1754) (Devrient, pp. 219, 233) and was, no doubt, used in 1767.

7. Regnard, *Demokrit* (St. xvii). Like Regnard's other two popular plays, this comedy was an old favourite in Germany; it was played in Leipzig in 1742 (*Chronologie*, p. 66), and by Sophie Schröder on April 27, 1744, in Hamburg (repeated three times). The transl. used by Schönemann and now was in alexandrines and by the actor H. G. Koch, who joined Schönemann's company in 1749, is printed in *Sch.* IV (1749); repr. *N. S.* I (1764).

De Brueys' *Der Advocat Patelin* was also in some form in Sophie Schröder's repertory (April 9, 1742, and repeated thrice); but see below, No. 26).

After five years, during which he had played in Berlin, Breslau, Danzig, Königsberg, Brunswick and other places for varying periods, Schönemann returned in 1747 to Hamburg, bringing with him the large repertory he had accumulated in these years. From this repertory the later 'Enterprise' took over the following:

8. L. V. Gottsched, *Die Hausfranzösinn* (St. xxvi). Publ. *D. S.* V (1744), pp. 67 ff.; played by Schönemann in the same year.

9. Le Grand, *Der Triumph der vergangenen Zeit* (St. v). Produced as *Der Sieg der vergangenen Zeit*—which was also the title on the playbill now—by Schönemann, April 6, 1747; it remained a popular 'Nachspiel.' Gottsched (*Nöth. Vor.* I, p. 325) mentions under 1746 a translation which appeared 'in einer Monathschrifft, ohne Titel und Ort, mit der Devise: Quantum est in rebus inane!' but I have not been able to trace this.

10. Regnard, *Der Spieler* (St. xiv). This had been an extraordinarily popular play since the time of Karoline Neuber, for whom Lessing and Weisse translated it in 1748 (Weisse, *Selbstbiographie*, Leipzig, 1806, p. 13; K. Lessing, *Lessings Leben*, Berlin, 1793–5, I, p. 69). Schönemann produced it in Hamburg, April 11, 1747; the translation

(in prose) is in the *Sch.* I (1748), and was probably by J. C. Krüger (cp. Wittekindt, pp. 101 ff.); repr. *N. S.* XI (1766). There was another translation in *Des Herrn Regnards theatralische Werke*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1757 (cp. Lessing's *Schriften*, VII, p. 76); but, no doubt, Schönemann's was used now.

11. Destouches, *Der verheyrathete Philosoph* (St. xii). On the playbill, however, *Der Philosoph, der sich der Heyrath schämet.* The translation is in alexandrines and was by Krüger with the help of the actor Ekhof (Devrient, p. 145); it originally bore the title *Der verehelichte Philosoph* (*Sch.* I, 1748), later, *Der verheyrathete Philosoph, oder der Ehemann der sich schämt, es zu seyn*, and in *N. S.* IX (1767), *Der verehlichte Philosoph, oder der Mann, der sich schämet einer zu seyn.* Devrient, who gives no date for the inclusion of the play in Schönemann's repertory, quotes from a criticism in the *Hamburgische Beyträge* (1752): 'Mich deucht, wenn der verehelichte Philosoph unter die Hände eines bessern Uebersetzers gerathen wäre, man würde ihn lieber sehen, aber itzt sieht er über die massen verunstaltet aus.' It reappears in Ackermann's repertory from 1754 on. Madame Hensel had played her present rôle of Melite in Vienna in 1765.

12. Marivaux, *Der Bauer mit der Erbschaft* (St. xxviii). Tr. by Krüger in *Sammlung einiger Lustspiele des Herrn von Marivaux*, 2 vols., Hanover, 1747–9, I; also separately (Goedeke, III, p. 373). It was the most popular play which Schönemann added to his repertory in 1747 (July 18).

From 1750 until the end of his career as 'Principal' in 1756 Schönemann spent some months of nearly every year in Hamburg. I give the list of plays, as far as possible in chronological order, which passed over into the repertory of 1767.

13. L'Affichard, *Ist er von Famille?* (St. xvii). Publ. *Sch.* IV (1749), as *Die Familie* (the original is *La Famille*), 'ein Lustspiel von La Fichard.' Produced same year.

14. Gellert, *Die kranke Frau* (St. xxii). Publ. Leipzig, 1747 (1750, 1763). In Schönemann's repertory since 1749.

15. Marivaux, *Der unvermuthete Ausgang* (St. lxxiii). On the playbill is stated: 'Dies Stück wird heute zum erstenmal aufgeführt'; but this can only refer to the present management (cp. No. 22), for it had been a favourite 'Nachspiel' under Schönemann since 1749. It does not, however, appear to have been played by Ackermann's company. The transl. was by J. C. Krüger, *Sammlung einiger Lustspiele aus dem Französischen des Herrn von Marivaux*, 2 vols., Hanover, 1747–49, II.

16. Gresset, *Sidney, oder der Schwermüthige* (St. xvii). Publ. *Sch.* v (1751). A popular play in Schönemann's and Ackermann's repertory since 1749.

17. J. C. Krüger, *Herzog Michel* (St. lxxxiii), 'ein Lustspiel in Versen von einer Handlung. Nach dem ausgerechneten Glücke in den neuen Beyträgen zum Vergnügen des Verstandes und Witzes im ersten Stücke des vierten Bandes. Zum ersten Male den 19. Januar 1750 in Leipzig aufgeführet' (J. C. Krüger's *Poetische und theatralische Schriften*, herausg. von J. F. Löwen, Leipzig, 1763, pp. 447 ff.). First performance in Hamburg under Schönemann, July 24, 1750; publ. *Sch.* v (1751). On its popularity see Wittekindt, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 ff.

18. Regnard, *Der Zerstreute* (St. xxviii). Produced originally in Hamburg in 1735 by Karoline Neuber under the title: *Der Zerstreute, oder der seine Gedanken nicht beysammen hat* (Reden-Esbeck, p. 304). The translation was probably by Lessing and Weisse; and, if a catalogue of the Leipzig Antiquariat A. Weigel may be trusted, an edition appeared at Dresden in 1752 under Weisse's name. Devrient (p. 192) records a performance in Hamburg under Schönemann on August 9, 1751: 'ein aus dem Französischen des Herrn Renard in Schlesswig von einer vornehmen Standespersonen übersetztes Lustspiel, in fünf Aufzügen, *le Distrait, der Unachtsinnende.*' Possibly the translation now used was that in the two-volume edition of Regnard's *Sämtliche theatralische Werke*, Berlin, 1757, where the play is entitled *Der Zerstreute.* The British Museum possesses: *Der Zerstreute des Herrn Regnard*, übersetzt [in alexandrines] von C. L. R., Frankfort and Leipzig, 1761; but the description of the 'Personen' does not correspond with the playbill on the present occasion.

19. J. Elias Schlegel, *Der Triumph der guten Frauen* (St. lii). Publ. in *Beyträge zum dänischen Theater*, 1748; *Werke*, II (1762), pp. 323 ff. Produced by Schönemann as a novelty in Hamburg, August 3, 1751.

20. J. Elias Schlegel, *Die stumme Schönheit* (St. xiii). Publ. 1747, 1752, and in *Werke*, II (1762), pp. 469 ff.; also in *N. S.* II (1762), and in *Theater der Deutschen* [cited as *Th. D.*], IV. (1767), pp. 197 ff. First performance by Schönemann, July 14, 1752.

21. Cérou, *Der Liebhaber als* [*ein*] *Schriftsteller und Bedienter* (St. xiv). Produced July 11, 1752, as *Der Liebhaber, ein Schriftsteller und Lackay*, tr. by Bierling, the translator of Molière (Devrient, p. 198); publ. 1755 (there is a copy in the British Museum), and also included in the *Sch.* VIII (1757). There was another version by C. L. Martini, who was a member of Schönemann's company from 1749 to 1754; and

as the title of this translation—*Der Liebhaber, ein Schriftsteller und Bedienter*, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1750, 1755 (Goedeke, IV³, p. 140)—corresponds better with the present playbill, Martini's version may have been subsequently substituted for Bierling's. There seems to be some uncertainty as to the name of the author. The *Mercure de France*, which noticed the play at some length on its production in April, 1740, states (p. 765) that the author was not Cérou, but 'M. Séron, étudiant en droit.' The German translation and the playbill call him 'Ceron.'

22. Molière, *Die Frauenschule* (St. liii). It is difficult to obtain reliable information concerning Molière in the German repertories of the eighteenth century. *Die Frauenschule* (or *Weiberschule*) had long been familiar to the German public. Schönemann, however, produced it as a novelty in Hamburg on August 20, 1753; and again on the present playbill it is stated: 'Dieses Stück wird heute zum erstenmale aufgeführt'; but presumably this means under the present management (cp. No. 15 above). It does not seem to have been in Ackermann's Hamburg repertory. The translation used by Schönemann and now may have been that by Bierling (*Des Herrn Molieres sämtliche Lustspiele*, nach einer freyen und sorgfältigen Uebersetzung, Hamburg, 1752, 4 vols.).

23. Graffigny, *Cenie* (St. xx). Tr. by Gottsched's wife; publ. in Vienna, 1753 (but possibly also in the year before in Leipzig; cp. *Nöth. Vor.* II, p. 303); also in *Deut. Schaub. zu Wienn*, IV (1753), and *N. S.* V (1765). It had a place in Schönemann's repertory since 1753, and was included in *Sch.* VII (1754).

24. Voltaire, *Nanine* (St. xxi). Tr. by G. B. Straube, Leipzig, 1750. Schönemann opened the renovated 'Komödienhaus beim Dragonerstall' in Hamburg with this comedy on June 5, 1754 (Schütze, *Hamburgische Theatergeschichte*, Hamburg, 1794, p. 280); but possibly he had already produced it in the previous year.

25. Destouches, *Das unvermuthete Hinderniss* (St. x). Although a favourite with the German public in the time of Karoline Neuber, this comedy does not appear in Schönemann's repertory until August 6, 1755, at Schwerin. Publ. *Sch.* VIII (1757).

26. De Brueys and Palaprat, *Der Advocat Patelin* (St. xiv). According to Litzmann (*Schröder*, I, p. 32) this comedy had been performed by Sophie Schröder's company on four evenings in 1742 under the title *Der betrogene Lackenhändler*. In Schönemann's repertory it first appears as a 'Nachspiel' December 1, 1755; in Ackermann's in the same year. Petersen (p. 455) states that it was translated by J. C. S., Danzig, 1762. Heinsius, *Allgemeines Bücherlexikon*, I, Leipzig,

1793, p. 297, mentions, besides this translation, one published at Lübeck in the same year.

27. Le Grand, *Der sehende Blinde* (St. lxxxiii). The translator was 'Hr. Secretair Carl August Suabe' (Gottsched, *Nöth. Vor.* II, p. 279); publ. Dresden, 1752. In Schönemann's repertory it appears on June 10, 1756; but was possibly played two years earlier (F. L. W. Meyer, *F. L. Schröder*, Hamburg, 1819, II, 2, p. 51).

28. Lessing, *Miss Sara Sampson* (St. xiii, xiv). First produced by Ackermann's company at Frankfort-on-the-Oder on July 10, 1755; in Hamburg by Schönemann on October 6, 1756, with great success (Schütze, *op. cit.*, p. 293). Publ. Lessing's *Schrifften*, VI (1758), pp. 1 ff.

29. Nivelle de la Chaussée, *Die Mütterschule* (St. xxi). There is some confusion in the repertory-lists with Marivaux's comedy of the same name; but La Chaussée's seems to have been added to Schönemann's repertory on February 5, 1756. Printed, *Sch.* VIII (1757).

30. Voltaire, *Semiramis* (St. x). Tr. by J. F. Löwen; publ. *Sch.* VIII (1757), and played somewhat earlier. Löwen's 'Vorbericht' is dated 'Rostock, am 6. des Jan. 1755.' It was produced in Vienna on October 15, 1763, when Susanna Mecour played her present rôle of Azema. Reprint in *N. S.* III (1764).

II. Plays from other Repertories, especially Koch's, represented in Hamburg between 1755 and 1763.

31. Voltaire, *Merope* (St. xxxvi–l). A *Merope* was produced by Schuch in Frankfort as early as 1748 (E. Mentzel, *Gesch. der Schauspielkunst in Frankfurt*, Frankfort, o. M. 1882); but this may have been Maffei's, which was early translated. Goedeke (III, p. 365) mentions two translations of Voltaire's tragedy, one by a 'Liebhaber der deutschen Dichtkunst' (in alexandrines), Dresden, 1754; the other by J. F. Gries (an advocate in Glückstadt), Glückstadt, 1754; also Vienna, 1756. The playbill corresponds exactly with the 'Personen des Trauerspiels' of the former of these, a copy of which is in the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek. I am indebted to my friend Dr Ernst Friedländer of Hamburg for the information. The play seems to have been first performed in Hamburg in 1755 (Meyer, II, 2, p. 52); Ackermann's company played it in Frankfort in 1757.

32. Lessing, *Der Freygeist* (St. xiv), entitled on the playbill *Der beschämte Freygeist*. First played by Koch in Leipzig; Schmid mentions it under the date 1749. The earliest date I can find for Hamburg is 1757. Publ. Lessing's *Schrifften*, V (1755).

33. Lessing, *Der Schatz* (St. ix). Schmid mentions this comedy under 1750, and F. L. W. Meyer (II, 2, p. 53) dates its first performance in Hamburg 1757. It is difficult to get definite information about the theatrical history of Lessing's minor plays. Publ. *Schrifften*, V (1755), pp. 189 ff.

34. Weisse, *Richard der Dritte* (St. lxxiii–lxxxiii). Publ. in *Beytrag zum deutschen Theater*, I, Leipzig, 1759; and in this form played by Koch and received with great favour in Hamburg in 1761 (cp. Ekhof's letter of July 6 to Weisse, J. Minor, *Briefe aus Weisses Nachlass*, in Schnorr's *Archiv*, IX, 1880, p. 475). Ekhof, however, was not satisfied with the last act and Weisse remodelled it (cp. Preface to second ed.). The new form appeared in the second edition of the *Beytrag*, I, Leipzig, 1765; also *Th. D.* III (1766), pp. 193 ff.; repr. by D. Jacoby and A. Sauer in *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des* 18. *und* 19. *Jahrh.*, No. 130, Berlin, 1904. The revised version was produced in Leipzig on March 24, 1767, and in Hamburg on the present occasion.

35. Diderot, *Der Hausvater* (St. lxxxiv–xcv). Tr. by Lessing, *Das Theater des Herrn Diderot*, Berlin, 1760, II, pp. 1 ff. According to Meyer (II, 2, p. 53), it was first played in Hamburg in 1759.

36. Voltaire, *Das Kaffeehaus* (St. xii). Tr. for Koch by J. J. C. Bode, Hamburg, 1760; also Berlin, 1761, and *N. S.* I (1764). Played in Hamburg, 1760.

37. Marivaux, *Die falschen Vertraulichkeiten* (St. xviii). This piece probably belongs to an earlier period, but I have not been able to trace it on repertory-lists, before it is mentioned by Meyer (p. 54) as having been produced in Hamburg in 1761. Nor have I been able to find the German translation (Schröter and Thiele's statement, p. 111, is based on a misunderstanding). 'Remi' in this play was one of Ackermann's best rôles. A comedy, *Das falsche Vertrauen*, was published at Augsburg in 1764.

III. Plays from Ackermann's Repertory, 1763–1766.

38. Voltaire, *Die Frau, die Recht hat* (St. lxxxiii). Produced by Ackermann in Hamburg in 1764; printed Berlin, 1764 (anonymous).

39. Franz Anton Nuht, *Die Gouvernante* (St. xiii). An 'Operette' of older date. Nuht was harlequin with Prehauser in Vienna in the later thirties, and died in 1751 (cp. F. Raab, *J. F. von Kurz*, Frankfort, 1899, pp. 11, 14, 17, 76). *Die Gouvernante* is mentioned by Schmid (p. 140) as having been performed in Leipzig at Easter, 1763, by a Dresden company formed by an Italian, Moretti; in the following

year it appears in Ackermann's repertory (Meyer, II, 2, p. 59). Kurz (Bernardon) saw the possibilities of converting the operetta into a diverting farce by himself playing the 'governess'; and in his hands it became *Bernardon die Gouvernante*, or *Die versoffene Gouvernante*, and as such was produced by him as a 'neues Singspiel,' the earliest performance mentioned by Raab being at Pressburg on July 12, 1764. See Raab's book, pp. 130, 166 ff., where the piece, as it was played by Bernardon, is described.

40. Saint-Foix, *Der Finanzpachter* (St. xx). The translation of *Le Financier* was published in Leipzig in 1762; it appears in Ackermann's repertory in 1765.

41. Pfeffel, *Der Schatz* (St. xiv), 'ein Schäferspiel.' Publ. Frankfort, 1761; it is in alexandrines. Cp. E. Schmidt in *Anz. für. deut. Alt.* v (1879), pp. 139 ff. Produced in Hamburg by Ackermann in 1765.

42. De Belloy, *Zelmire* (St. xviii, xix). Lessing, following the playbill, wrongly calls the author of this tragedy 'Du Belloy.' It was played 'nach einer hier in Hamburg verfertigten Uebersetzung,' which was in prose; publ. in Frankfort in 1766. The translator was possibly Löwen. The *Chronologie* (p. 162) mentions another translation, in verse, by Pfeffel, printed in his *Theatralische Belustigungen*, II (1766). *Zelmire* had been first produced in Hamburg as an inauguration of Ackermann's season and of his new theatre on July 31, 1765.

43. Favart, *Solimann der Zweyte* (St. xxxiii–xxxvi). The translation was by Rudolf Erich Raspe ('und Starke,' says Schmid, p. 162): publ. 1765 (Goedeke, IV^3, p. 632). There was another translation in vol. I of a *Sammlung einiger französischer Lustspiele für das deutsche Theater*, publ. by the brothers Walz, 2 vols., Bremen, 1766–8. A separate reprint from this: *Die drey Sultaninnen*, is in the British Museum. The choice of the play for performance on the occasion of the visit of the King of Denmark was due to the fact that it was a show-piece of the theatre; Ackermann had produced it on September 6, 1765, with 'opernmässigem Prunk' (Schütze, *op. cit.*, p. 326).

44. Corneille, *Rodogune* (St. xxix–xxxii). The translation was: *Rodogüne, Prinzessin der Parther*, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Ackten des Herrn von Corneille (Zum Behuf des Hamburgischen Theaters). Hamburg and Bremen, 1769. According to Klotz's *Deutsche Bibliothek*, IV (1770), p. 724, the translator's name was Meyer. The following is from the preface to the translation: 'Ich übersetzte Rodogüne zu einer Zeit, da noch beynahe alle Welt mit P. Corneille glaubte, dass es eines seiner besten Stücke, wo nicht gar das beste wäre.... Die Hamburgische

Dramaturgie hat es mich sowohl als andere Leute kennen gelehrt, und nun ist es leicht einzusetzen, warum ich nicht nach der Zeit in die Versuchung gerathen bin, meine Uebersetzung in Absicht auf die Reinigkeit der Verse und des Dialogs einer genaueren Prüfung und Verbesserung zu unterwerfen. Und überdem warum sollte ich etwas zu verbessern suchen, das man vielleicht nicht mehr liest, und das man sich schon müde gesehen hat?' Ackermann produced it in 1766.

45. Hippel, *Der Mann nach der Uhr* (St. xxii). Publ. Königsberg, 1760, 1765; also in *Th. D.* I (1768), pp. 263 ff. First produced by Ackermann in Hamburg in 1766.

46. Romanus, *Die Brüder* (St. lxx–lxxiii). The full title on the playbill is: *Die Brüder, oder: die Früchte der Erziehung.* Publ. in Romanus, *Komödien*, Dresden and Warsaw, 1761; repr. *Th. D.* VI (1768), pp. 283 ff., and *N. S.* IV (1763) as *Die Brüder, oder: die Schule der Väter.* First played in Hamburg, 1766.

47. Weisse, *Amalia* (St. xx). Publ. in *Beytrag zum deutschen Theater*, IV, Leipzig, 1766, pp. 113 ff.; repr. in *Th. D.* VIII (1769), pp. 103 ff., and Vienna, 1783. Produced in Hamburg in 1766.

IV. Plays new to Hamburg.

48. Cronegk, *Olint und Sophronia* (St. i–v). Publ. in the unfinished form in which Cronegk left it in his *Schriften*, Leipzig and Ansbach, 1760; 2nd ed., 1761–3, pp. 279 ff. It was completed by Cassian Anton von Roschmann-Hörburg (1739–1806; 'einem jungen Dichter aus Tyrol, der viel tragisches Genie blicken lässt,' Preface to *N. S.* IV), and performed in Vienna on January 14, 1764 (J. H. F. Müller, *Genaue Nachrichten von beyden k. k. Schaubühnen in Wien*, Pressburg, 1772, p. 30). Publ. in *N. S.* IV (1764); in the 'Vorbericht' to this volume it is stated that the play 'auf hiesiger Schaubühne ungemeinen Beyfall erhalten hat; und man wird ihm denselben—oder wir müssten sehr irren—auch an andern Orten nicht versagen.' Repr. *Th. D.* V (1767), pp. 121 ff., and by Minor in *Lessings Jugendfreunde* (Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationalliteratur*, LXXII (1883), pp. 121 ff. Cp. K. F. Kummer, *Cronegks Olint und Sophronia fortgesetzt von von Roschmann*, in Schnorr's *Archiv*, IX (1880), pp. 64 ff. Bernardon included it in his repertory when his company played in Munich (1765), Nürnberg (1766) and Frankfort (1767); in all these performances, as originally in Vienna, and now, Susanna Mecour played the rôle of Sophronia (cp. Raab, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 149). This was probably the chief reason for the selection

of the play on the present occasion, Susanna Mecour being one of the new members of the company.

49. Heufeld, *Julie* (St. viii, ix). Publ. Vienna, 1766 (Goedeke, IV^3, p. 657). Lessing describes the play as a 'neues deutsches Original'; it had been produced in Vienna on December 6, 1766 (J. H. F. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 35).

50. Löwen, *Die neue Agnese* (St. x). First printed in the *Hamburgische Unterhaltungen*, VI (1768), pp. 364 ff. (Goedeke, IV^3, p. 46). On the playbill it is described as 'eine neue Comödie'; and the author's name was first mentioned on the occasion of the third performance on May 4: 'Eine Comödie des Herrn Löwen in einem Aufzuge, nach einer französischen Operette: Isabelle und Gerdrut.'

51. Quinault, *Die coquette Mutter* (St. xiv). I am reluctant to number this very old play—the French original dates from 1664—among the 'novelties' of the 'Enterprise'; but I have been unable to find any trace of it in earlier repertories, or any German translation later than *Die bulhafftige Mutter*, included in the *Schau-Bühne englischer und frantzösischer Comödianten*, Frankfort, 1670, I, pp. 431 ff. No doubt Susanna Mecour brought it with her—she played the principal rôle of Laurette—from her Viennese repertory. It is not stated that it is 'new,' but neither are Nos. 49 and 52.

52. Löwen, *Das Räthsel* (St. xxix). Publ. in Löwen's *Schriften*, IV, Hamburg, 1766, pp. 339 ff. In spite of the absence of the word 'new' the present performance of this 'Nachspiel' seems to have been the first in Hamburg.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Further Light on the 'Ancren Riwle.'

In January, 1916, we contributed an article to this *Review* showing that the *Ancren Riwle* was (1) certainly written by a Friar-Preacher; and (2) probably by Friar Robert Bacon, O.P., uncle of the Friar-Minor Roger Bacon. We were able to add in an Appendix that Mr Macaulay, the late editor of this *Review*, who was so great an authority on the textual criticism of the *Ancren Riwle*, was deeply interested in our identifications. Indeed he had begun independent investigations when death removed him from our midst. Since then our investigations have only added to the convergent proofs of the thesis.

One criticism has been offered. Miss Hope Emily Allen has written on 'The Origin of the *Ancren Riwle*' in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXXIII, 3.

Her thesis is in her opening words. 'It is proposed to identify the three maidens for whom the treatise was composed with the *tribus puellis Emmae, videlicet, et Gunildae et Cristinae* to whom the hermitage of Kilburn was granted by the Abbot and convent of Westminster, sometime between the years 1127 and 1135.' It need hardly be said that the Abbey of Westminster was Benedictine.

This thesis has grave difficulties against its very base. It is quite true that the Priory of Kilburn was granted to three young women. But there is not any evidence that these three were 'sisters of one father and of one mother' (A. R. Morton 192). Nor is there any evidence before 1377 that the sisters of Kilburn were of the Order of St Augustine. Gasquet in his *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* places them amongst the Benedictine nunneries. Gervase of Canterbury speaks of 'Prioratus Keleburne Sanctae Mariae, Moniales Nigrae' (*Opera*, Rolls Series 1880, II, p. 426). This was later than 1199. Miss Allen may be right in suggesting that the Priory, which was founded as Benedictine by such characteristic Benedictines as the monks of Westminster, was afterwards changed to Augustinian. But she very frankly writes that Park in his account of the Priory 'is still more astonished that no mention of the rule followed at Kilburn is to be found till after the

middle of the fourteenth century' (p. 489). She even adds, what is fatal to her thesis: 'We do not know when the Augustinian Rule was first applied to Kilburn' (p. 491). If the Priory was founded as a Benedictine nunnery and if (as is not proven) it became subsequently Augustine, at a date which is not known, how can it be shown that the three first sisters followed a Rule so thoroughly Augustine as the *Ancren Riwle*?

Moreover if this *Ancren Riwle* was so remarkable that several codices of it have been preserved, and it was translated into French (or English) and Latin, how is it that the first mention of the Rule followed is that of 1377?

But the circumstance of the three sisters which is supposed to be fatal to the Dominican authorship of the Rule is especially detailed in Codex N (Morton's text). Now it is precisely this text which gives the paragraph of the lay-brother's office of Pater Nosters (Morton, p. 24).

This passage suggested to J. B. Dalgairns the Dominican authorship of the Rule. Miss Allen misses the point of our thesis when she writes: 'When we reject the references to the lay-brothers, the (Robert Bacon) theory loses its basis' (p. 446). We have never called this *the basis*. It is but one in a multiple series of identifications and triangulations which, in Dalgairns' words, make the Dominican authorship of the *Riwle* quite 'certain.'

Miss Allen agrees with us in thinking that the *Ancren Riwle* is quite definitely Augustinian. The next point to be decided is 'To what branch of the Augustinian family does the writer belong?' It is found that each group of MSS. contains definite and undeniable traces of having sprung from the Friar-Preachers, the founder of whom, St Dominic, had been commissioned by the Pope to gather the anchoresses of Rome into one Convent under one Rule.

Thus MS. B (f. 16 v°) and the French (f. 14) speak quite distinctly of 'our Friar-preachers and friar-minors.' Again B. (fol. 112 v°) speaks of 'friar-preachers and minors.'

We have already seen that MS. N speaks of 'our lay-brothers' when giving details of a daily office *which can be identified with no other Augustinian lay-brothers than Friar-Preachers*. Miss Allen dismisses this passage as an interpolation of N; not as an omission by the other MSS. The only ground we can discover for Miss Allen's canon of rejection is that it is demanded by her theory.

We are quite willing to admit, as a mere possibility, that the *Riwle* was written for Kilburn; provided that it is agreed that its author was a Friar-Preacher.

Since publishing our original article a piece of evidence has turned up which of itself is enough to prove the Dominican authorship.

Moreover this evidence is to be found in all the manuscripts. It is not an interpolation.

Speaking of the daily Office of our Blessed Lady the writer says 'AT ALL THE SEVEN HOURS SAY PATERNOSTER and AVE MARIA BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER' (Morton 22).

Every specialist in liturgy will see at once in this rubric a very definite form of saying the Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis. *No other rite but the Dominican* began and ended the hours of the Blessed Virgin with the 'Ave Maria.' It is with the utmost confidence that we urge this fact as in itself undeniable proof of the Dominican authorship. But when this proof is strengthened by almost countless verification the proof becomes certain.

A significant verification was suggested by the *Oxford Dictionary*, which gives the first mention of the word 'Preacher' as *Ancren Riwle* (Morton, p. 10, l. 8), and the first mention of the word 'Preach' as *Ancren Riwle* (Morton, p. 70, l. 21). Here again all the manuscripts of the *Ancren Riwle* agree.

It is surely significant that the first time the English words Preach and Preacher occur, it is a work which has endless identification with the Friar-Preachers who were just then awakening Europe to intellectual life.

Another identification which makes it impossible to assign the *Ancren Riwle* to a date earlier than c. 1230 is the frequent use of the 'Ave Maria' as a prayer.

1. Morton, p. 18. As part of the morning prayer the anchoress is 'to turn to our Lady's image and kneel saying the AVE five times.'

2. *Ibid.* p. 18. The anchoress whilst saying Our Lady's Office is to 'bow her head at the AVE MARIA.'

3. *Ibid.* p. 22. 'The AVE MARIA is to be said before and after every Hour.'

4. *Ibid.* p. 45. 'The AVE MARIA is recognised as a private devotion.'

5. *Ibid.* p. 47. Instead of office the anchoress may say '30 AVES for Matins, 20 for Evensong and 15 for each hour.'

6. *Ibid.* p. 347. The Confessor may give his penitent as penance 'a Psalm or two Paternosters, ten or twelve AVE MARIAS.'

7. *Ibid.* p. 425. Speaking of the maid of the anchoress the *Ancren Riwle* says: 'If she cannot read the hours, let her say them with Pater Noster and AVE MARIA.'

8. *Ibid.* p. 427. 'If they [the maids] cannot say the graces at meals let them say Pater Noster and AVE MARIA.'

9. *Ibid.* p. 431. The writer of the *Ancren Riwle* closes his work with the words: 'As often as ye read anything in this book greet the Lady with an AVE MARIA for him who made this rule, and for him who wrote it and took pains about it.'

All these quotations are common to all the MSS. But they argue a state of devotion to the 'Ave Maria' which is not found earlier than c. 1230.

A further identification of the *Ancren Riwle* with a Dominican writer is to be found in MS. B fol. 10 v° and in the French fol. 8. 'þus ich beginne mine avez oðerhwiles,' etc. Fr. Thurston S.J. was the first to recognise in this passage the earliest form of the Rosary. But to deal sufficiently with this most interesting point would need a further article.

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A NOTE ON ELISIONS IN 'THE FAERIE QUEENE.'

My friend Mr Bayfield, in his *Shakespeare's Versification*, has set Elizabethan scholars in general and Shakespearian editors in particular a very pretty, not to say thorny, problem, which has never been faced before. It is this. What is the meaning of the apostrophes which so frequently occur in the texts of that period? At first sight the answer seems obvious; they mean elisions. Indeed Mr Bayfield writes most of his book with that answer in mind, and is compelled therefore by his theories of Shakespearian prosody (into which I do not intend to enter here) to attribute their presence in the Folio and Quartos to 'scribes, revisers or printers,' inspired with a fiendish desire to force Shakespeare's blank verse into the Procrustean bed of 'the primitive Gorboducian model.' The trouble of the literary critic with this thesis is that, except for a brief excursus on Ben Jonson at the very end of his book, Mr Bayfield makes no attempt to consider his problem in the light of similar abbreviations in other Elizabethan poets and dramatists. The bibliographer's trouble is that, while one can imagine a scribe or a printer inadvertently admitting a few unauthorised elisions into his text, it is difficult to conceive either of these gentlemen doing so upon any theory of prosody. Moreover the elisions are so numerous and generally so consistently employed that it seems almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that they derive from the original, in other words from Shakespeare himself, more especially as the whole trend of recent Shakespearian bibliography has been to seek in the author's manuscript for explanations of peculiarities in the printed text.

It was therefore something of a relief to come upon a Postscript at the end of the volume, in which after a study of the Ben Jonson Folio (which is known to have been corrected for press by the author) and

the discovery therein of the offending apostrophe in large numbers, Mr Bayfield restates his case and decides that the Elizabethan apostrophe does not mean elision but merely the light pronunciation of the letter or syllable affected. It was a relief, I say—for the time. But the obstinate questionings returned. What are we to make, for example, of these couplets in the First Quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost*?

4. 1. 26. Thus will I saue my Credite in the Shoote
Not wounding, pittie would not let me doote.

5. 2. 145. *Ros.* But shall we dance, if they desire us toot?
Queen. No, to the death we will not moue a foot.

Here the naked contraction in the original has not even the decent fig-leaf of an apostrophe. There is no help for it. The rhyme compels one to pronounce 'do it' as 'doot' and 'to it' as 'toot,' for even the theory of light articulation will not serve us here. Unfortunately Mr Bayfield pays slight attention to *Love's Labour's Lost*, and has not apparently noticed these couplets. Nor, as far as I can discover, does he even mention the *Poems* and the *Sonnets*, which is surely strange in a book on Shakespeare's versification. Yet the form 'ta'en,' which is one of Mr Bayfield's pet abominations, occurs both in *Lucrece* and *Venus and Adonis*, the latter *opening* as follows:

Even as the sunne with purple-colourd face,
Had tane his last leaue of the weeping morne...

Venus and Adonis was almost certainly prepared for press by Shakespeare himself; it was a bid for Southampton's favour, and probably a very important stepping-stone in the dramatist's career; is it likely that he would have left 'tane' standing in the very second line of the poem, unless his views upon the propriety of this word differed very considerably from those of Mr Bayfield? Or again take lines 1607–8 of *Lucrece*,

She modestlie prepares to let them know
Her Honor is tane prisoner by the foe.

Did the hand of the compositor slip when he set up this second line, or did Shakespeare write 'tane' and *hear* 'tane' as he wrote it?

But it is enough to have shown some of the grounds for the perplexity that was in me when I laid down Mr Bayfield's book. Obviously it is of the highest importance to arrive at certainty on these matters. As obviously, such certainty cannot be arrived at by studying the text of Shakespeare in isolation. One must find out what other contemporary poets meant by these abbreviations, and in particular poets of a different order from Shakespeare. I turned to Spenser for light—and received it.

Spenser provides us with a better test than Shakespeare or Ben

Jonson, for two reasons: (1) He was not a dramatist. He wrote for publication. Shakespeare, except in the *Poems*, did not. The Shakespearian texts were printed from prompt-copy, i.e. manuscripts intended for stage-performance; and for some time it seemed to me that the explanation of the contractions they contain was to be found in the necessity of guiding the actors—some of whom, as Hamlet informs us, lacked 'th' accent of Christians'—to the essential five stresses in the line. In Spenser we escape from all such considerations. (2) His verse, especially in *The Faerie Queene* which I took as my field of enquiry, is particularly, and I think we may add deliberately, monotonous in form. Overrunning is rare, and a very large proportion of his lines are end-stopped. Further, whether in the five-foot line or in the alexandrine which concludes the stanza, Spenser is very careful to adhere to what Mr Bayfield calls the 'primitive Gorboducian model,' i.e. to keep close to the ten-syllable or twelve-syllable line. It is indeed largely by these means that he attains that dream-like atmosphere which is so marked a characteristic of the poem. I fancy that even Mr Bayfield will not venture to claim that Spenser was prone to 'resolutions' in writing *The Faerie Queene*.

Spenser's masterpiece teems with abbreviated forms; and I had not read long before I found that the first book alone would provide sufficient data for my purpose. Mr Bayfield takes strong objection to contractions like 'suffred,' 'flatt'ring,' 'hardned,' 'lessning' in the Shakespearian texts. It is hardly necessary to tell those familiar with Elizabethan texts in the original that *The Faerie Queene* is full of such forms and similar ones like 'count'naunce,' 'med'cine,' 'temp'raunce,' 'cov'ring.' A good example of this occurs in Bk. 1, canto 12, stanza 15, which gives us two in the same line:

> Who then with utt'rance grave, and count'nance sad.

In passing, it is interesting to notice that Spenser occasionally makes a trisyllable out of a dissyllable for the sake of the metre, e.g. 1. 11. 39:

> Which when in vaine he tryde with struggeling.

Shakespeare also resorted to this device at times in his early plays, e.g. *Two Gentlemen* 1. 3. 84; 2. 4. 207:

> Oh, how this spring of love resembleth...
> And that hath dazzled my reason's light...

where modern editors should surely print 'resembeleth' and 'dazzeled.'

The *o* in 'to' is frequently elided in *The Faerie Queene* as in Shakespeare before an infinitive beginning with a vowel, e.g.:

> 1. 1. 41. As still are wont t' annoy the walled towne.
> 1. 12. 32. That easy was t' inveigle weaker sight.

Such apostrophes, however, might stand for nothing but a light pronunciation of the omitted vowel. To discover whether Spenser intended 'tinveigle' or 'tŏ ĭnvéigle' we must turn to other examples. The most important of these is, of course, the abbreviated definite article before a vowel. The following make a suggestive start:

1. 2. 37. Th' one seeming such, the other such indeede.
1. 5. 8, 9. So th' one for wrong, the other strives for right.

It is difficult to see why the first 'the' should be curtailed, and the second left in full, if no difference of pronunciation were intended; and since the second 'the' must be lightly pronounced, it is obvious that 'th' one' should be pronounced 'thone' or 'tone.' The latter was quite a general pronunciation at this period, and Spenser's learned, not to say pedantic, friend, Gabriel Harvey, actually spells it so in his Letter-Book. But this, it may be said, is a piece of colloquialism and, therefore, exceptional. Let us look, then, at some other specimens.

1. 4. 42. Him litle answerd th' angry Elfin knight.
1. 6. 44. And trample th' earth, the whiles they may respire.
1. 9. 44. Th' ill to prevent, that life ensewen may.

I believe that no candid reader, taking these lines in their contĕxt, and with his ears full of the majestic languor of Spenser's somniferous verse, can doubt for a moment that these lines are meant to be decasyllabic, like those which surround them. And if so then 'th'' should be pronounced 'th' and not 'thĕ.'

In any case it is *certain* that Spenser's apostrophe implied full elision in some instances, because the rhyme compels us to make it. Here, for example, are two couplets:

1. 9. 31. That like would not for all this worldës wealth,
His subtile tong like dropping honny mealt'h.

2. 2. 4. Imprinted hath that token of his wrath
To shew how sore bloodguiltinesse he hat'th.

I know of no Shakespearian parallels to this, though it is logically on a par with the frequent elision of the *e* in the second person singular: sawst, thinkst, etc.

Finally, we may take a few examples in which the apostrophe appears without loss of a letter, though it seems to me that syllabic loss is obviously intended, the elided letter being retained apparently in order to make the sense clear. The first specimen occurs in the opening stanza of the poem:

The cruell markes of many' a bloody fielde.

Here I take it the *y* is to be pronounced as a consonant, so that 'many' a'

becomes 'manya,' i.e. a dissyllable. This is paralleled in *Othello* (Q1) 1. 1. 67 'carry' et,' i.e. 'carry it,' with which compare *Hamlet* (Q2) 1. 5. 140 'Oremastret.' Next we have in 1. 1. 54 the following line:

Suspect her truth: yet since no' untruth he knew,

where 'no' untruth' should clearly be pronounced 'nuntruth.' Similarly in 1. 5. 12:

And with so' exceeding furie at him strake,

the pronunciation should be 'sexceeding.' Again in the Alexandrine of 1. 10. 62 we have:

As for loose loves, they'are vaine, and vanish into nought.

Here the contracted form is still in use to-day as 'they're,' though Shakespeare I believe usually spelt it 'thar' (v. Q2 *Hamlet* 4. 7. 11). Certainly Spenser intended the phrase to be monosyllabic.

Not only, then, is *The Faerie Queene* full of the kind of elisions we find in the Shakespearian texts, but it is impossible to escape the conclusion that when Spenser used the apostrophe he did so to indicate syllabic loss. And if these abbreviations were not thought unseemly by the most refined and learned poet of the age, in his greatest work, written, as he tells us himself, 'to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline,' need we stamp them as 'vulgarisms' when we find them in Shakespeare's *dialogue*? Mr Bayfield, noting that these abbreviations occur less frequently in the conversation of Shakespeare's clowns and commoners than when the nobility and gentry are talking, asks whether Shakespeare can be charged with such 'vulgarisms' when he appears to eschew them even in vulgar dialogue. Surely the inference is just the other way. Innovations in speech, as all philologists know, usually start with the 'vulgar.' These abbreviations and clipped forms have now largely disappeared from the language. They were 'polite' in Shakespeare's day, as Spenser's usage shows. But the future lay with the clowns and the commoners, more especially when they were London compositors, whose influence upon the language has never yet been properly appraised at its full value. It is quite clear to me from a study of the Shakespearian texts that the compositors, while occasionally introducing unauthorised abbreviations inadvertently, as well they might, had a much stronger tendency to expand the abbreviations they found in their 'copy.' In short I believe that the compositors obliterated a host of the original contractions, especially in prose speeches where they knew it was safe to do so. In other words such 'vulgarism' as took place in the process of transmission was in the direction of modernisation.

In conclusion, I should like to bring the whole matter into line with the history of the language by quoting one or two passages from that store-house of learning on the subject, Jespersen's *Modern English Grammar* (Part I):

> The elision in *the* was very frequent in early modern English; it occurs constantly in Hart's phonetically written prose texts (1569, 1570), and is shown on any page of Elizabethan poetry, where it is more frequently indicated in the original editions than in most modern ones. Daines, *Orthoepia Anglicana* (1640), speaks of the elision as used especially by lawyers. It is curious that Milton elided *the* chiefly before stressed vowels, and Pope chiefly before unstressed ones; the reason lies perhaps in the growing tendency to a full pronunciation of *the* in natural prose.... The *e* was also frequently lost in *he*: *h'as*, *ha's* or *has* is frequent for *he has* in the old editions of Shakespeare; *he had* became *h'had*, Marlowe *Jew* 25, cf. also Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*, 2700; Milton, *Paradise Lost* 3. 694; Butler, *Hudibras*, p. 59, etc. *Be* was elided: Hart has *tu b' aspird* and *houb' it*; *ye are* and *ye had* became *y'are* (found in countless passages in Shakespeare, where modern editors print *you're*; also, for instance, *Rehearsal* 35) and *y'had*. (§ 6. 13.)
>
> About 1400 the remaining final weak *e*'s were dropped, for instance in *love*, name, etc. Thus also in *the* sometimes before a consonant (see Hart), especially in the frequent combinations *i' th'*, *o' th'*='in the, on the, of the,' which are now obsolete. (§ 6. 15.)
>
> In four grammatical endings *e* is now always pronounced: *-est* in the superlative, *weakest*; *-est* in the second person singular, *thou walkest*; *-eth* in ordinals, after *-ty*, *twentieth*; and *-eth* in the obsolete third person, *he walketh*. In former days the tendency to leave out the *e* was strong in all these endings. (§ 6. 19.)
>
> *How be it* is always disyllabic in Shakespeare, cf. Hart's *houb' it*. *To* was shortened...only before an unstressed vowel. Milton, *Comus* 538 *t' inveigle*; Villiers, *Rehearsal* 77 *t' attaque*. In the 18th century this elision became rarer, and has now disappeared. (§ 9. 82.)

Professor Jespersen deals similarly with the other contractions in the Shakespearian texts, always on the assumption that elision implies complete syllabic loss. All this forces me to the conclusion that Mr Bayfield's thesis has only one leg left to stand upon—his theory of Shakespearian prosody, into which, as I have said, I do not propose to enter here. I will only say one thing more. It seems to me that any editor who ventures to print the text of Shakespeare without the abbreviations of the originals, except where they are obvious misprints, will be running great risks. What is needed, on the contrary, is a text embodying *all* Shakespeare's contractions, a text which has never yet been given to the modern world. For only such a text can show us how the syllables he wrote sounded in the ear of the poet.

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Doors and Curtains in Restoration Theatres.

So much of real value is there in Mr Allardyce Nicoll's article under this heading in the April issue of *The Modern Language Review*, mingled, unfortunately, with sundry arguments tending to switch investigators

on to the wrong track, that one is impelled to respond in a spirit of helpful criticism. Sound, however, as is Mr Nicoll's demonstration of the accuracy of Lowe's pronouncement concerning the number of proscenium doors employed on the Post-Restoration stage, I do not feel myself called upon to cry *peccavi*, having long ago purged my offence by open confession. Seven years have passed since I found myself compelled to acknowledge the potency of my dead friend's exposition through Mr Hamilton Bell's discovery and publication of two designs for theatres by Sir Christopher Wren—one for the second Drury Lane theatre and the other for a theatre unidentifiable—in both of which the four proscenium doors are clearly indicated[1].

So far, therefore, from being astounded by the illogicality of my old arguments, I am in the happy position of being able to supplement Mr Nicoll's useful list of playbook-implications of the four doors. In Mrs Behn's *The City Heiress* (1682, Dorset Garden), v, 1, mention is made of the 'foredoor' in a direction indicating the employment of two contiguous doors as street doors. Situations demanding the service of more than two proscenium doors or balconies occur in Etheredge's *She Wou'd if she Cou'd* (1668, Duke's), II, 1; Ravenscroft's *Mamamouchi* (1671, Dorset Garden), IV; and Behn's *The Dutch Lover* (1673, Dorset Garden). Indications of the carrying-over of the four-door convention well into the eighteenth century are to be found in the 240th *Spectator*, and in a direction in Fielding's *Historical Register for* 1736 (Haymarket, 1737), which reads, 'Enter Four Patriots from four different doors, who meet in the centre and shake hands.' It must now remain a matter for future inquiry when the four doors of c. 1663—c. 1740 were reduced to the two in vogue towards the close of the eighteenth century and employed in town and country for some considerable time after. It seems not unlikely that the change took place when Garrick altered Drury Lane in 1747; at any rate, the broadside entitled 'Fitzgigge: A New English Uproar'[2] shows that in 1763, Covent Garden had only two doors.

By an irony of circumstance, Mr Nicoll, in righteously exposing one serious blunder of mine, himself falls headlong into error. Lowe, it will

[1] See *The Architectural Record* for April 1913, Vol. xxxii, art. 'On Three Plans of Sir Christopher Wren' by Hamilton Bell. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to test the accuracy of Mr Bell's statement that the prototype of the Restoration doors and balconies is to be found in the court theatre of the Tuileries, built in 1660. For my recantation, see art. 'What a Restoration Theatre was like,' in *The Graphic* for June 14, 1913. This reproduces Wren's Drury Lane design.

[2] For reproduction, see my *Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies*, second series, p. 147.

be remembered, maintains that the Post-Restoration theatre had four entering doors all in front of the curtain, and that after Christopher Rich's alteration of Drury Lane (c. 1696), two still remained in front but the other two were behind[1]. This I now take to be scientifically accurate. But Mr Nicoll, in his zeal to establish Lowe's point, is not content to stop there, but presses an ambiguous stage direction of the period of 1667 (pp. 139—140) into service to show that two were already behind the curtain at that date. He fails to see that his contention, if true, would invalidate the whole significance of Cibber's statement[2] on which Lowe bases. But it is not true. A glance at the detailed engravings in Settle's *The Empress of Morocco* shows that there were no doors inside of the curtain at Dorset Garden. Should this not be deemed conclusive, the investigator has only to examine the two theatre designs of Wren reproduced by Mr Hamilton Bell to become finally convinced that on the Post-Restoration stage all four doors were ranged on the apron in front of the curtain line.

Nor is this the only fallacy Mr Nicoll commits himself to in discussing Colley Cibber's statement. He argues that Cibber distinguishes between 'lower' and 'entrance' doors, as if the upper doors were kept strictly for entries, but Cibber's wording admits of no such interpretation, and, even if it did so admit, Mr Nicoll misconstrues the implication of 'upper' and 'lower.' On what grounds does he assume the former term to refer to the doors nearest to the audience? Can it be he is not aware that the current and now long-existing phrase, 'to go up stage,' signifying a retirement to the back, owes its origin to the circumstance that the picture-frame stage from its earliest period down to a recent date always sloped to the front? On this showing, the doors nearest the audience must have been known as the lower doors.

As an example of the influence of the physical conditions of the playhouse on dramaturgy, it may be pointed out that it was due to the presence of these four doors and their balconies on the Post-Restoration stage that the comedies of Aphara Behn and her contemporaries were so largely of the street or street-door order. Hence the upspringing of certain conventions. Once a door had been used in a scene as a street-door, it could be used for no other purpose until the termination of that scene. Where two street-doors were represented contiguously all entrances and departures otherwise than those from or into the imaginary houses had to be made on the other side[3]. When one of

[1] *Thomas Betterton*, p. 50.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 27–8.
[3] E.g. Behn's *The City Heiress*, v, 1.

the doors stood for a chamber door, all the other doors were, as outlets, suppressed by convention, but occasionally in such scenes a second door could be utilised (as in Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon*, 1, 3) as a closet.

Turning now to Mr Nicoll's conclusions relative to the routine employment of the stage curtain in the latter half of the seventeenth century, I regret to say that I am hopelessly at variance with his arguments. He disputes my finding that the curtain, once up, usually remained up till the last word was spoken, maintaining on the contrary that 'very soon in the Restoration period the curtain had crept into popularity for indicating act division.' After this pronouncement, it will come upon the onlooking investigator with surprise to learn that all the examples at present known (either through Mr Nicoll's industry or mine) of act-endings being marked by the curtain falling within a period of forty years amount to no more than a poor half-dozen. (Terminal acts, not coming within the category of act-divisions, have not been reckoned in this enumeration. They will be dealt with later.) It will not be difficult, I think, to show that these half-dozen examples were simply abnormalities, exceptions proving the rule. But let me preface my demonstration by saying that what every Restoration investigator requires to grasp before proceeding on his difficult course is that from the genesis of the picture-frame stage to the middle of the nineteenth century all scenic changes made during the action were, with very few exceptions, made visually. Even chairs and tables were brought on and carried off in full sight of the audience. Precedent was derived from the Caroline masques and the Commonwealth operas. Hence, in the few cases where we find the curtain being dropped in the middle of an act, we may be sure the dropping was due to some uncommon scenic exigency, some problem of staging impossible to solve in the ordinary way. By a parity of reasoning, since we have no more than half-a-dozen examples of the rising of the curtain in intermediate acts within the period of 1663—1700 (and one could double the number without injuring the argument), we are justified in assuming that these examples, so far from indicating habitude, were equally abnormal. Indeed, in connexion with the most of them, it is not difficult to arrive at the special problem they somewhat clumsily solved. Except at the very beginning of the play, discoveries, as a rule, were largely eschewed on the Restoration stage at the openings of acts, the characters usually coming in at the doors. Of the half-dozen examples spoken of, at least three[1] deal

[1] Orrery's *Henry V* (1664, Duke's), Act IV, also his *The Black Prince* (1667, T. R.), Act II; *The Rehearsal* (1671, T. R.), Acts III—IV.

with a highly uncommon kind of stage effect, viz., a discovery necessitating a full stage owing to the great assembly of people shown. Discoveries revealing only two or three characters could be readily made at any juncture simply by withdrawing the flats in occupation of the stage.

Positive proof can otherwise be advanced to show the exceptional nature of these half-a-dozen examples. First, let us look at an item of evidence presented by one of them. How comes it that we find Bayes saying at the end of the fourth act of *The Rehearsal*, 'Let the curtain fall,' unless it were that the curtain did not usually fall at such a juncture? Curtains are never lowered at rehearsals. Apposite to this is the inter-act tableau introduced by Mrs Behn between the first and second acts of *The Forced Example* (1670, Duke's) where the carefully-detailed instructions are prefaced by, 'The Curtain must be let down.' As in the former instance, this was surely a superfluous order if the curtain usually fell.

A variety of other evidence testifies to the presence of an unshrouded stage during the intermissions. It is surely not a little significant that at the beginning of first acts we read of the curtain being 'drawn'[1] or 'flying up'[2], whereas at the opening of all other acts the usual direction is 'the scene opens' or 'the scene draws.'[3] My interpretation of this discrepancy is that the curtain did not fall between the acts, and that, after the musical intermission, the next act began with the changing of the last-used scene in full sight of the audience. If visual scene-shifting could be indulged in in the very heat of the action, why not also before the action was resumed[4]? If it be argued that 'the scene opens' really means 'the curtain draws,' my reply would be that there are variants of the former phrasing which do not admit of any such interpretation. In Behn's *Sir Patient Fancy* (1677, Dorset Garden), III, opening, we have the common scene-shifting term, 'Scene *draws off* and discovers Lady Knowell, etc., etc.' No less clear is the direction at the opening of Act II of Lansdowne's *Heroic Love* (1698, L.I.F.), 'The scene changes to the tent of Achilles.' All that remains to be said on this score, if my reading is right, is that, on the evidence of the continuance of this dis-

[1] Crowne's *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (1676), Pt. I.
[2] Rochester's *Valentinian* (1685).
[3] Dryden and Howard's *The Indian Queen*, IV and V; Settle's *Empress of Morocco*, II; *Valentinian*, III; Motteux's *The Island Princess* (1699), IV.
[4] For a clear precedent in Davenant's Commonwealth operas (and it must be remembered that Davenant introduced scenery on the Restoration stage), see my *Elizabethan Playhouse*, II, 134–5.

tinction in phrasing, the system of the open stage remained in vogue until at least the second decade of the eighteenth century[1].

The problem may be attacked from still another standpoint. In a Dublin prompt copy of *Macbeth*, marked in 1778 and now in my possession, warnings for the ringing down of the curtain at the end of the acts and for its ringing up on act-openings regularly occur. In Sion College Library is preserved a prompt copy of Shirley's *The Sisters*, made for a revival of c. 1668, the names of Nell Gwyn and Joe Haines occurring in the cast. This book shows that the Restoration prompter, like many of his successors, employed bells to give warnings. Yet we do not find therein any record of the ringing up of the curtain on the intermediate acts. Where the later eighteenth century prompter invariably placed his curtain warning, we find instead a succinct description of the opening scene, clearly indicating that the scene was changed at that juncture.

To my mind, quite overpowering is the cumulative evidence in favour of the maintenance throughout of an unhidden stage. Take, for example, a passage in Dennis's 'The Impartial Critick, or Some Observations upon a Late Book, entituled a Short View of Tragedy, written by Mr Rymer' (1693). Beaumont is arguing in favour of preserving the Chorus in Modern Tragedy, thinking that otherwise the acts cannot be interlinked and that a solution of continuity must ensue. Freeman, in stoutly maintaining the contrary, says, referring to the intervals, 'But then I would tell you that the Action is suppos'd to be continued behind the scenes.' Beaumont replies:

'How can an Audience be sure of that? Or when *the stage is left empty upon the end of the First Act*, what grounds has a Company to believe the Actors will return? What grounds, I say, can they have but Custom, which is but a ridiculous Security at the best, and can be none at all to one who sees a Tragedy acted for the first time? Whereas a Chorus naturally keeps the Company together till the return of the principal Actors.'

My belief is that had the curtain usually fallen after the first act, Dennis would not have indulged in the reference to the stage being left empty. I am confirmed in this impression by what Cibber tells his audience in the prologue to *She Wou'd and She Wou'd Not* (1703), in reference to his attempt at preserving the unities:

[1] Addison's *The Drummer* (1716), Act II 'Opens and discovers Vellum in his office, etc.' III 'Opens and discovers Sir George in Vellum's office.' These references are surely to the scene and not to the curtain, as at IV 2, we have 'Opens and Fantome comes out.'

His action's in the Time of Acting done,
No more than from the Curtain up and down,
While the first Musick plays he moves his Scene[1],
A little space, but never shifts again.

Here 'the curtain up and down' cannot possibly mean the time taken in the performance of an act, which never exceeded an hour's space and mostly fell below it. The deduction is that even in 1703 the curtain remained up in the act-intervals.

Mr Nicoll at p. 140 misinterprets my argument concerning the significance of the terminal 'exeunt' and denies the impartial student the right to arbitrate by omitting the necessary reference[2]. I did not say that the curtain never fell at the end of a play, but I did say that the curtain never fell on a picture-poster grouping. In order to confute his own misinterpretation, Mr Nicoll maintains that, as a general rule, the curtain was lowered before the delivery of the epilogue, thus running counter to the evidence on the point advanced by me in *The Elizabethan Playhouse*, II, 178–9. Since he remains unconvinced, I must needs set forward still further evidence. That the normal method of epilogue-delivery was before curtain fall in 1696 is proved by the epilogue to Banks's *Cyrus the Great*, which is headed 'Curtain falls'—superfluous, if referring to common practice—and is spoken in duologue by a boy and a girl. It opens:

Girl. Hold is the play done?
Boy. Ay, pretty rogue.
Girl. What, a new play without an epilogue!

The obvious meaning is that nobody would look for an epilogue after the falling of the curtain. That the epilogue continued to be spoken on an uncurtained stage for many years afterwards two items of evidence make apparent. The one is to be found in Cibber's epilogue to Fielding's *The Miser* (1732), of which the final triplet is particularly to be noted. The other occurs in *Exshaw's London Magazine* for February, 1779, p. 120, where is given an epilogue spoken at Waterford in 1778 by Mrs Graham on the occasion of her benefit. A humorous point is made in this near the close by the ringing of the prompter's bell to warn the actress that she has said enough and that the curtain is about to fall.

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[1] Comp. Farquhar, *A Discourse upon Comedy in reference to the English Stage* (1700): 'Here is a new play, the house is throng'd, the Prologue's spoken, and the curtain drawn represents you the Scene of Grand Cairo. Whereabouts are you now, Sir? Were not you the very minute before in the pit in the English playhouse talking to a wench, and now, praesto pass, you are spirited away to the banks of the river Nile. Surely, Sir, this is a most intolerable improbability; yet you must allow me, or else you destroy the very Constitution of representation. Then in the second act, *with a flourish of the fiddles, I change the scene to Astrachan.*'

[2] *Elizabethan Playhouse*, II, 177–8.

'GERFALCON.'

The first syllable of the name *Wirfauc*, discovered by Prof. Weekley in *Yorkshire Fines* (see *M.L.R.*, XIV, p. 421) would seem to be independent of that in *gerfalcon*. The *ger-* of the latter again appears to be unconnected with Ger. *Geier*, 'vulture' (O.H.G. *gîr*, related to *gîri*, 'greedy'). It is now generally held to be the same word as O.H.G. *gêr* (=O.N. *geirr*), 'spear,' the first element in the names *Gêrhart*, *Gêrtrûd*, etc., the M.H.G. forms being *gerualch*, *gerfalke*, with the variant *girfalco* and, in the fifteenth century, *girofalck*, for which the 'Verdeutschung' *zwirbelfalck* (from M.G. *zwirweln*, 'whirl') occurs; cf. Lat. *gyrofalco*. *Wirfauc* might have the same meaning as *zwirbelfalck* and *wir-* might be from Danish *hvirre* (or O.N. *hvirfla* ?).

The idea has prevailed that *gerfalke* was borrowed from 'O.N.' *geirfalki*; hence the explanation 'spear-falcon,' 'the falcon whose perch was a spear' (Weigand's *D.W.B.*, ed. H. Hirt, Giessen, 1909). Prof. W. A. Craigie, however, to whom I have referred this view, points out that neither *falki* nor *geirfalki* occurs in *early* O.N. 'Under *fálki* (he writes) Vigfusson says "this foreign word came into use as a trade term, and only [i.e. first] occurs in the thirteenth century." Under *geirfálki* he says "a for[eign] word; med. Lat. *gyrfalco*." All Fritzner's references under both words corroborate this, and under *Geirfálki* he adds: "on the export of these falcons, which passed over Lübeck and Venice to the East see C. W. Pauli, *Lübeckische Zustände* I, 142^{25} fg., 229 fg.; Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantenhandels* II, 442."'

Prof. Craigie's conclusion is that *falki* and *geirfalki* are adoptions of M.L.G. *valke* and *gêrvalke*. 'The real O.N. name of the gerfalcon appears to have been *grá-valr* (=grey-hawk), which is used to render F. *girfauz* in the translation of an O.F. romance.' E. Schröder (*Anz. f. D. Altertum u. D. Lit.* XXXIV, 1, 2, May, 1910) has also pointed out that the 'jagdfalke' was at first *valr* in O.N.

The interpretation *gêr* = 'spear' is not very satisfactory. Perhaps this syllable refers to the colour of the bird's plumage. See Hugo Suolahti, *Die deutschen Vogelnamen* (Strassburg, 1909), p. 335. Possibly *gêr* = *hêr* (< O.H.G. *hëhara*); *cf. ib.* pp. 199—200 and 336.

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THE SO-CALLED 'IRRATIONAL' NEGATIVE IN ANGLO-NORMAN CONCESSIVE SENTENCES.

In the note which Professor Vising contributed to the eleventh volume of this *Review* (pp. 219—221) on constructions of the type:

'Chescun i ad ovel dreit, Ja si pauvres hom ne seit,' he makes the suggestion that we have here an example of the influence of English idiom on Anglo-Norman. The construction, as he points out, always combines the negative with *ja*, *si*, or *tant*, and is in consequence equivalent to the English *never so* and the Scandinavian *aldrig saa*, while it finds no parallels in continental French. 'Ils [les auteurs anglo-normands] n'ont certainement pas pris cet usage de *ne* dans le français du continent car je ne crois pas qu'il y existe.'

In the pressure of work of other kinds this note escaped my attention at the time of its appearance, but from the side of Old French I should now like to enter a protest, although a somewhat belated one. And this, I hasten to say, appears to me to be the more necessary, as Professor Vising's work on Anglo-Norman is of such value and high authority that students of English Philology might well be excused if they adopted his conclusions without question. The construction described is far from being unknown to the contemporary French of the continent; indeed, its occurrence is frequent and so characteristic that some years ago—though this, curiously enough, has slipped Professor Vising's memory—it formed the subject of one of Tobler's illuminating articles now collected under the title *Vermischte Beiträge zur französischen Grammatik* (Vol. I, No. 19). The examples collected there, to go no further, furnish unmistakeable parallels to those cited by Professor Vising and relieve students of Anglo-Norman from the necessity of looking any further afield for the origins of this construction, though, of course, a parallel English usage might have conduced to its greater popularity over here.

I would add, in conclusion, that in the French construction Tobler, following Scheler, has shown clearly that the negative is never 'irrational,' but always due to the incompleteness of the expression. As is so often the case in Old French the authors are content to leave part of their thought to be divined from the context. Just as Tobler completes the sentence: 'Et essillent larrons et robeours, Ja tant ne fussent extrait de grans seignours' with 'que nes essillast,' so we may complete the sentence quoted above with: 'que n'i ad ovel dreit.'

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The Fictitious Battle of Portsmouth in Gaimar.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has s.a. 779 the following entry: *her Ealdseaxne ⁊ Francan gefuhton*; our author has expanded this into a

description of a battle at Portsmouth between sea-pirates from Saxony and the inhabitants of the invaded territory, but the state of the text leaves it uncertain who those inhabitants were in Gaimar's mind. The passage in question as recorded by R. (the MS. printed by Hardy in the Rolls Series edition) reads

Idonc fu une bataille
Entre Saxiens e l'asemblaille
Ki de Sessoigne estait venue
Co fu el havene de Portesmue
Al ariver k'il quiderent
As Saxiens i encontrerent
Ki la terre lur defendirent
Uthlages erent pur co le firent.

The other MSS. have in v. 2024 *Franceis* in place of *Saxiens* and also a slightly different reading in v. 2028, *Saxiens les encuntrerent.*

If we accept the reading in v. 2024 then, apparently, we make Gaimar contradict himself and this has led Gross[1] in his monograph on Gaimar to defend the reading of R., though not very satisfactorily. (1) He takes as his starting-point v. 2028 and decides that the *Saxiens* there mentioned are the opponents of the *asemblaille* of v. 2024 and therefore identical with the other party referred to in that line; wherefore, since all MSS. support the reading in v. 2028, the same reading should apply in v. 2024, i.e., according to R., *Saxiens*; (2) further, if Gaimar wrote *Franceis* in the first place, there is no clear reason why a copyist should have made any alteration, whereas, if Gaimar wrote *Saxiens* a contradiction would be apparent to anyone ignorant of the distinction between Insular and Continental Saxons, which contradiction we must then suppose the copyist corrected by a reference to the Chronicle in v. 2024 but omitted to alter in v. 2028; (3) moreover, since we must suppose Gaimar was aware of the fact that the Franks never lived in England, he must have made the alteration himself in order to square with his assumption that the fight took place in England.

With regard to (1) it is quite possible that *Saxiens* in v. 2028 refers to the *asemblaille* and not to the defenders, for the word is not found elsewhere in Gaimar except in compounds (e.g. *Westsexien*); further, it is always trisyllabic save in the compound names of vv. 845, 6, a doubtful passage found only in (and possibly an addition by) R., and again in R. at v. 2024.

(2) The question of reference by the copyist to the Chronicle is one in which the habits of the MSS. must be taken into consideration. I have not met with any case in D.L. which suggests such a reference;

[1] Max Gross, *Geffrei Gaimar: die Komposition seiner Reimchronik.* Erlangen, 1902.

indeed, they would appear to have had very little interest in the subject-matter of their text; H. is a very late text which revises, with a view to improvement and modernisation, both metre and grammar; R., on the other hand, appears to take an intelligent interest in his text, which leads him to refer to the Chronicle for additions and explanations (vv. 941, 2 and vv. 971, 2 are two instances in which such action would appear to be traceable).

(3) Is it certain that Gaimar was so clear as to the habitat of the Franks? Hardly, in view of the fact that, when s.a. 812 he comes across the brief notice of the death of Charlemagne, he makes him into an English king:

> Uit anz apres Carle muru(s)t
> Ki Cumberlande aveit eut. vv. 2227, 8.

Since Gaimar is adhering fairly closely to the Chronicle in this portion of his history, since the authority of D.L.H. is quite as good as that of R., and since D.L.H. are in agreement with the Chronicle, the presumption is all in favour of the correctness of the reading *Franceis* in v. 2024, and if there are good grounds for holding that the contradiction between vv. 2024 and 2028 is then only apparent, the difficulty is satisfactorily disposed of.

As I have said, the passage under consideration is an expansion of a brief entry in the Chronicle and the question now arises as to its how? and why? Gross is, I think, wrong in assuming, as he does, that Gaimar imagined the battle from the first as taking place in England and then made the necessary alterations in the combatants. Rather, bearing in mind Gaimar's decided inclination to impart life to the dry bones of the Chronicle and his desire to satisfy a natural curiosity as to the outcome of the battle (cf. vv. 1417, 1805), what really happened is, it seems to me, this. Having rendered *Ealdseaxne* of the Chronicle by *l'asemblaille ki de Sessoigne estait venue* the phrase recalled fleeting memories of the Anglo-Saxon invasions of England (cf. v. 25 *cil de Sessoigne*) and by reminding him of their partly naval character paved the way for his conception of a raid of sea-pirates (*uthlages*). Remembering, too, that Cerdic and Cynric, amongst others, landed on the Hampshire coast and requiring a rhyme to *venue*, the name *Portesmue* suggested itself to him; possibly it was in his mind owing to Henry I assembling troops there prior to proceeding overseas to Normandy in 1114 and 1123 and to the encounter with Duke Robert there in 1101. Naturally as a good Englishman he could not allow the invaders to triumph, wherefore 'they met there those who forbad them the land.' Comparison with other

passages, e.g. v. 2159 ff., shows that *que* is required in v. 2028, and *Saxiens*[1] is, I think, meant to represent *Ealdseaxne* for, whatever Gaimar may have known or not known about the Franks, he knew that the Westsaxons inhabited Hampshire[2]; it is just possible that in the reading of R. we have a corruption of a form *Eldsexiens* originally written by Gaimar. Moreover, since confusion reigns in Gaimar's mind it is only natural to find some expression of it in his writing and the question at issue is not what he ought to have written but what he did write.

The passage then I propose to read as under, following D.L.H. instead of R.:

Idunc si fud une bataille
Entre Franceis e l'asemblaille
Qui de Seisuine esteit venue.
Co fud el havene de Portesmue,
Al ariver que cil quiderent,
Que Saxiens i encuntrerent
Qui la terre lur defendirent,
Uthlages erent pur co le firent.

Alexander Bell.

Leeds.

Tristram's Coat of Arms.

In a recent number of the *Modern Language Review*[3], the suggestion has been made that the cognizance of golden lions on a red field, described by the *Tristram saga*[4], as decorating the hero's horse-trappings, represented a phrase in the French original, which was introduced as a compliment to the reigning English house of Anjou by the author, Thomas. Mr Loomis refers to two of the *loca classica* of heraldic history, the shoes and shield, sprinkled with 'leunculos aureos' presented by Henry I to Geoffrey of Anjou on the occasion of the latter's marriage to his daughter Matilda in 1128[5], and the enamelled plate from Geoffrey's

[1] It is interesting to note that while Gaimar is still under the influence of Latin originals, e.g. Geoffrey of Monmouth, he uses the forms *Saisnes* and *Seissuns*, but once he is definitely committed to the AS. Chronicle he adopts English forms.

[2] Since this note was written I have been fortunate enough to discover further points which tend to confirm Gaimar's connection with Hampshire; of these the following is the most interesting. Between 1150 and 1170 *Radulph' filius Gileber'* and *Constancia*, his wife, granted their chapel of Empshott, Hants. to the Priory of Southwick in the same county; there can, I think, be little doubt that the donors are identical with the 'dame Custance la gentil' and 'Raul le fiz Gilebert...sun seignur' of the epilogue to Gaimar's 'Estoire.'

[3] Roger S. Loomis, 'Notes on the "Tristan" of Thomas,' *M. L. R.*, xiv, p. 39.

[4] Ed. E. Kölbing, p. 27, ll. 13—14.

[5] *Chroniques d'Anjou*, ed. Marchegay et Salmon, 235. Mr Loomis has missed the reference to the 'pictos leones preferens in clipeo,' in a battle scene, 262.

tomb, now preserved in the museum of Le Mans, which presents a figure bearing a shield 'azure six lioncels or,' and wearing a blue cap with a single gold lion[1], and goes on to state: 'It seems not unlikely that Geoffrey's son, Henry II of England, should have adopted the same device of the lioncels, but with that difference in the tincture of the field which we find later characteristic of the royal arms.' But there are several facts which make this conjecture unacceptable.

There is not the slightest evidence that Henry II did adopt such armorial bearings, even if two, and three, lions are found on the seals of his successors to the throne, Richard I and John[2], and the well-known tomb of his illegitimate son William Longuespee in Salisbury Cathedral[3] shows a shield 'Dazure as siz leonceaux rampans dor[4].' Further, the armorial bearing of Tristram in Gottfried of Strassburg's poem[5] is a boar, which he bears on his shield, and we may accept without much question the conjecture of J. Loth[6] that this detail was found in the French original, if we do not need to follow him in supposing that it is a survival of a national Celtic totem, or if it is too bold a view to see in it a reminiscence of the tradition found in a Welsh triad[7] according to which Tristram was one of the three chief swineherds of Britain. The objection[8] made to the conjecture of Loth, on the ground that the habit of decorating shields with animals, boars or others, was as widespread among French knights of the Middle Ages, as among the Celts, merely shows a perfect ignorance of the history of the subject. The earliest instance of an animal appearing as a heraldic device on armour in France is in 1170[9], and down to the end of the twelfth century, at

[1] Reproduced in J. Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms*, 1902, p. xxxviii.

[2] Cf. e.g. W. de G. Birch, *Cat. of Seals in the Dep. of MSS. of the Brit. Mus.* I, p. 10. On the addition in 1189, of a third lion to the two already found in Richard's seal cf. J. Horace Round, 'Richard the First's Change of Seal,' *Archaeological Rev.* I, pp. 135–43; reprinted in *Feudal England*, 1895, pp. 539–55; F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy* (1189—1204), 1913, p. 126, n. 3.

[3] Cf. e.g. J. Britton, *Hist. and Ant. of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, 1814, p. 93, Plates of Monuments 3, No. 2.

[4] J. E. Doyle, *Official Baronage of England*, III, p. 235. These are the arms given him by Matthew of Paris, *Opera*, H. R. Luard, VI, p. 474, and found on a heraldic shield carved on an oak chest in the Musée de Cluny: R. S. Loomis, 'Richard Cœur de Lion in Mediaeval Art,' *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XXX (1915), p. 527, and Fig. 9.

[5] Vv. 4940, 6618.

[6] 'Contributions à l'étude des Romans de la Table Ronde: Le bouclier de Tristram,' *Rev. celtique*, XXXII (1912), pp. 296–8.

[7] *Red Book of Hergest*, ed. J. Rhys, I, p. 307; *Mabinogion*, trad. J. Loth, II, pp. 247–8.

[8] A. Smirnow, *Romania*, XLIII, p. 120. The examples cited from the *Partonopier* of Konrad von Würzburg and Pleier's *Meleranz* by Dr Gertrude Schoepperle, *Romanic Rev.*, III (1912–13), pp. 433–4, are of the late thirteenth century, the example from *Foulke Fitz-Warin* of the fourteenth century.

[9] G. Demay, *Le costume au Moyen-Age d'après les sceaux*, 1880, pp. 189, 190; cf. J. Horace Round, *Archaeological Journal*, LI (1904), pp. 45 ff.

least, the boar does not appear as armorial bearings[1], nor is it mentioned as such in French epics[2] and German courtly poetry[3] of the next two centuries. Outside of the reference to it in Gottfried's *Tristan*, the only instance of a comparatively early date seems to be found in two manuscripts of the *Roman de Thèbes*, derivatives of a manuscript, the work of a Picard scribe of the thirteenth century, who made certain additions to the text before him[4]. This interpolator, to give a contemporary colouring to his original, described Tydeus as carrying the device of a boar on his shield[5], while in the earliest redaction, which kept closely to the Latin source, he wears about him the skin of the Calydonian boar[6].

The *Tristram saga* makes no mention of a device on Tristram's shield[7], but the housing of the horse would naturally have the same device[8] as the shield, and if lions on a red field appear on the former, it is not because this detail was found in the French original, but as a compliment to the Norwegian king Haakon Haakonsson, at whose command the Old Norse translation was made, as is stated by the translator himself[9]. It has been clearly shown that Haakon was the first Norwegian king to adopt as his arms a lion rampant, which first appeared on his seals in the neighbourhood of 1217, and was the same device as that of his guardian Skule Jarl. Whether they were distinguished from each other by a difference in the colour of the field is not shown by the seals, but fortunately we know through contemporary historical evidence that a golden lion on a red field was Haakon's personal coat of arms, which, beginning with his grandson Eric, became with additions that of the royal family of Norway[10].

Mr Loomis, has, doubtless, emphasised the mention of the cognizance of golden lions on a red field in the *Tristram saga*, to confirm the

[1] Demay, *op. cit.*, pp. 189—192, 200–1. The boar is not found before the middle of the fourteenth century on the seals noted by G. Demay, *Invent. des Sceaux de la Collection Clairambault*, II (1886), p. 657.

[2] V. Schirling, *Die Verteidigungswaffen im altfr. Epos*, 1887, pp. 18—21.

[3] A. Schultz, *Die höfische Leben*, 2d ed., 1889, II, pp. 91–3.

[4] *Rom. de Thèbes*, ed. Constans, II, pp. xxvii, n. 1; lix—lx, lxiv—lxv.

[5] *Ib.*, II, p. 123, v. 1196.

[6] *Ib.*, I, vv. 761–4.

[7] The reference to a 'Lyoun' on the shield of Tristram in the English version (ed. Kölbing, v. 1040) is only a rhyme-tag to go with the 'dragoun' of a following line.

[8] Demay, *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 126, 179—185.

[9] *Ed. cit.*, p. 3.

[10] G. Storm, *Norges gamle Vaaben, Farver og Flag*, Kristiania, 1894, pp. 8, 16—19, 22 ff. The evidence for the earlier use of a lion as arms by King Magnus (died 1103) is not convincing. Cf. Storm, *op. cit.*, pp. 8—12; A. Bugge, *Smaa Bidrag til Norges Historie paa 1000-Tallet*, Kristiania, 1914, pp. 47–9. These studies of Storm and Bugge were called to my attention by my friend Mr Halldór Hermannsson, Curator of the Fiske Icelandic Collection of Cornell University Library.

evidence of the same use afforded by the Chertsey tiles, which present episodes from the *Tristram* saga[1]. It is quite natural to find the arms of the royal family of England introduced with intention in a work of English art of the end of the thirteenth century[2], which also illustrates episodes from the romantic life of Richard Cœur de Lion[3]. How well they were known by this time is shown by the constant reference made to them by Matthew of Paris[4], who died in the neighbourhood of 1259. On the other hand, there is a sense of novelty in the criticism made on them by Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *De regimine principum*, of which the final form was written 1216–17[5]. In his hatred for the reigning Anglo-Normand family of England, the conquerors of Wales, he praised the French kings for adopting the fleur-de-lys as their arms[6], and the English loss of prestige and territory in France, under John, was occasion for the congratulatory note in the phrase which tells how the fleur-de-lys 'pardos vincere vidimus atque liones[7].' However, the red field of the cognizance was not adopted at once, and for good, by those most concerned. In 1203 John presented his nephew Otto IV with a basin on which three leopards appeared on a red field[8], and this was the cognizance adopted by Henry (1238–53), the ill-starred son of the brilliant emperor Frederick II, and his third wife, Isabella, the daughter of John[9]. Finally, Konrad von Würzburg in his *Turnier von Nantes*, written before 1269[10], of which the chief interest is the description of the cognizances of the participants in a tourney, in which the king of England is the centre figure, attributes to the latter the coat of arms with three red leopards on gold[11], a confusion between the colours of the device and the field.

Unfortunately, Mr Loomis has not made a preliminary study of the use of armorial bearings on which to base a criterion for the value of his special plea. Yet excursions into heraldry can serve a very useful part in literary as well as in historical investigations, and have already

[1] R. S. Loomis, 'Illustrations of Mediaeval Romances on Tiles from Chertsey Abbey' (*University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, II, 2), pp. 50–1; Plates 15 and 16, pp. 49, 52.

[2] *Ib.*, 20–1.

[3] R. S. Loomis, 'Richard Cœur de Lion in Mediaeval Art,' *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XXX (1915), pp. 514–6; Fig. 1, p. 520, Fig. 4.

[4] *Ed. cit.*, VI, p. 472.

[5] *Opera*, VIII, ed. Warner, 1891, pp. xv ff., l—lii.

[6] *Ib.*, 320–1. [7] *Ib.*, 321.

[8] H. Grote, *Gesch. der Welfischen Stammwappen*, 1863, p. 323.

[9] G. Seyler, *Geschichte der Heraldik*, 1885, p. 274*b*.

[10] A. Galle, 'Wappenwesen und Heraldik bei Konrad von Würzburg. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Chronologie seiner Werke,' *Zeitschr. f. deutsches Altertum*, LIII, pp. 244, 254.

[11] Ed. Bartsch, 302 ff., cf. Galle, *art. cit.* p. 241.

resulted in dating with greater accuracy certain works of the Middle High German epic and courtly poetry[1], if an attempt to apply the same methods in dating the two prologues of Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, has not been so successful[2]. Further, a seductive thesis has been presented to show that the author of the Middle High German epic *Virginal* flattered Otto Visconti, archbishop of Milan, a patron of letters at the end of the thirteenth century, by connecting the youthful exploit of Dietrich von Bern, in destroying a dragon in the act of devouring a knight, with the story attached to the arms of the great Italian family, which represents a living child in a serpent's jaws[3].

George L. Hamilton.

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[1] E. Schroeder, 'Zur datierung des Herbert von Fritzlar,' *Zeitschr. f. deutsches Altertum*, LII (1910), pp. 360–4; Galle, *art. cit.*, pp. 209—259, especially pp. 254–8.

[2] H. Lange, 'Zur datierung des Gg-prologs zu Chaucers legende von den Guten Frauen. Eine heraldische studie,' *Anglia*, XXXIX (1916), pp. 347–55; 'Über die farben könig Richards II von England in beziehung zur Chaucerdichtung. Eine heraldische studie, zugleich ein weiterer beitrag zur legendenprologfrage'; *ib.* XLII (1918–19), 142–4, 352–6; *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, XXIX (1918), p. 358; 'Die legendenprologfrage. Zur steuer der wahrheit,' *Anglia*, XLIV (1920), pp. 72–7; V. Langhans, *Untersuchungen zu Chaucer*, 1918, p. 218; 'Zu Chaucers Legendenprolog,' *Anglia*, XLIII (1919), pp. 69—90.

[3] J. Lunzer, 'Arena,' *Zeitschr. f. deutsches Altertum*, LIII, pp. 30—47, 50–4.

REVIEWS.

Ordo Rachelis, by KARL YOUNG. (*University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 4.) Madison, 1919. 8vo. 65 pp. 50 cents.

Of the four types of liturgical play belonging to the Christmas cycle elaborate studies have already appeared of the *Stella* by H. Anz, of the *Prophetae* by M. Sepet, and of the *Pastores* by Professor Young himself, who here presents a careful edition and discussion of all the extant texts of the *Ordo Rachelis* or *Interfectio Puerorum*.

This last is, of course, intimately connected in subject with the *Officium Stellae*, several versions of which end with Herod's order for the massacre, while one from Freising actually introduces the *pueri* themselves with a song. Thus it is evident how natural an extension of the *Stella* the *Interfectio* would be, although, of course, its liturgical occasion is different.

Of the *Ordo Rachelis* four texts are known: two independent, a very simple version from Limoges (MS. eleventh century) and a very elaborate one from Fleury (MS. twelfth century), one from Laon (MS. thirteenth century) appended to a *Stella*, and one from Freising (MS. twelfth century) appended to a *Pastores*. The relation of these texts raises all manner of interesting and intricate questions, a perfectly satisfactory or at least certain answer to which is perhaps beyond the range of the available evidence. Two views have been advanced by previous writers. According to W. Meyer (*Fragmenta Burana*, 1901) the original was an elaborate and comprehensive version composed somewhere in southern Germany, from which were derived the clearly in many ways unoriginal Freising text and a French recension made under French liturgical influences. From this last sprang the three highly divergent texts of Limoges, Laon, and Fleury, the last being also influenced by Laon. On this view the process is in the main one of disintegration. Anz's view (*Die lateinischen Magierspiele*, 1905) is the exact opposite of this, since it regards the process as one of development and elaboration. According to him the original was a French version, either Limoges, or more probably one closely similar. The source of Freising arose either independently or as an elaboration of the French original. From that original was also derived, by one or more steps, the Laon text. Fleury represents a combination of the source of Freising with Laon, or perhaps some text intermediate between Laon and the original.

The present editor indicates his own view rather by way of criticism on his predecessors than in a formal or dogmatic fashion. Although he

by no means accepts all Anz's conclusions, much less his reconstructions, he evidently inclines towards his general position, and sums up by saying that 'we are sure of a French tradition that includes Limoges and Laon and of a German tradition that includes Freising; and in some manner the two traditions seem to be united in Fleury.'

Professor Young is inclined to believe that the *Ordo Rachelis* originated rather as an extension of the *Stella* than as an independent *officium*. It is a difficult question and one not to be decided without great care in definition. But unless we deny to Limoges the status of a play (as in his last paragraph the editor appears to do) it is difficult, in view of the independence of our simplest and earliest text, together with the difference of liturgical occasion, to endorse the view that the Innocents are a bud upon the parent stem of the Epiphany play, rather than a later graft. If Limoges be ruled out, then, no doubt, it may be fairly argued whether the independent or the annexive development be the earlier, but this would appear to be a question of very subordinate interest, especially as the two were probably synchronous.

There is one matter of some importance in respect to which it may be questioned whether the critics of the liturgical drama have taken quite a sound line. In a footnote Professor Young writes: 'It is scarcely necessary to remark that, in general, the dates of the extant manuscripts have small bearing upon the question of the interrelation of the versions. An early version may be preserved only in a late manuscript.' In so far as this is a caution against undue reliance upon manuscript evidence it is very right and proper: in so far as it is advanced as an excuse for simply neglecting that evidence it is less innocent. I cannot speak on the point from any expert knowledge, but I would nevertheless suggest, for the consideration of those who are so fortunate as to possess it, that where an early liturgical dramatic form is found in a late manuscript, it is more often that this belongs to a backward or conservative use than that it is a copy of an early original. In the present case we have four manuscripts, each presenting a totally different version—not four texts of one play, but four quite distinct plays. There is no direct evidence, apparently, that any other copy of any one of these plays ever existed. The manuscripts in which they occur are not of a kind that would be widely multiplied; the fact that the Freising play is written in a twelfth century hand on an erased page of an eleventh century manuscript suggests that opportunities of transcription were infrequent. Is it not likely that transcription would as a rule only take place when extensive revision of the liturgical accretions of the local use were in contemplation, and that the chances are that the new compilation would contain fresh recensions rather than mere transcripts of the liturgical dramas found in the earlier service book? If that is so, each text will, as a rule, be an individual belonging to the surroundings in which it occurs, not simply one copy of a common type. Doubtless there are many exceptions; but if it is true that we must be on our guard against assuming that a text in an earlier manuscript is necessarily more original than one of later preservation, it would appear much more dangerous to argue that we

are at liberty to assign any early date we please to a text irrespective of that of the manuscript in which it is found.

A protest should, I think, be entered against the expansion 'Xpistuc.'

W. W. Greg.

London.

Douglas's Æneid. By Lauchlan Maclean Watt. Cambridge: University Press. 1920. 8vo. xii + 252 pp. 14*s.*

Mr Watt brings to the task of elucidating Douglas's translation unflagging industry and glowing enthusiasm. The comprehensive references to the literature of the subject in the first section of the book (The Man and his Fame) and the scope of the entire study are an attempt to clear Douglas from the unfairness of the casual treatment to which as a minor writer he has been particularly subject, more especially at the hands of the older historians. But most readers of the book will probably feel that Mr Watt in seeking to redress the balance has leant too far the other way. This is not so evident, perhaps, in the comparative estimates made from time to time of the translator's position and worth. Mr Watt admits that his author 'stands far short of the peak of Parnassus' (p. 122) and on several occasions he allows for the mixed tentative character of the work. The want of proportion is rather to be seen in the general tone and treatment, in the comparisons suggested, the quotations from other authors used as illustrations, and, above all, in the metaphors employed. Yet the abundant citations from the text, which allow even the reader who does not know or possess the original to form some judgment of his own, show that there is in the body of Douglas's work an undoubted vigour, at times a certain sense of strong and picturesque phrasing, a certain capacity for first-hand description, which have been perhaps overlooked except in the better known Prologues. These Prologues naturally stimulate Mr Watt's appreciative powers to their uttermost. Metre and meaning of each are analysed in full.

A similar want of proportion or discrimination lies at the root of the criticism which can be brought against the whole of the first and more lyrical portion of the book. The historical importance of Gawain Douglas lies in his transitional character, mediaevalism behind, humanism before. An intimate understanding of what is implied in both these terms is indispensable to the study of such an author. But here the critic and historian find themselves in country none the less difficult because so often traversed. Once more, in a few estimating and qualifying sentences, Mr Watt makes some of the necessary allowances. Of the Renaissance, for example, he says, characteristically: '[it] was a process rather than an explosive event. Men could not set their watches by it, but they could float their spiritual emprise upon it' (p. 26). But constantly elsewhere, the lyrical warmth of his description of this comprehensive re-birth provokes reservations in the judiciously minded reader (cf.

pp. 26—34). More serious is the fact that this ultra-humanist eulogy of the New Learning leads to an unsatisfactory attitude towards mediaevalism. We cannot but feel that Mr Watt's view of the mediaeval period resembles that estimate of the eighteenth century which finds in it little but coming Wordsworthianism casting a few shadows before. In so far as he considers mediaevalism as a thing in itself he apparently limits it to theological scholasticism. He seems to deny it Nature, Reality and Art (p. 26, p. 30, p. 46). Any display of power during the mediaeval period is not a day (to borrow his own method of expression) but a dawn (cf. p. 26 for twelfth century revival; p. 27 for Dante and Langland). He is not explicit as to Chaucer, but the first part of the *Roman de la Rose* belongs to the old and effete; the second to the new and vital. The chronological factor of development within the mediaeval period and the personal factor of individual genius are very largely passed over. Moreover, when looked at in the most concrete fashion possible, the classical, the mediaeval, the Renaissance, will each be found to afford scope for the whole gamut of human variability, and the man with eyes will see 'Nature' at any time.

The most valuable portion of the Book seems to us to be Section IV (and the appendices) dealing with MSS. and readings. Somewhat less valuable but full of material is the preceding section: 'The Translation and its Result.' Considerably less satisfactory is Section V: 'Language and Influences.' A full philological explanation of Douglas's literary language is not, of course, attempted. It would be beyond even the ample scope of this book. It would have been better, therefore, to confine the treatment to illustration of the more literary side of the subject and to the provision of some guidance for the general reader, without touching (as Mr Watt does in some paragraphs) on historical and philological explanations. To the student well-versed in Old and Middle English these explanations will often seem to require correction[1].

We have left until last the feature which will be the first to strike the reader—the style. There are some slips in grammar—possibly no more than slips[2]—some paragraphs the construction or drift of which is not clear[3], some Scotticisms, some technical or semi-technical terms[4] which might be left to a more purely technical context, a great number of adverbs like 'awakingly,' 'creatingly,' and perhaps an overdose of terms like 'throb,' 'plangent,' 'vibrant,' and their kind. But these are comparatively minor points. They are dwarfed by the imagery. A metaphor is to Mr Watt what Dr Johnson said a pun was to Shakespeare. The metaphors are usually poetical[5]. But a man must use the best of

[1] E.g. p. 172, the comment on 'his fadder brudir': 'Of course, in Old English, this very word *father* had formed the genitive with *-es*, etc.'

[2] Cf. p. 28, '...though in him are found, also, some of the older framework of mediaeval conventions.'

[3] Cf. the beginning of § 2, p. 163.

[4] E.g. the very ugly 'Anglic.'

[5] P. 75. '*Douglas's Æneid* is...an open door through which the spirit of Northern poetry walked into the wide fields of the South. *The Kingis Quair* was a window ajar, letting in the melody of the world's music, northward blown.'

these warily. We confess that there are some at which our visualising faculty jibs. Some renaissance of the Colossus seems to be suggested in the following: 'Erasmus the Humanist—who raised his foot and let the tide of the Reformation run away from under, unuplifting—...' The same faculty finds itself also somewhat strained in reading the passage (p. 85) where Douglas, having in one sentence gone down an untrodden track with a candle, proves himself in the next a master mariner on the classic seas (keeping the same candle). We are thus bold to comment on these metaphors because, in our opinion, they do a disservice to the industry, the painstaking research, the genuine appreciation, of which the book is witness. They diminish in frequency as Mr Watt gets to the more detailed portions of his study. A less vivid style in the earlier part would be less provocative of criticism other than stylistic.

GLADYS D. WILLCOCK.

ENGLEFIELD GREEN.

The Problem of 'Hamlet.' By the Rt Hon. J. M. ROBERTSON. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1919. 90.pp. 5*s*.

Hamlet: An Historical and Comparative Study. By ELMER EDGAR STOLL. (Research Publ. of the University of Minnesota. Vol. VIII, No. 5.) 76 pp. $ 1.00.

Studier over Hamlet-Teksterne. I. Af V. ØSTERBERG. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel. 1920. 74 pp.

In the introduction to *The Works of Thomas Kyd* Dr F. S. Boas concludes his section on the old *Hamlet* with the words: '*Hamlet* in its final form holds its unique position less as a play, in the strict sense, than as a marvellous literary creation thrown into dramatic form. Generations of critics have sought to find a completely satisfying interpretation of the work. They have failed to do so—even the greatest of them—and failed inevitably. For the *Hamlet* that we know is not a homogeneous product of genius. It is—unless evidences external and internal combine to mislead us—a fusion, with the intermediate stages in the process still partly recognisable, of the inventive dramatic craftsmanship of Thomas Kyd, and the majestic imagination, penetrating psychology, and rich verbal music of William Shakespeare.' As will appear later, I do not believe this to be the true conclusion to the whole matter; but it is well that the passage should be placed on record at the beginning of this review, since Dr Boas' thesis is precisely that of the first two of the books before us, and, though both Mr Robertson and Dr Stoll make use of Dr Boas' edition of Kyd, neither appears to be aware that their main contention has been anticipated.

After a century of fruitless theorising about the contents of Hamlet's soul, it was inevitable that a reaction should set in. Professor Stoll pronounces 'the history of Hamlet-criticism a blot on the intellectual record of the race'; while Mr Robertson asks whether 'this whole business of understanding Hamlet is not a following of a will-o'-the-

wisp, to be renounced in favour of the task of understanding *Hamlet.*' We know that Shakespeare often borrowed his plots from earlier dramas: and there is a high probability that he did so in this instance. It seems further that he was frequently careless in his adaptation and did not sufficiently tone down the elements of the old plot to be in keeping with the new imaginative colouring which he threw over them. Is not *Hamlet* a case of this kind? Are not the obscurities of the play, and, in particular, the seeming inconsistencies in the character of the Prince, simply evidences of imperfect revision of Kyd's original? It is an attractive thesis and ably expounded by our two authors. The upshot is, of course, that there is no Hamlet-mystery, except for readers in the study, for whom Shakespeare did not write; that spectators never see anything wrong on the stage and Shakespeare knew they would not; and that what the modern critic finds amiss is nothing but a general Elizabethan looseness of dramatic construction, complicated by the fact that Shakespeare's original—to use Mr Robertson's words—'embodied a contersense which adaptation could not transcend.' And if we ask why Shakespeare did not alter Kyd's plot and so make a proper job of it, the reply we receive is that he could not. 'He was, as usual, adapting an old play for his company, in the way of business. Its main features he had to preserve, else the public would miss what they looked for.... What the company desired, and what the public, which was attached to an old play, would relish, was not new matter but new form—crudities in construction, situation and sentiment softened down, and word and verse wakened to life by the most magical of pens. The story, the telling situations, the essential conception of the characters—these they could not easily surrender.' (Stoll, pp. 3—4.) In a word, the public were accustomed to the *Hamlet Revenge* chamber of horrors; they would tolerate redecoration, but no architectural alterations.

Mr Robertson characteristically begins his study with a general survey of previous theories of *Hamlet*, which he classifies as 'subjective theories,' 'objective theories' (e.g. Werder), and 'theories of defect in the dramatist.' He then passes on to a consideration of the pre-Shakespearian play and the *Brudermord*, which is followed up by a chapter on 'Kyd's probable construction' which contains much interesting though somewhat hazardous speculation, including the suggestion that the original *Hamlet* may have been a double play like *Hieronimo.* Finally he deals with the Shakespearian adaptation, which he finds to have been mainly an infusion of pessimism into the character of Hamlet by way of justifying the unmotived delay which was inherited from Kyd:

> This implicit pessimism is Shakespeare's personal contribution: his verdict on the situation set out by the play. But the fact remains that he has not merely not been explicit—as he could not be—he has left standing matter which conflicts with the solution of pessimism.... [Hamlet's] displays of vigour, like the killing of Polonius, do not consist with a pessimism so laming as to preclude revenge. And the ultimate fact is that Shakespeare *could not* make a psychologically or otherwise consistent play out of a plot which retained a strictly barbaric action while the hero was transformed into a supersubtle Elizabethan.

Such is Mr Robertson's conclusion, which, it may be noted, differs somewhat from that of Professor Stoll, though they both start from the same premisses. Professor Stoll casts his net wider than does Mr Robertson. He begins by studying *Hamlet* 'in the light of other tragedies.' He finds the delay of the hero a conventional dramatic device, paralleled in *The Spanish Tragedy*, in Greek drama, and in Lope de Vega. The hero's self-reproaches—which are to be interpreted as reassurances to the audience that despite the delay all will be well in the end—have their counterpart in Seneca, and are not intended to discredit Hamlet. 'There is defect in the drama, of course, but it is only as our technique is superimposed upon the drama that it is turned into a tragic defect in the hero, or that by his straightforward and magnanimous complaints and reproaches he is made to take a stand against himself.' Hamlet is, in short, a Shakespearian heroic character, whom we are meant to admire without qualifications. The soliloquies are dismissed as stock devices, dressed up, of course, in Shakespeare's best rhetoric. Hamlet accuses himself of cowardice, but that is absurd, and Shakespeare knows that such accusations will not be taken at their face value by the audience. Moreover they find no support from what the other characters say of him—though as no other character but Horatio, who has very little to say, knows anything of Hamlet's problem, this does not appear to be strong evidence. 'To be or not to be' is a difficulty for Professor Stoll. He meets it by noting its necessity as a stage-device. Hamlet is walking into a trap and must be made to say something which will (*a*) give the spies time to take cover, and (*b*) show the audience that he is unconscious of his danger. 'The vagueness and irrelevance of the details' of this speech are to be taken as part of 'the looseness of Elizabethan dramatic structure.' The soliloquy is no symptom of scepticism, and there is not a thought of the Ghost in Hamlet's mind. He is simply doing a 'turn' as philosopher to give Claudius time to get behind the arras. Ibsen would not do these things, no doubt; but Ibsen is a modern, and we have learnt a thing or two about dramatic technique since Shakespeare's day.

It all comes to this, then. Shakespeare was a scene-painter and not a dramatist. He took the plays of other men and dressed them up in magnificent poetry, but he *could* not improve upon their plots, however weak. The pendulum has swung to the other extreme; the reputation of Shakespeare as a dramatic artist is at stake; and we are back again at Greene's death-bed curse upon the Upstart Crow. That Shakespeare's structure is demonstrably ramshackle in certain plays is beside the point. Not all the dramas in the canon are carefully revised, and some were doubtless tossed off in haste to meet a particular occasion. But here we are dealing with *Hamlet*, and here if anywhere Shakespeare would display that infinite capacity for taking pains which Carlyle noted as the mark of genius. 'Not once but twice at least did he rewrite it,' Professor Stoll tells us, and no one who has studied the exquisite Second Quarto text can doubt that its author expended more loving care over this child of his brain than over any other of the thirty-six plays. If

the original plot were crude, was it beyond Shakespeare's powers to improve it—to improve it, moreover, without altering those main incidents which the public would expect to see repeated? It is my confident belief that he both could and did. Criticism has been busy for the last forty years with the sources of Shakespeare's plays. It has now to face the question of his manipulation of these sources. Did he follow them as a compositor 'follows copy,' or did he mix brains with his materials and so produce something which was as like and unlike the original as a stereoscoped picture is like and yet unlike the flat photograph?

Let us grant that the plot of the old *Hamlet* was a wooden thing. Shakespeare's problem was to bring it to life, without destroying it. A consideration of one point may show how he did this. Professor Stoll tells us that Hamlet was not thinking about the Ghost when he talked of

> The undiscovered country from whose bourn
> No traveller returns.

Mr Robertson, on the other hand, noting the difficulty, declares that the whole soliloquy 'is left misplaced; it should come properly before the Ghost-scenes,' adding in a foot-note that 'it is even conceivable that this speech, in a pre-Shakespearian form, was originally written for another play.' Whichever of these three hypotheses we adopt, Shakespeare is convicted of a piece of exceedingly careless writing. Is it not safer to assume that Shakespeare knew what he was about, and ask ourselves what his intentions were? In this instance they are not difficult to discover. Professor Stoll rightly insists that Hamlet's doubts about the Ghost were both honest and natural, since all enlightened Protestant opinion in Shakespeare's age held the 'doctrine that ghosts were masquerading devils,' and 'if this doctrine had not been taken account of by the dramatist he would simply have been behind the times.' He rightly also blames scholars for continuing to ignore this element in *Hamlet*. Yet he himself fails to see its bearing not only on the 'To be or not to be' soliloquy but also on the evolution of the main plot. The last words that Hamlet utters before this soliloquy give strong expression to his theological doubts about the Ghost (II, ii, 628—633), and he enters in the Nunnery-scene deeply despondent, as the whole soliloquy shows. Is it not perfectly natural that he should explicitly exclude the Ghost from the category of departed spirits at this moment, and did not Shakespeare deliberately place these words in his mouth to exhibit his state of mind just before the Play-scene, when the Ghost will be proved to have been in very deed an honest one? Surely we may allow *some* subtlety to Elizabethan audiences —and dramatists.

Another point about these theological doubts is that they are undoubtedly Shakespeare's addition to the original *Hamlet*. Professor Stoll says that had Shakespeare not made use of the Protestant doctrine he would have been behind the times; but though there are plenty of ghosts in Elizabethan drama there is no other instance, unless I am

mistaken, of the Protestant doctrine being employed for dramatic reasons. Nor is there a shred of evidence that this element was to be found in the pre-Shakespearian *Hamlet*. The Ghost-scenes in Q1 are Shakespearian; the Ghost in the *Brudermord* is of the Senecan brand, and Hamlet here does not utter a single doubt concerning it; on the contrary, he rebuts Horatio's suggestion that it may be deceiving him with an unmistakable declaration of faith. Why then did Shakespeare make use of theological doubt in his *Hamlet*? *Because it made the transmitted plot work.* He inherited a Ghost and a play-within-the-play, two of Kyd's favourite stage-tricks. But the Ghost does away with the necessity for Hamlet's assumed madness, which Kyd in his turn had inherited from Belleforest, while the message of the Ghost makes the interlude an absurdity, for if Hamlet believes the Ghost what should he be doing with *The Murder of Gonzago*? Yet ghosts and interludes are taking things on the stage, and the groundlings had paid their pennies to see them. Shakespeare had only to make matters right with the 'judicious' (who we may believe took a delight in seeing how he brought his inherited puppets to life) and all would be well. This he did by a very simple device. He made Hamlet a Protestant, whose doubts about the provenance of ghosts would explain (in part) his delay, his assumption of madness, and his recourse to the players for a resolution of his uncertainty. There is more—much more—in the business than this; but enough to have shown that Shakespeare could be renovator as well as paperhanger!

The third book on our list differs from the other two inasmuch as it is concerned with the establishment of facts, the facts in the history of the *Hamlet* text. It is a first instalment, and we look forward with interest to its sequel. I shall here content myself with noting what seem to be the most important conclusions of this careful and illuminating little essay.

(i) Mr Østerberg throws new light upon Nashe's reference to *Hamlet* in 1589, and in my judgment comes nearer than any previous critic to *proving* that Thomas Kyd was the dramatist hinted at. His main argument is as follows. Though Nashe speaks of 'the Kidde in Æsop' he had Spenser's fable clearly in mind, since his words 'enamoured with the Foxes newfangles' is a palpable echo of Spenser's 'enamoured with the newel.' Yet the Spenserian fable, that of a young kid falling a prey to the fox through curiosity, has little obvious reference to the passage as a whole; and Nashe's sentence, 'which makes his [i.e. Seneca's] famisht followers to imitate the Kidde in Æsop, who enamoured with the Foxes newfangles, forsooke all hopes of life to leape into a new occupation,' shows that he found difficulty in dragging the fable in, seeing that the kid of the story was not famished and did not leap into a new occupation, while, on the other hand, Seneca's followers did not forsake all hopes of life. Thus Nashe's use of the fable was not just a chance piece of literary illustration; it was deliberate distortion of the story to suit the purposes of satire. In other words, Nashe could not do without that 'Kidde' because he wanted to hit at Kyd in a punning

reference, just as he hits at Phillip Stubbes when he speaks of 'anatomizing abuses and stubbing vp sin by the rootes.'

(ii) Mr Østerberg shows conclusively that the oft-quoted sentence from Dekker's *Satiromastix* (1602)—'My name's Hamlet reuenge: thou hast been at Parris garden hast not?'—has been misunderstood through being taken out of its context. Tucca addresses the first half of his speech to Asinius and the second to Horace, so that there is no connection between the two remarks. It appears, moreover, from what follows that Paris Garden is referred to as a bear-garden and not as a playhouse. There was therefore no intention whatever of linking *Hamlet* with a performance at Paris Garden, as all previous critics have supposed. The point is one of considerable importance, since it renders the history of the *Hamlet* text a straightforward one from 1594 onwards. In that year the play was acted by Shakespeare's company at Newington Butts; in 1596 Lodge refers to a performance of it at the Theatre, Burbage's playhouse; and now that the question of a performance at Paris Garden has been placed out of court there is no reason for thinking that the play ever left the possession of the Chamberlain's men.

(iii) Mr Østerberg believes that Roberts' entry in the *Stationers' Register* of July 27, 1602, was in respect of Kyd's *Hamlet*, which, he imagines, fell to the printer of playhouse hand-bills as a perquisite, after Shakespeare had put his own version upon the stage; and he suggests that it may actually have been printed, though if so all copies have disappeared. It does not seem very likely that the company would allow the inferior text to get into circulation just when they were putting its recension upon the stage. However Mr Østerberg's belief is based upon the fact that the entry speaks of 'The Revenge of Hamlet,' a likely enough title for Kyd's drama, while that of Shakespeare's version is 'The tragicall historie of Hamlet.' I find it difficult to give much weight to this argument, since 'revenge' was traditionally attached to the *Hamlet* theme, and Roberts would not be careful about such details in making an entry, though it is certainly noteworthy that Q1 employs the Shakespearian title. Moreover, Mr Østerberg ignores the probability that the manuscript of Kyd's *Hamlet* had disappeared in the course of Shakespeare's revision, it being natural that he should work over it sheet by sheet, destroying the rejected material in his progress. Still less can one give credence to the further argument that Roberts must have had a 'book' in his possession when he made his entry, seeing that the censor Pasfield and the warden Waterson would have asked to see it before setting their hands to the authorisation. *Hamlet*, 'as yt was latelie Acted by the Lord Chamberleyne his servantes,' had presumably been licensed by Tilney or Buc, and might thus be 'taken as read' by Master Pasfield. Mr Pollard's explanation of the entry as a 'precautionary' one still holds the field. On the other hand, the Danish critic has an interesting comment on the puzzling business of the relations between Roberts and Ling, which may be the true solution. He points out that the two men had friendly trade connexions with each other both before and after the *Hamlet* incident, and suggests that, as Roberts had made the entry and Ling had published a

Hamlet book (Q1), it was only natural that they should combine together in the production of Q2 in order to avoid a fuss with the Stationers, to say nothing of the payment of another sixpence. It is Trundell whom he regards as the villain of the Q1 piece, remarking that the alliance between this young stationer and the respectable middle-aged Ling is a strange one, and noting that Trundell is not allowed to have anything to do with Q2.

(iv) The remainder of the book is taken up with the problem of Q1's origin, into which I have not space to enter here. Suffice it to say that, though I do not think Mr Østerberg's main conclusions will find general acceptance, they are based upon acute analysis and considerable learning which should be of great help in the ultimate solution, whatever that may be, and that I personally am not surprised to learn that he can find very little evidence of Kyd's hand in this text.

One must congratulate Mr Østerberg on making a definite advance in the study of the most famous literary masterpiece connected with his country.

J. Dover Wilson.

London.

The Stonyhurst Pageants. Edited, with introduction, by Carleton Brown. (*Hesperia*, Ergänzungsreihe, VII). Göttingen and Baltimore: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1920. 8vo. 30 + 302 pp. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Professor Carleton Brown has performed a work of piety in printing for the first time these seventeenth century miracle plays preserved in the library of the Roman Catholic college of Stonyhurst in Lancashire. It is to be hoped that students of the early drama will be duly grateful to him, for it is not to be expected that the pageants, utterly lacking as they are in literary merit, should find much favour with the general reader.

There are peculiarities in the circumstances of publication which probably account for certain imperfections of the edition which cannot fail to strike the attentive reader. Professor Brown's 'transcript of the text' was forwarded to Göttingen in June 1914, and publication has been necessarily delayed by the war, the 'Foreword' being dated 2 Dec. 1919. I notice that the text is printed on very much better paper than the introduction, which suggests that it was machined at an earlier date (German paper was at its worst in 1919), and it is therefore possible, though the editor does not mention the fact, that the proofs never had the advantage of his personal supervision.

MS. A. vi. 33 in the Stonyhurst library contains, with some imperfections, twelve pageants on Old Testament history, written in the first half of the seventeenth century. Folios 1—55 are missing, and the text begins in the sixth pageant dealing with Jacob. A mutilation of five leaves has removed the whole of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth pageants, while the eighteenth pageant of Naaman is imperfect at the end and wants a leaf in the middle. There remain

127 folios containing 8740 lines, and the eighteen pageants which at any rate once existed probably ran to not less than 13,000. How much further the work was carried it is impossible to say, but I would suggest that the fact that in the last two pageants preserved the spaces left for the lists of actors have not been filled in, while in the last the heading is also absent, may suggest that the series was left unfinished at this point. This is hardly a matter for regret. The editor has dutifully said whatever is possible in the author's favour, and it amounts to very little. With the exception of the last the plays are close transcripts of the scriptural narrative into dialogue plentifully eked out by the expositions of a 'Nuncius,' and while the Naaman pageant is certainly not lacking in invention, it may be questioned whether the literary quality is thereby appreciably enhanced. I make no pretence of having read the whole eight thousand odd lines: I have contented myself with a careful perusal of 'Naaman' and with dipping into such of the other pageants as the introduction suggested might offer some points of attraction.

The text, which aims at reproducing the manuscript as closely as can reasonably be required (contractions are expanded in italic and obvious errors corrected), has evidently been prepared with considerable care. There are nevertheless a good many points on which one would be glad of further information, and it is much to be regretted that no photographic specimen of the writing is supplied, a precaution that ought never to be omitted in a work such as the present. In the absence of such, it is difficult, for instance, to know what to make of the persistent occurrence of unclosed parentheses. Are they merely examples of the author's carelessness in matters of punctuation, which is indeed evident throughout, or has the transcriber rendered by parentheses what are really meant for strokes, 'long commas,' in the original? Certainly some suspicion is raised by the line (XVIII, 528):

> My husband (holy man) sayd she) out of this lyfe departed.

Again the textual footnotes are somewhat perfunctory. I should like parenthetically to suggest that in such cases it is preferable to give the line number rather than to depend on reference numbers. These, for one thing, are apt to get omitted or misplaced in printing, as has occurred on p. 144, and this in spite of the evident care that has been bestowed on the reading, for I observe that on p. 264 a similar error has been corrected by hand. A more serious objection to the practice is that it encourages slackness in the form of the notes and consequent obscurity. I think the editor became aware of this in the course of his work, for his methods improve. But it remains the fact that while he occasionally informs us of the extent of an interlineation, in most cases he affords us no means of telling for certain whether it comprises one word or several. Besides the notes are quite inadequate. A certain number of obvious errors of the manuscript have been corrected, the original reading being in each case duly recorded in the footnotes (which also contain some judicious conjectures), but dozens of equally obvious slips have been left unnoted. I have observed the following in the

Naaman play alone, and I do not suppose my list is complete: 323 insert *I* before *can*, 482 insert *he* before *will*, 496 for *as oone* read *as soone*, 497 for *folow* read *felow*, 581 for *the stopp* read *they stopp* (cf. 934), 661 for *of your* read *of my*. Of course the trouble is that since many exactly similar errors are corrected and noted, it is impossible to tell in most of these cases whether it is the original manuscript or the printed edition that is at fault. That the latter is at any rate not above suspicion, is shown by the editor's own list of corrigenda.

Professor Brown has packed his two dozen pages of introduction with valuable matter that throws light on the genesis and history of these pageants, but he has refrained from attempting a full critical edition. He informs us that at his suggestion further work is being done upon particular points, and we may doubtless look for contributions from various quarters. Meanwhile the chief requirement is a critical glossary, the compilation of which would, I think, throw quite a lot of light upon the origin and provenance of these plays, for the vocabulary presents many points of interest. From the last pageant I note: 412 *I musen**, 462 *lookely**, 769 *skull* (scullion), 763 *piskytchyn**, 764 *fisgig*, 775 *capshoten**, 782 *Lobcocke*, 783 *gagling*, 831 *mylne*, 838 *dog pater noster**, 926 *wretche* (adj.), 957 *weepinge crosse*, 970 *damige* (= danger, an erroneous use only recorded from the fifteenth century), 1127 *fleame Iordan*. The starred forms and phrases appear not to be recorded in *N.E.D.* or *E.D.D.* With an adequate glossary detailed annotation might prove unnecessary.

The linguistic investigation which Professor Brown has made tends to connect the genesis of the text with its present Lancashire home, several peculiar words occurring in the pageants being recorded in glossaries of that dialect, while by means of extensive search in the local records he is able to show that all the names of former owners inscribed in the volume are common Lancashire names. It is pleasant to think that we here have a manuscript which has remained throughout in the locality of its birth, but though the suggestion is plausible enough, it cannot, pending more exhaustive enquiry, be regarded as finally established. With regard to the date of composition we are on firmer ground, thanks to the editor's discovery that the plays are based on the Douay translation of the Vulgate published in 1609–10, the marginal annotations of which are often incorporated almost verbatim into the text. This, of course, not only supplies an absolute *terminus a quo*, but likewise shows the work to be that of a Roman Catholic. A downward limit, unfortunately far less definite, is supplied by the fact that in the plays the possessive *it* occurs four times, *its* never. It is well known that *its* appears in no play of Shakespeare's published before 1616, while in those first printed in 1623 it is not uncommon. The editor therefore concludes 1625 to be the *terminus ad quem*, but there are two considerations which must considerably weaken the argument. In the first place the use of *it* and *its* must have been during the transition period very much a matter of individual taste, and since we are here dealing with a work which has not passed through the normalising hands of a com-

positor, we must be on our guard against applying to it standards derived from observation of printed books; and secondly we are dealing with a rather markedly dialectal work, and the editor is silent upon the question whether the change took place simultaneously in northern and southern English.

Not unconnected with these speculations is the question whether the manuscript containing the plays is autograph or not. That the whole is the composition of a single author, language, style, and verse place altogether beyond question: but is the extant copy in that author's own hand? The evidence is on the face of it somewhat contradictory. There are a number of errors which certainly appear to be due to not very careful transcription, and we should certainly have to postulate a scribe unless we are prepared to argue that they arose in the course of the author's making a fair copy of his own rough draft—an explanation which appears to me reasonable. In favour of the manuscript being autograph are the frequent alterations and corrections in the same hand which include some (notably at XVIII, 1034) which the editor rightly regards as hardly conceivable in a scribe. One might add that there is much the same general ground for believing in the originality of the present manuscript as in that of the *Ormulum* or the *Ayenbite of Inwit*.

Be that as it may, the author was clearly a man not only of industry but of some parts, though his gift was certainly neither dramatic nor poetic. The text, says Professor Brown, 'conveys no suggestion in either spelling, grammar, or vocabulary of illiteracy or even of insufficient education'—though it does, I would add, show certain very marked peculiarities. But neither this, nor the Plautine influence, is sufficient evidence of the clerical origin the editor is inclined to postulate for the plays, while the absence of any doctrinal tendency points strongly in the opposite direction. That the writer may have been training for the priesthood is of course possible; that he was actually a priest seems to me highly improbable.

The first seventeen pageants, so far as they are preserved, are faithful —painfully faithful—renderings of the Biblical narrative. Though based on the Douay version, and, according to Professor Brown, showing occasional acquaintance with some of Shakespeare's plays (*Henry V* and *Othello*), it is quite clear that the pageants are largely modelled on the earlier English miracle cycles. The very term 'pagean' and the phrase 'fleme Iordan' would suffice to establish a connexion, while the character 'Nuncius,' which the editor supposes to mark classical influence, is familiar in the native religious drama. It would be interesting to know how the writer came by his familiarity with the earlier cycles, and which they were that influenced him. If he knew them through actual representation he must, I think, have witnessed repeated performances, for their manner seems to have soaked into him and modelled his naïve presentation. I think, however, that he is far more likely to have acquired his familiarity mainly through reading, and in that case the chances are greatly in favour of his debt being to the Chester cycle, numerous manuscripts of which must have been in circulation when he wrote.

At the same time his object is quite different from that of the medieval dramatists. With them the Old Testament plays remained throughout as it were a prologue to the great drama of the Redemption, and they selected for treatment mainly incidents having a bearing upon their central theme. The object of our Stonyhurst playwright is to portray the whole course of sacred history; one may indeed fancy him deliberately setting out to construct a rival cycle that should be free at once from the popular vulgarities, the legendary accretions, and the dramatic eclectiveness of the medieval and now Protestantised cycles. The editor is inclined to think that the plays must have been composed with some more or less definite intention of performance, but I fancy that the essential conditions of dramatic form and the imitation of admitted models will account for whatever features can be cited in support of this view. It is probable that the multiplication of manuscripts of the Chester plays was due to an antiquarian and not a dramatic demand, and I fancy that these Stonyhurst pageants must have been originally and consciously written for the study rather than the stage.

With the eighteenth pageant there is an abrupt change in the manner of composition. The method of scenic division alters: after an increasing use of the 'Nuncius,' who actually speaks over half the lines in pageants XVI and XVII, that character disappears altogether from the portion of the play (1136 lines) preserved: comic characters and comic business is introduced for the first time: lastly and chiefly, a knowledge and deliberate imitation of Plautine comedy becomes manifest. Upon the meaning of this momentous change the editor says little, but it is difficult to avoid the impression that the cycle must be the work of someone whose studies had hitherto been scriptural and who at this point first made the acquaintance of the writers of Latin comedy.

The introduction certainly fails to bring out at all adequately the really extraordinary nature of the verse. The editor classes the lines, no doubt correctly, as fourteeners or septenaries. He further remarks that the only play (mainly) in that measure he has come across is *Horestes,* though it is used for a few passages in *Misogonus.* But surely there is plenty of it in *Common Conditions* and *Clyomon and Clamydes,* to say nothing of the *Arraignment of Paris,* while I expect the list could be extended. Moreover, to say that the pageants are written in the seven-accent line really tells us little about the metre, and what it implies is for the most part misleading. The fact is that the verse of this cycle is unlike anything else that I have ever come across in English literature. The least peculiarity perhaps is the author's notion of rime. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was a rather persistent tendency to make rime independent of accent. The practice, which is said to have had its origin in, or at least to have been fostered by, a familiarity with French verse, was happily in the end defeated, though it is still clearly traceable in Spenser. It is the almost unvarying rule of our Stonyhurst playwright, for whom all preterites and participles in *-ed,* all verbal substantives and adjectives in *-ing,* are good rimes. Professor Brown cites four consecutive lines in

which the rimes are *prisoner*: *remember, proved*: *interpreted.* But the case is even more anomalous than this would necessarily imply, for the accentuation of these words demanded by the lines in question is *prísonèr, remémber, próved, intérpretèd.* The author even rimes *I*: *vnlúckely.* Moreover there are many rimes which are bad even according to his lenient rules, such as *grapes*: *shipps, Thebin*: *Amri,* and a sprinkling of single lines which do not rime at all.

The fourteener, as known to us for instance in the works of the Elizabethan translators whom Professor Brown mentions, is a line with a well-defined character of its own, iambic in rhythm, and marked in general by a strong caesura and end-stop. Such a measure is hardly recognisable in the following lines, which are by no means exceptional:

> Are not Pharphar & Abana Riuers of Damascus better
> than all the waters that in Israell bee? And there fore hither
> I neede not haue come, yf washinge had for my disease
> a remedy beene. But this Iordan (yf it for sooth do please
> the gods) shall make me whole, & none but this. It's a meere fable
> for my disease so deepe ys in my flesh, that yt's not possible
> yt should be washed thus away;

while the tendency to run the lines on is sometimes even more marked:

> Alas (my lord) I thought It had a servants part bene to
> medle wth all things that they can for their maisters profitt do—

quite a novel way of splitting an infinitive! Something, perhaps a good deal, might be said for an endeavour to free the fourteener from the tyranny of caesura and end-stop (I have tried the experiment myself and a remarkably difficult measure it is!) but little if anything can be said for the verse of these plays. If the lines are not recognisable as fourteeners, still less do they conform to any other type of verse. Beyond a slight prejudice in favour of an iambic flow, the only concern of the writer has been to measure off his matter into approximately equal lengths. And here it is difficult to say at what equality he is aiming, for the accentuation is too erratic for feet to have any significance, while by actual count of syllables his lines vary from 12 to 18. The fact is that, read naturally, any passage might pass as rather straitened and stilted prose, so feeble is the metrical beat, while so weak are the rimes that the ear would hardly be disturbed by them.

What then is the meaning of all these peculiarities, what combination of circumstances in the composition will account for what we have here before us? We can, of course, only guess, but guessing is sometimes worth while and may serve at least as a signpost for further investigation. My own strong impression is that the whole thing is of the nature of a school exercise. The conscientious fatuity of the method, suggesting that the act of composition was an end in itself, together with the abrupt change of model from medieval to classical, pointing to an altered course of study, speak of the school room. Even so, the object appears to be less experiment in literary form than practice in the command of language and expression. In that case we might suppose the author to be one to whom English was an acquired language. And

I think that, though the model chosen for the verse is distinctly English, the complete lack of the sense of accent apparent in its handling points to a writer having a more intimate familiarity with French. That he had a very considerable command of our language, and evident opportunity for acquiring a vernacular dialect, is clear enough, but apart from the latter, there is nothing to show that his knowledge may not have been mainly acquired through reading. The distinction he observes between *sith* and *since*, which Professor Brown considers to indicate 'at least some feeling for grammar,' may equally well be due to some text book precept, and the same would account for his consistent and perhaps old fashioned retention of the possessive *it*. I think, moreover, that a close study of the text will reveal not a few locutions that it is difficult to credit to one who spoke English as his native tongue. Would it ever have occurred to such a one that the word *persuaded* could be rendered disyllabic by writing it *persuad'd*, still less *persu'de*? or would an Englishman have said 'These circumstances lay aside' when he meant 'come to the point'? I may be quite mistaken, but I get the impression, reading the plays, that not a few of the author's queer expressions are those of a writer not altogether at home with the language. It would be easy to imagine actual circumstances in which such an exercise might be undertaken—they will readily occur to anyone who cares to make the endeavour. At least it explains the absence of any trace of doctrinal propaganda, which is difficult to account for if the plays were the work of an adult Roman Catholic writing with a view to possible performance.

W. W. Greg.

London.

An Interpretation of Keats' Endymion. By H. Clement Notcutt. Privately printed for the Author. Capetown. 1919. pp. 84.

Professor Notcutt, who has long held the Chair of English in the University of Stellenbosch, has made a bold effort to penetrate anew into the meaning of *Endymion*. He has often, or so I feel bound to think, penetrated too far; but he has thrown out many ingenious and provoking suggestions by the way. Where others have seen a single, or at most a double allegory, Professor Notcutt finds a triple one, the three strands being interlaced as close as in the *Faerie Queene*. As to the first allegory, he does not differ greatly, save in certain details, from previous students. The quest of Endymion is the search of Keats for ideal beauty; which is found now in nature, now in love, now in poetry, or in a mystical trinity of the three; the Moon riding high over the whole poem as a symbol of these blended, and at last satisfied, admirations. Secondly, this is a typical poet's progress; Keats is but a type of his tribe. Few, so far, will disagree. Mr Notcutt works out the pattern, with especial skill and feeling, in book IV; he reads in the Indian maiden's words 'the cry that is always going up from humanity in all quarters of the world

for sympathy and help' (p. 70). Striking, too, is his parallel (pp. 25 ff.) of Peona, the sister of Endymion, with Georgiana, the wife of George Keats, of whom the poet writes in noble terms in his letters. The emphasis on simple sisterly affection, which we find in *Endymion*, is by no means common in poetry; and though we may not fairly call Peona a symbol, there may well be some personal feeling behind the portraiture.

Mr Notcutt sees a third and still wider meaning in the whole allegory:—a reference to the new birth of poetry which came about as soon as the power of the pseudo-classical school declined and English poetry was released from what Keats regarded as the deadening and cramping influence that Pope and his associates had exercised (p. 7).

It is here that the difficulties begin. The well-known allusions in *Sleep and Poetry*, in one of the sonnets to Haydon, in the poet's letters, and in at least two of the overtures (books II, IV) in *Endymion* itself, sufficiently show the attitude of Keats towards the new poetry, and towards its 'classical' predecessor. The vindication (II, 1—4) of romantic, as against epical or heroic, subjects, speaks for itself. We may well think that this reference was somewhere in the back of Keats' mind throughout *Endymion*. Mr Notcutt, with a courage that seldom fails, finds it also circumstantially symbolised in a multitude of details. The incident of the wild rose, the butterfly, and the nymph in book I refer (p. 33) to the poet's feelings when he first took up Latin. He read Lemprière; and Lemprière is 'the bud,' which at length 'flowers' when the poet gets to Ovid and Virgil themselves. Endymion beholds an 'orbed diamond': a 'probable' allusion to the reading of Chapman's *Homer* (p. 37). Endymion examines a temple; Keats read the *Aeneid*. Endymion sees the 'silvery heads of a thousand fountains'; and (p. 42) 'we recognise' (but do we?) an allusion to the poems of Ovid, 'more especially the *Metamorphoses*.' The actual debts of *Endymion* to Ovid are pointed out, most usefully (p. 43); but that is another matter. More than this, the history of Glaucus in book III is an emblem of the struggles of romantic poetry during the eighteenth century. Circe, who for a time misled Glaucus, means Pope; her victims (Notcutt, p. 59; *Endymion*, III, 513 ff.) are the victims in the *Dunciad*; and the treasures that Glaucus seizes from the old man are Percy's *Reliques*, nothing less.

All this is set forth in such pleasant and delicate language by Professor Notcutt, that we can hardly grudge him, but must rather envy him, the liberty of dreaming within the dream of Keats; even though we cannot follow him far, which I for one cannot. The actual argument is of the most general kind, resting rather on the broad tenor of Keats' poetic preferences and opinions than on anything tangible in *Endymion* itself; and seems to presuppose, what can hardly be granted, that he was unlikely to be contented with a single or double-barrelled allegory, or to draw rich fantastic pictures for their own sake and without a hidden meaning.

Oliver Elton.

Liverpool.

Glossaire des Patois de la Suisse Romande. Bibliographie linguistique, par Louis Gauchat et Jules Jeanjaquet. Tomes I, II. Neuchâtel: Attinger Frères. 1912, 1920. 8vo. 291 pp., 416 pp.

Strongly marked individualism and a spirit of independence rooted in conservatism have always characterised the population of Switzerland. Economic and political exigencies, the growth of trade and industry, and improved methods of transportation have led to the introduction of greater uniformity and centralisation. But this development is comparatively recent. Sheer necessity has forced it upon the Swiss, who at every turn have offered, and still offer, the most stubborn resistance. For centuries their individualism was allowed to grow unchecked. The configuration of the ground, the difficulties of intercourse, the relative unproductiveness of the soil compelled them to live in small agricultural communities, each self-supporting and constituting a little cosmos of its own. That accounts to some extent for the variety of customs and traditions, and for the great diversity of speech which the country offers within its small territory. But contrasts and differences have been greatly enhanced by the fact that Switzerland stands at the cross-roads of many civilisations. It is the meeting point, not only of German, Italian and Northern French, but also of Provençal and Rhaetian or Rhaeto-romance—who at one time occupied the whole of the Central and Eastern Alps, but are now confined to isolated and scattered districts. The races which settled in this mountainous region blended very slowly, and long retained their characteristic languages. To-day in Eastern Switzerland the German patois are as vigorous as ever, but in the West the influence of Parisian French has proved too strong. Aided by many factors, e.g. immigration, the development of industry and especially the spread of education, it has almost entirely submerged the dialects of Neuchâtel and Geneva, and is gradually threatening those even of the remotest Alpine valleys. There was a danger that this rich heritage of the past should be irretrievably lost, to the great prejudice, not only of the Swiss, but of all who value linguistic and philological studies.

Sufficient attention has never been drawn to the wealth of material which these dialects might yield for the solution of knotty problems of etymology, phonetics and comparative philology. It is therefore a matter of congratulation that some of the leading scholars of Switzerland should have conceived the plan of rescuing this valuable material from threatening oblivion. Their work is not biased by considerations of local patriotism or tainted with political preoccupations. Their aim is not to revive by artificial means a language that is dead or dying, but to take stock of what has survived of that language, in spoken or written form, to subject it to a scientific investigation, and to make of it a trustworthy and readily accessible record. Such, in brief, is the fundamental object of the *Glossaire des patois de la Suisse Romande.*

The plan matured in 1899, when the Swiss Government and some of the cantons specially concerned voted small annual grants to cover the initial expenses. Under the guidance of Professors Gauchat (Zürich),

Jeanjaquet (Neuchâtel) and Tappolet (Basel) a large army of volunteers set to work. Private and public libraries were ransacked, local archives and muniment rooms diligently searched. The country people up and down the land were subjected to an examination. Their tales, their songs, their daily speech were carefully noted, and transmitted to headquarters, whence these operations were supervised. In order to facilitate inquiries and to obviate gaps and omissions, questionnaires were issued at regular intervals to the various collaborators with useful hints and directions. The preliminary task of collecting the material occupied some eleven years and virtually came to an end in 1910. The next business was to sift and coordinate the information; slips had accumulated to the extent of one and a half million, and some thousands of works, small or large, had been noted. The latter were taken in hand at once. They were carefully appraised, summarised, and their lexicographical data extracted. The *Bibliographie linguistique*, of which vol. I appeared in 1912, and vol. II has just left the press, is an integral part of the *Glossaire des patois*, and indicates the source of all the material which will be embodied in the dictionary. Although it is chiefly complementary, it has none the less an independent value of its own. It is much more than a mere catalogue of books and articles. The various items are briefly described and grouped under suitable headings, so that students of history, ethnography and folklore, as well as philologists, will find it a most useful book of reference.

The first chapter, entitled 'Extension du français et question des langues,' reviews the present linguistic conditions of Switzerland and illustrates the friendly rivalry which has long existed between the various languages. Incidentally some light is thrown on the manoeuvres of the Germans, who during the decade preceding the outbreak of the War did their utmost to render acute the 'language question'; their propaganda account to a large extent for the internal disruption with which Switzerland was threatened during the years 1915–16. An interesting map prefixed to this section shows how from the fifth to the eighteenth century the linguistic frontier gradually receded west, yielding to the Alemanic population large tracts of Soleure, Berne, Fribourg and Upper Valais.

Chapter ii, 'Littérature patoise,' analyses some 650 books and articles dealing with the dialects of Western Switzerland. Chapter iii, 'Histoire et grammaire des patois,' contains the description of some 240 philological studies devoted partly or wholly to French Swiss dialects. Chapter iv, 'Lexicographie patoise,' will prove very useful to students of Romance philology. It is subdivided into 'Glossaires et collections de mots,' 'Groupes sémantiques,' 'Emprunts à l'allemand,' 'Argot,' 'Étymologies,' and refers not only to monographs and specialised studies, but also to dictionaries like those of Diez, Körting, Hatzfeld, and Meyer-Lübke. For the latter's *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* a full list of reviews, additions and rectifications is given up to date. The last part of the chapter traces the history of the *Glossaire des patois* and deals at some length with the principles on which the investigations were

conducted. Chapter v, 'Français provincial,' concerns itself with provincialisms and the survival of patois words and constructions in Modern French. Chapter vi, 'Noms de lieux et de personnes' refers to a systematic study of proper names of places and persons which was undertaken conjointly with the lexicographical inquiry, but will be published separately under the editorship of Professor Muret.

PAUL STUDER.

MONTANA, SWITZERLAND.

Le Château d'Amour de Robert Grosseteste, Évêque de Lincoln. Par J. MURRAY. Paris: Édouard Champion. 1918. 8vo. 182 pp. 7 fr. 50.

Grosseteste's *Château d'Amour* was worthy of a new edition, and a most suitable text to be entrusted to a young philologist. The language presents few difficulties, while the numerous MSS. in which the work has been preserved offer scope for critical judgment and scholarship. Miss Murray has made good use of her opportunities. It is true that the Introduction betrays some inexperience. The notes on syntax (pp. 58—62), for example, are almost wholly irrelevant or based on mistaken interpretations. But Miss Murray has read widely and collected interesting information concerning Grosseteste and his writings. Her account is, on the whole, sound and trustworthy. She goes too far, however, in describing the religious allegory of the *Château d'Amour* as a 'roman chevaleresque' (p. 67). Occasionally she would seem to have worked somewhat hurriedly or at second hand. On p. 19 she ascribes to Robert Grosseteste 'la traduction d'un livre intitulé *Treatise on Husbandry* écrit en anglais par Walter de Henley.' It is hardly necessary to point out that Walter de Henley wrote his book not in English but Anglo-Norman. The confusion probably arose through the fact that the original Anglo-Norman text of Henley, a Modern English translation of it, and *Les Reules Seynt Robert* (a similar treatise on husbandry by Grosseteste), were published in the same volume by E. Lamond.

More serious is the omission of the two works which were undoubtedly written by Grosseteste. One is a Latin sermon on 'Maria optimam partem elegit que non auferetur ab ea' (Luc. x, 43), preserved in MS. Bodley 57, fol. 180 v°, and described by Paul Meyer in *Romania*, XXXV, p. 581. The other is a Confession in Anglo-Norman (MS. Hamburg). It begins, 'Cest confessioun fist seint robert, li euesque de nichole, de set mortels pecchez,' and was printed *in extenso* by H. Urtel in *Zeitschr. f. roman. Philologie*, XXXIII (1909), pp. 571 sq. Among the works dealing with the subject matter of the *Château d'Amour* should have been mentioned Hope Traver's study of *The Four Daughters of God* (Bryn Mawr Coll. Monograph Series, vol. VI), and Paul Meyer's review of it in *Romania*, XXXVII, p. 485.

The text has been established in a very satisfactory manner, and few improvements could be suggested. In v. 30, however, it would have been preferable to retain the variant *esteit* instead of *est*. In v. 43 read *oez* as one word. In v. 107, read *Donques n'i ad si grant leesce*; Grosseteste was

very fond of this construction which recurs in vv. 489 and 653. In v. 146, *guerra* for *querra* is probably a misprint. In v. 524, instead of *Cume Deus home devenir*, leaving the clause without a verb, read *Cum Deus poet home devenir*, a reading which is supported by several MSS. In v. 667, instead of *Assise nus est en la marche*, read *Assise se est en la marche*; nearly all the MSS. omit *nus*, and the context clearly requires a conditional clause. In v. 966, the emendation *E plus ensemble aver cuiller* does not seem justified. The majority of MSS. have *E plus aver ensemble aver*. As this did not give satisfactory sense, one of the copyists altered it to *E com plus e*[*n*] *peust assembler*, and another to *E plus aver ensembler*. I suspect that the original had *E plus aver ensemble auner*. The last word would be written *aūer*, and could easily be misread *auer*, *aver*. In v. 1386, read *De mort par sa mort delivrez*.

In one respect, however, the present edition is decidedly defective. The punctuation is so erratic at times, that one wonders whether Miss Murray has really grasped the meaning of certain passages. Improvements could be suggested on almost every page. In some instances the sense has been altogether obscured and the effect of Grosseteste's powerful style completely marred, e.g. in v. 70 where *chescun solum ceo ke il fut* is a parenthetical clause and should have been detached from the rest of the sentence by suitable punctuation. The following are typical examples which I have repunctuated:

105 Si cum avant vus ai cunté.
E pus el ciel fussent munté—
Donkes n'i ad si grant leesce,
Grant seignurie e grant hautesse—
Pur aver itel....

288 'Beau pere,' ceo dist Verité,
'Tel merveille si ai oïe—
Ne puis tenir ke ne le die—
De Misericorde ma sorur,
Ke vodra...'

378 Ne Misericorde ensement
Onkes apelee ne fu.

401 Ne sanz pes ne vaut aver,
Ne richesse ne saver.
Ki pur Pes...

411 E deivent tut communement
Fornir un sul jugement;
Jugement ne avra record,
Deskes ils seient d'un acord.

517 Ces [=Ceo?] sunt les nons en verité,
Ke li prophetes l'ad nomé.

570 La ou Deu de le ciel descent
En un chastel bel e grant,
Bien fermé e avenant;
Kar c'est...

644 Al munter i a set degrez
Ki par ordre cochez sunt—
Ni a si bele chose el mund.
Le arc du ciel...

782 Mes kant li soleil de dreiture
Dedenz sun seint cors enumbrat,
Mil itant embeli le ad.

808 Ce est orgoil, ire e peresce.
Li mund a [=ad] deus oz assise,
Ceo est...

989 Mes pur ceo ne di jo mie
K'om ne poet aver manantie,
Grant seignurie e grant hautesce,
Chasteus e bois de grant largesce;
E si poet Deu mult bien...

[The remarks on pp. 60—61 show that the editor has misread the passage.]

1005 Kant Jhesus en le mund fu nez,
Del diable fu tant celez,
Ke il ne sout de sun venir,
Mes quidout par tut seignurir,
Cum il einceis fet aveit;
Mes sun...

1032 En la curt Deu cirographez,
Ke s'il le comand Deu passast,
Od mei tut tens demorast,
E morreit en fin de mort;
E Deus...

1188 E li siecles sucuruz.
Nostre creance...

1311 De lui fere sun voler
E attrere a suen poer.

1320 Od sa alme e sa deité.
Les portes...

1404 Donk apparut a eus Jhesu
Pur esprover lur mescreance—
Kar tuz furent en dutance—
Ki resuscité veu...

1599 Mes joie avrunt ki sanz fin dure.
Mult furent...

1648 Sa pes ne faudera james,
Mes joie e [=est?], solaz e amur...

1664 La Mere Deu, la preciuse,
La tres duce...

The Notes which follow the text are very helpful and elucidate problems which are likely to puzzle philologists. The Glossary is rather short and should have included the following interesting Anglo-Norman forms: *aticier*, accuse 337; *avantance*, profit 1411; *derube*, precipice 1544; *espoilles*, spoils 1334; *mein*, mean, intermediary 615, 687; *nuwe*, cloud 1474; *repeler*, repeal 417; *reument*, rarely 958; *saci*, satiated 1264; *surfet*, surfeit 526, 1131; *surunder*, surround 964; *voluntrive* (f), voluntary 758.

Paul Studer.

Montana, Switzerland.

La Jeunesse de Charles Nodier : les Philadelphes. Par Léonce Pingaud. Paris : E. Champion. 1919. 8vo. 280 pp. 9 fr. 75.

Everyone is conversant with the kind of title calculated to lead the prospective reader to expect more than the author has to offer; it is comparatively rare for a work—and especially a biography—to cover considerably more ground than that indicated on the cover. Hence we are agreeably surprised to find that M. Pingaud, far from limiting his purview to Nodier's youth, gives a detailed account of the middle-aged man and even touches upon his last years. Yet the explanation of this is not hard to discover. Was not Nodier one of those fortunate beings whom A. de Vigny would have described as never having seemed other than young[1]?

The fact that Nodier, considering youth the only age of life worth living, in after years constantly sought refuge from the present by dwelling upon his early recollections only served to make M. Pingaud's task the more complicated, for Nodier's memory is often, as he himself confesses, 'une causeuse mensongère apostée par son imagination.' Whereas other writers have accepted without question various details to be culled from his semi-autobiographic tales, M. Pingaud has disproved many of these statements by basing his study upon hitherto unpublished documents. The persecuted romantic hero 'Nodier the Outlaw' no longer exists save as a legendary personage.

The first part of the book deals with the life of Nodier, the second is devoted to determining the historical value of his writings. No reader could remain insensible to the charm of 'ce bon' Nodier as portrayed by his sympathetic biographer—the infant prodigy 'wearing out' his books (and among them a Montaigne too!) at the age of nine and admitted to an assembly of politicians at the age of twelve, the impetuous youth entangled in various Revolutionary plots, the independent and improvident man of letters, the much-courted librarian of the Arsenal. Among his multifarious interests three ruling passions stand out very prominently—insects, books and academic distinctions: they may well be deemed typical of his scientific, literary and withal intensely human character. Especially interesting are the indications of his favourite authors, since they reveal so clearly a precursor of the Romantic school.

M. Pingaud reminds us that Sainte-Beuve capped his portrait of Nodier by wittily ascribing to him 'le don de l'inexactitude.' In a cursory examination of some of those works which the author would have us believe strictly historical, M. Pingaud points out many discrepancies which bear witness to the great critic's perspicacity. On one point, however, Nodier appears to have been accused wrongly of inaccuracy. In his *Souvenirs de la Révolution* he says that the public prosecutor, Euloge Schneider, was guillotined on April 1, 1794, and his three accomplices, Edelmann, Jung and Monnet, 'les jours suivants.' M. Pingaud

[1] *Journal d'un Poète*, 1840.

states (p. 190) that history tells us Schneider met his death on May 31, and the three others on July 17. On what authority is this assertion based? The dates given by the official journal *Le Moniteur* are April 1 and July 17 respectively[1].

Comparatively small space is allotted to the Philadelphians, and although the matter is new, it is questionable whether it is of sufficient importance to have formed the sub-title of the book. We learn that this particular Philadelphia was a secret society founded by Nodier in 1797 and consisted originally of himself and four fellow-students of the École Centrale of Besançon. The members are described as 'brothers united by friendship' for the advancement of virtue: the rules (which are included in the *pièces justificatives*) distinctly state that no theological or political questions shall be discussed at meetings. From its very nature such a society was not destined to have an eventful history. Later changes were made in the constitution with a view to creating a common moral and political code, and the election of Major Oudet as 'archon' marks the introduction of the military element. By the end of 1803 the society had virtually ceased to exist, and although Philadelphians were to be found in the army right up to 1815, they were unmolested by the police, who expressed themselves satisfied as to their loyalty to the government. Thus M. Pingaud conclusively proves Nodier's *Histoire des Sociétés secrètes de l'Armée* to be an ingenious hoax, 'une œuvre d'imagination qui semblait une révélation,' so cleverly is truth mingled with fiction.

In addition to being an excellent biography, this scholarly volume forms a valuable contribution to the history of the beginnings of Romanticism in France and throws unexpected side-lights on certain Revolutionary figures connected with Franche-Comté. The material is skilfully handled, the facts presented clearly, the criticism sound, and the book should prove useful alike to students of literature and history. As a work of reference, however, it suffers fatally from the lack of an index. Also, since up to the present it has been found impossible to compile a complete catalogue of Nodier's literary productions, a chronological list of those newspaper articles and other minor writings which M. Pingaud has discovered in the course of his researches would have been very welcome.

F. Page.

London.

Epochs of Italian Literature. By Cesare Foligno. 8vo. 94 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1920. 3*s.*

Cambridge Readings in Italian Literature. Edited by Edward Bullough. Cambridge: University Press. 1920. 8vo. xviii + 335 pp. 8*s.* net.

There is a familiar sentence of Shelley's denouncing summaries as 'the moths of just history,' but Professor Foligno, in a small space of

[1] For a report of the Tribunal held April 1, see the *Moniteur*, April 10.

less than a hundred pages, has given us a summary of Italian literary history which is not only of real utility, but even stimulating reading. On broad lines he sketches the growth of Italian literature, in relation with the political conditions of Italy in successive epochs, from the origins of vernacular Italian as a literary language down to the outbreak of the great war. The field is divided into five main periods: the 'Dawn,' the 'Renaissance,' the 'Transition to Modern Times' (the period following the later Renaissance being rightly no longer regarded as stagnation or decadence), the 'Rise of the Nation,' and 'Modern Italy.' In such a condensed survey, there is an inevitable risk of the individual writers appearing as a mere string of names; but Professor Foligno has skilfully surmounted this difficulty, giving due proportion to the greater figures while indicating the place of the lesser men in the general evolution of the national literature. The account of the earliest period suffers, perhaps, more than the rest from the limited space at the Professor's disposal. A poet, for instance, like Guittone of Arezzo, deserves mention even in the briefest summary, and, in the paragraph on the beginnings of Italian literary prose, we miss any explicit reference to the grammarians or rhetoricians, the exponents of the *ars dictandi*, whose influence on the vernacular was considerable. The section on 'Modern Italy' strikes us as admirable. There is an excellent bibliography, which will no doubt be revised and extended in subsequent re-issues. The editions of Lorenzo de' Medici, for instance, have been superseded by Attilio Simioni's two volumes in the *Scrittori d'Italia*.

Mr Bullough's anthology, conceived on novel lines, aims at presenting a picture of Italian thought in the nineteenth century. It includes selections from almost every branch of Italian literature, with the exception of the theatre, representing more than sixty authors, from Foscolo and Manzoni down to Giovanni Papini and those younger Italian writers of to-day who are, for the most part, almost unknown to English readers. We should have preferred to see the extracts from each author placed together, and the authors themselves arranged in chronological order, rather than the scheme here adopted of grouping beneath such general headings as 'Dio,' 'Natura,' 'Italia,' 'Vita,' 'Pensiero'; but it goes without saying that individual taste is the essence of an anthology. The book will admirably fulfil its purpose of giving students a practical guide to modern Italian literature. The editor's introduction to each author is brief and pointed; the extracts are well suited for use in a class; and the form in which the volume has been produced is most attractive.

In his preface, Mr Bullough well insists on 'the recognition of the uniqueness of Italian, linguistically and culturally,' and 'the realisation of the unbroken continuity of its spirit which links modern Italy with the Italy of the Middle Ages and the Italy of Rome.' He emphasises the peculiar importance of the dialects of Italy: 'Her dialects have retained their native vigour not only in speech but in literary expression to an extent unknown elsewhere.' Dialectical literature is represented in this volume by Milanese (Carlo Porta), Venetian (Riccardo Selvatico), Pisan

(Renato Fucini), Romanesco (Augusto Sindici and Cesare Pascarella). It is much to be regretted that it has not been found possible to include examples of Neapolitan and Sicilian, which are of singular interest in themselves, besides being needed for the student of the linguistic problems associated with the beginnings of Italian lyrical poetry.

These two volumes are most welcome evidence of the vitality of the Italian departments at Oxford and Cambridge. They are the kind of publication that gives good promise for the future of Italian studies in England.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Oergermaansch Handboek. By R. C. BOER. Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willing and Zoon. 1918. 8vo. xvii + 321 pp.

This work—the first of a series of *Oudgermaansche Handboeken* under the editorship of Professors Boer, Frantzen and te Winkel—is the clearest and most comprehensive survey of Primitive Germanic since the appearance of Streitberg's grammar. From the multiplicity of problems which it discusses, a few may be singled out as indicating the author's independence of view and critical acumen.

Right at the outset the author arrests our attention by his advocacy of a classification of West Germanic into a North Western and South Western group. In subdividing the former he opposes the customary bipartition into Anglo-Frisian on the one hand and Low German-Low Franconian on the other, holding that Frisian occupies an intermediate position between Anglo-Saxon and the Low German-Low Franconian complex, or indeed may be a blend ('mengdialect') made up of Saxon and Franconian ingredients. Thus a closer affinity between Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon is indicated, and the divergences of the latter are referred to the operation of Franconian influences, which become more pronounced in course of time, drawing continental Saxon ever further from the insular dialects. The term South West Germanic denotes the High German dialects, which are subdivided as heretofore.

Next, the author's treatment of Indogermanic and Germanic musical and dynamic accentuation is worthy of serious attention, in particular his ingenious attempt to account for the apparent anomalies of the laws governing syncope (e.g. occurrence after a long syllable in Primitive Germanic, but after a short syllable in M.H.G.) with the aid of his 'spreekmaat' theory, more fully enunciated in his article on 'Syncope en Consonanten-geminatie' in the *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, XXXVII, pp. 161 ff. Musical accent plays an important part in the explanations of Verner's law offered on pp. 123—130. Whereas it has been customary to account for the voicing of the resultant Germanic spirants by postulating the *absence* of a main dynamic stress in the syllable immediately preceding the Indogermanic voiceless stops, Boer prefers to emphasise the *presence* of a high musical

accent in the following syllable, which accent entails a preparatory tension ('spanning') of the vocal chords. Evidence is adduced to show that the transference of the dynamic stress to the root syllable in Germanic was not always and necessarily accompanied by a corresponding transference of the high musical tone. The coöperation of root-stress with a varying musical accent is also called in to elucidate the phenomena of the first sound-shift in general (p. 136), but for detailed discussion the reader is referred to the author's articles in *Neophilologus*, I, pp. 103 ff., and II, pp. 110 ff. A definite stand is made against all theories based upon 'karaktereigenschappen van het oervolk' or assumed historical occurrences (p. 137). If by the latter is meant the theory especially associated with Feist, the judgment is perhaps too summary in view of the 'non liquet' expressed by Braune in a footnote in *Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, XXXVI, p. 564[1].

The sections dealing with Ablaut or 'klankwisseling' (a term now substituted for the misleading 'mutatie') are closely reasoned and cautiously worded. Objection is taken to Streitberg's and Michel's derivation of the 'Dehnstufe' in **gēƀum* from a hypothetical **gĕgƀum*, the author preferring to consider **gēƀum* as displacing **gƀum*, the 'stretching' being due to the analogy of **ēt—ētum* (p. 90). Other points of special interest are the treatment of the long diphthong series (pp. 99—102) and a well-supported attempt to explain the origin of Germ. $\bar{e}^2$ in the reduplicating verbs (pp. 115 f.).

In connection with the Indogermanic 'gutturals' a clear distinction is drawn between k^u and $k\underset{\smile}{u}$ (pp. 139 f.), and between g^uh and $gh\underset{\smile}{u}$ (p. 142). The use of the labial in the Latin *lupus* and Germanic **wulfaz*, etc. side by side with back consonants in other languages is referred to the presence of double forms in Indogermanic (p. 144). The doubling of $\underset{\smile}{i}$ and $\underset{\smile}{u}$ in Primitive Germanic (represented in Gothic by ddj and ggw, in Norse by ggj and ggv respectively) is stated to be due to rhythmical factors (cf. *Tijdschrift, loc. cit.*, pp. 58 ff.). Rhythm serves also to elucidate the differences of long and short syllabled *ia* and *jô* stems.

Much comment might be made on the accidence (pp. 171—274), especially on those portions in which the author develops his views concerning the origin of the Germanic comparative forms (pp. 206—208) and of the weak preterites (opposition to Kluge's theory of second person plural, p. 264, footnote), but enough has been stated to show the importance of Boer's work to all comparative philologists. Further volumes in this series will be eagerly welcomed.

W. E. Collinson.

Liverpool.

[1] Certain weaknesses of Feist's arguments have, however, been indicated by Frantzen and Boer in the second *Neophilologus* article (II, pp. 110 ff.), which was called forth by a combative article by Feist in *Neophilologus*, II, pp. 20 ff.

Theodor Fontane. Von Conrad Wandrey. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1919. 8vo. 412 pp. 15 M.

Theodor Fontane: A Critical Study. By Kenneth Hayens. London: W. Collins Sons and Co. 1920. 8vo. 282 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Dr Wandrey is already known to us as the admiring critic of Stefan George. His conception of literary criticism, its aims and methods are those of Gundolf. It is hence not surprising to find him in close sympathy with Fontane. The task he undertakes is that of destroying existing misconceptions and giving us a faithful likeness of the novelist. It is absurd, he tells us, to talk of a writer's 'life and works.' His life *is* his works, and vice versa; the two things are inseparable. True to this theory, Dr Wandrey shows us Fontane's literary evolution as a kind of work of art in itself. The prelude begins with *Vor dem Sturm*, and closes with *Schach von Wuthenow*; the artist's maturest works, *Irrungen, Wirrungen* and *Stine*, form the culminating point of the development; finally comes the epilogue in which Fontane's powers decline. *Effi Briest* towers above the other works of the third period, like the dying glories of a sunset. It is with these novels that Dr Wandrey is chiefly concerned. However, most of Fontane's productions find no place in his scheme of classification. The external events of the novelist's life, his character, his journalistic writings and books of travel are dealt with in the first three introductory chapters. Such novels and stories as *Graf Petöfy, Unterm Birnbaum, Unwiederbringlich*, etc., are relegated to the end as failures. Fontane's work as a war correspondent, his autobiographical and critical productions are regarded as mere bye-products of his genius, and the poems are adequately discussed in the closing chapter of the book. An excellent bibliography is added.

With Fontane's masterpieces Dr Wandrey has no fault to find. They are to be reckoned, in his opinion, among the greatest achievements of German literature. In technique, subject-matter, in every respect, they are the last word in realistic art. Like the author himself, he declares himself prepared 'to swear on the consecrated host' that the old conceptions of morality are threadbare, antiquated and absolutely hypocritical. At the same time he hastens to assure us in a note (p. 390) that, unlike Paul Heyse and Spielhagen, Fontane was an artist of an irreproachable moral standard. On the whole there is much to be praised in the book. Although the style tends to become pompously didactic, and the author is overfond of vague generalisations, there are many illuminating passages on Fontane's technique, on his views of life and so on. Such a phrase as 'der Dichter des beredten Verschweigens,' as applied to Fontane, is admirably expressive.

Mr Kenneth Hayens has been compelled by stress of circumstances to restrict himself to Fontane as a writer of prose fiction. This is unfortunate, because British readers would have been much interested to hear something about the ballads and the books of travel. It is also

undeniable that Fontane's letters, journalistic essays and biographical productions throw a great deal of light on his novels. The finished work of art can be judged as it stands, but only partially; unless we can compare the first conception with the actual achievement, we cannot estimate the precise nature and extent of a writer's creative powers. It was natural that Fontane, after his journalistic beginnings, should make countless allusions to current events in his earlier novels, and to a certain extent in the later ones too. Mr Hayens tell us that Kessin is Swinemünde, but he is silent about the real episodes on which *L'Adultera* and *Effi Briest* were based. One feels inclined to doubt whether old Briest's philosophy is really identical with Fontane's. The former shelves all difficult questions. His 'Das ist ein zu weites Feld' is final. He expects little of life, is easy-going and a trifle weak. Not so Fontane, whose philosophy is well-defined by Dr Wandrey as 'ein heiteres Weltvertrauen...gesunde irdische Weltfreudigkeit.' Briest's attitude to life is only one aspect of Fontane's. The latter was inclusive, not exclusive. His motto was 'Sowohl —— als auch.' Himself an optimist, he had little respect for those who are content merely to drift. Fully conscious of the sorrows and disappointments of life, he counselled measure, restraint in joy, resignation to the blows of fate, renunciation of the impossible. Yet his nature was not solely passive. He firmly believed that every one is the architect of his own fortune. His biography is that of a courageous man who acted when occasion required, however carefully he avoided useless effort. This criticism also applies to Mr Hayens' statement (p. 120): 'He has little belief in man carrying out his own destiny, and would have people strive to make the best of what the gods have given them.' Surely such characters as Lene, Waldemar and Instetten are free agents; if they do not achieve their destiny, it is their own fault.

Mr Hayens considers that the Dörrs are unnecessary to the plot of *Irrungen, Wirrungen* (p. 217). Apparently this and other similar considerations have led him to state that *Stine* is a better constructed novel than its immediate predecessor. The Dörrs are part of the *milieu* in which Lene lives; they form the background. They are just as necessary as Kurt Anton. We cannot know Lene without obtaining some knowledge of her circle. If she were a bourgeoise her neighbours would have judged her in a very different light. Moreover Fontane purposely contrasts Frau Dörr and Lene in order to define the latter. They differ in speech, temperament and attitude to life. How differently they speak of their lovers! Frau Dörr is just as effective a foil to Lene as Gieshübler is to Crampas or Geheimrätin Zwicker to Effi Briest. The disappearance of Hulda in Fontane's masterpiece is to be explained on similar lines. She was part of Effi's gay, innocent youth. Hence she does not return when the heroine's youth is past. The superiority of *Stine* to *Irrungen, Wirrungen* is a disputable point. Is *Stine's* brevity due to concentration, or has *Irrungen, Wirrungen* a broader basis? The size of the canvas matters little.

When all reservations have been made, it must be acknowledged

that Mr Hayens' book is the result of much painstaking and thorough investigation. His criticisms are invariably based on a close acquaintance with Fontane's novels and with modern German literature in general; and his conclusions are always carefully considered.

James M. Clark.

Glasgow.

MINOR NOTICES.

Studi danteschi, diretti da Michele Barbi (175 pp. Florence, Sansoni, 1920. L. 12.50), form the first volume of a new series of Dante studies, to be issued at free intervals, at least twice a year. The opening is certainly propitious, every article and note being in its degree of value and interest. In the longest article, 'La questione di Lisetta,' Professor Barbi himself rehandles the problem of the sonnet *Per quella via che la bellezza corre*, the problem to which he first called the attention of Dante students, and which is now complicated by the sonnet (from the well-known Oxford manuscript) *Con plu sospiri avanti costei vegno*, which appears to associate 'Lisetta' with the supposed poetical correspondence between Dante and Giovanni Quirini at a later date. Two articles deal with the peculiarly fascinating theme (for an English reader) of Dante and the Arthurian legends. Niccolò Zingarelli contributes a study of Dante's treatment of the Lancelot romance ('Le reminiscenze del "Lancelot"'), supplementing the researches of Dr Paget Toynbee in the same field; Pio Rajna discusses the precise significance of *ambages*, in the phrase employed in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*: 'Arturi regis ambages pulcerrime.' In 'Guido Cavalcanti e Dante di fronte al governo popolare,' Michele Barbi investigates the real attitude of the two poets towards the Ordinances of Justice and the democratic government of the Secondo Popolo. The alleged new portraits of Dante in the recently discovered frescoes in San Francesco at Ravenna form the subject of an article by P. L. Rambaldi ('Ancora un ritratto di Dante?'), who takes a sceptical view of the supposed discovery. The volume includes documents concerning Dante's father and other members of his family (Francesco Alighieri and Cione di Bello), and a small body of 'chiose e note varie,' concluding with bibliographical and other announcements. The series promises to be a most welcome addition to Dante literature, and we wish it every success.

E. G. G.

The Story of a Swiss Poet: A Study of Gottfried Keller's Life and Works, by Marie Hay (Berne: Ferdinand Wyss. 1920. 20 fr.), is addressed to the general public in English-speaking countries. The book is illustrated by translations of extracts from Keller's prose works, but the Middle High German poetry in the chapter on *Hadlaub*, e.g. the first verse of Walther von der Vogelweide's song *Unter der linden*, is left untranslated. The authoress is inspired by a genuine enthusiasm for the people, the political institutions and the literature of Switzerland. She has undoubtedly studied Keller closely and possesses sympa-

thetic insight into his inner life, but she lacks a clear conception of what literary criticism is. She cannot quite make up her mind whether the technique of *Der grüne Heinrich* is really bad, and if so, whether this is an unqualified defect. We are rather surprised to read that 'in Seldwyla is portrayed the Zurich of a hundred years ago.' In *Die Leute von Seldwyla* Gottfried Keller depicted, in a vein of gentle satire, life in a small country town, whereas for centuries Zurich has been an important intellectual and political centre. The Zurichois could never be accused of parochialism; they are, if anything, rather too cosmopolitan and too open to external influences in the opinion of many of their countrymen.

J. M. C.

We have pleasure in announcing the foundation of a quarterly *Revue de Littérature comparée*, edited by Professors F. Baldensperger and P. Hazard, and published by M. Éd. Champion, 5, Quai Malaquais, Paris, VI^e^. The Review, which will contain articles, notes, reviews and bibliographies, will be restricted to literature since the Renaissance. The first number, which will appear before the end of the year, will include the following articles: F. Baldensperger, *Littérature comparée: le mot et la chose*; P. Hazard, *L'Invasion des littératures du Nord en Italie*; E. Eggli, *Diderot et Schiller*; P. H. Cheffaud, *Une consultation sur le 'cas' de l'Atlantide*. The annual subscription is fixed at 40 francs; but it is hoped that readers desirous of showing their active sympathy with the enterprise will be willing to increase their subscription to 100 fr. It is also proposed to form a society of 'Amis de la Revue de littérature comparée' based on a donation of at least 500 francs. Prospectuses may be obtained from the publisher.

At the instance of the Committee of University of London, University College, steps are being taken to arrange for the celebration next year of the Sexcentenary of the death of Dante. The death of Dante took place in September 1321, but it is proposed that the Celebrations should be in May 1921. These will include (1) Public Lectures on Dante to be delivered at University College, London, and as far as possible at the other Schools of the University of London providing teaching in Italian. It is understood that there will also be Public Lectures delivered under the auspices of the Learned Societies interested in Dante. (2) An Exhibition of Books, Manuscripts and Works of Art relating to Dante, will be held at University College, London, early in May. University College already possesses a fine Barlow-Dante Collection, and it is hoped to obtain important loans for the Exhibition from Public Bodies and private owners in this country and abroad. (3) A Dante Memorial Volume will be prepared and issued by subscription. A small editorial Committee, consisting of Professor A. Cippico, Professor Edmund Gardner, Professor W. P. Ker and Dr Walter Seton, has been appointed. Communications with respect to the forthcoming Celebrations should be addressed to the Honorary Secretary, Dante Celebration Committee, Dr Walter Seton at University College, London.

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June—August, 1920.

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Graf, A., Prometeo nella Poesia. Ristampa. Turin, G. Chiantore. L. 8.

Ker, W. P., The Art of Poetry. Inaugural Lecture, Oxford, June 5, 1920. Oxford, Clar. Press. 1*s.* 6*d.*

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Paul, H., Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte. 5. Aufl. Halle, Niemeyer. 28 M.

Schrader, O., Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde. 2. Aufl. herausg. von A. Nehring. 2. Lief. Berlin, Vereinigung wissensch. Verl. 14 M.

Smith, L. P., Little Essays drawn from the Writings of G. Santayana. London, Constable. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Warshaw, J., The Epic-Drama Conception of the Novel (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxv, 5, May).

Wedel, T. O., The Mediaeval Attitude towards Astrology, particularly in England. (Yale Studies in English.) New Haven, Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Year-Book of Modern Languages, The, 1920. Ed. by G. Waterhouse. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 15*s.*

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Mediaeval Latin.

Bellissima, G. B., Il latino della Biccherna : saggio di studi sul latino medioevale. Siena, Bernardino.

Gesta Romanorum, nach der Übersetzung von J. G. T. Graesse, ausgew. von H. Hesse. Leipzig, Insel-Verlag. 24 M.

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Arfelli, D., Il Canto della divina foresta e di Matelda commentato. Ravenna, Tip. Nazionale.

Bazzochi, D., Il Classicismo nel Pascoli. Rocca S. Casciano, L. Cappelli. L. 2.

Belcari, F., Sacre rappresentazioni e laude. Introd. e note di O. Allocco-Castellino (Collez. di classici italiani, xiii). Turin, Unione. L. 4.

Bracco, R., Teatro. Vol. i. 2a ediz. Palermo, R. Sandron. L. 7.50.

Buonocore, O., Prontuario dantesco. Naples, Casa della buona Stampa. L. 1.10.

Calcaterra, C., Storia della poesia frugoniana. Genoa, Libr. editr. moderna.

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Croce, B., Intorno alla storia della critica dantesca (*Nuova Ant.*, July 1).

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Falorsi, G., Le Concordanze dantesche: introduzione analitica a un commento sintetico della Divina Commedia. Florence, Le Monnier. L. 12.

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Hartmann, J. J., La poesia latina di G. Pascoli. Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 2.80.

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Metastasio, P., Melodrammi (Didone abbandonata, Attilio Regolo). Introd. e commento di C. Bernardi. Turin, Unione. L. 4.

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Palleschi, F., Patria, politica e società delle nazioni nel pensiero e nell' opera di Dante. Parma, Fresching. L. 2.50.

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Rodocanachi, E., Leopardi. Paris, Renaissance du Livre. 3 fr. 75.

Russo, L., Giovanni Verga (Studi di Letteratura e d' Arte, i). Naples, R. Ricciardi. L. 6.

Tissi, S., L' Ironia leopardiana: saggio critico-filosofico. Florence, A. Vallecchi.

Vannini, A., Notizie intorno alla vita e all' opera di Celso Cittadini, scrittore senese del sec. xiv. Siena, Bernardino.

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Ferreira de Vasconcellos, J., Comédia Eufrosina. Conforme a impressao de 1516, publ. por A. F. G. Bell. Lisbon, Impr. Nacional.

Figueiredo, Fidelino de, O Thema do 'Quixote' na litteratura portuguesa do seculo xviii (*Rev. fil. esp.*, vii, 1, March).

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Bauche, H., Le langage populaire. Grammaire, syntaxe, et dictionnaire du Français tel qu'on le parle dans le peuple de Paris. Paris, Payot. 9 fr.

Schweiker, D., Syntaktische Studien über den bestimmten Artikel bei konkreten Gattungsnamen im Französischen (Romanische Studien, xviii). Berlin, E. Ebering. 20 M.

(*b*) *Old French.*

Bourdillon, F. W., Some Notes on 'Huon de Bordeaux' and 'Melusine' (*Library*, New Ser., i, 1, June).

Breuer, H., Eine gereimte altfranzösisch-veronesische Fassung der Legende der heil. Katharina von Alexandrien (Zeitschr. f. roman. Phil., Beihefte, liii). Halle, M. Niemeyer. 24 M.

Comfort, W. W., Notes on Old French Similes of the Chase (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxv, 6, June).

Comtesse d'Anjou, La, Altfranzösischer Abenteuerroman, zum ersten Male herausg. von B. Schumacher und E. Zubke (Romanisches Museum, i). Greifswald, Bruncken. 5 M.

Frank, G., Vernacular Sources and an Old French Passion Play (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxv, 5, May).

Huber, A., Eine altfranzösische Fassung der Johanneslegende (Zeitschr. f. roman. Phil., Beihefte, liii). Halle, M. Niemeyer.

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Nine Songs from the Twelfth Century French. Translated by C. C. Abbott. London, Chelsea Book Club. 2*s*.

Sheldon, E. S., Some 'Roland' Emendations (*Mod. Phil.*, xviii, 3, July).

(*c*) *Modern French.*

Baudelaire, C., Journaux intimes. Texte intégral. Paris, Crès. 6 fr.

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